Anglesey. march. 9. 670. 8.

THE HISTORIE OF IRELAND,

COLLECTED
BY THREE LEARNED AVTHORS
Viz.

MEREDITH HANMER
Doctor in Divinitie:

EDMVND CAMPION
sometime Fellow of S^t Johns
Colledge in *Oxford*:

and

EDMVND SPENSER
Esq.

DVBLIN,
Printed by the Societie of Stationers, Printers to the
Kings most Excellent Majestie. 1633.



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THOMAS

LO: VISCOUNT WENTWORTH, LO: DEPUTY GENERALL OF IRELAND.

THESE two Bookes (right Honorable) now publiſhed for the common benefit, I doe here humbly offer to your Lordſhips view, as containing Annales and other worthy memorialls of this Kingdome, whereof it hath pleaſed his moſt Excellent Majeſty to conſtitute you the Governor. And how-ever it cannot be denyed, that the judicious eye may diſcerne, eſpecially in *Campion*, many ſlips, through want of neceſſary inſtructions, yet in regard of the great light which

elſ-where theſe Hiſtories doe affoord to the knowledge of former times, and the good uſe which may be made of them by any who have leiſure, deſire, and ability to erect and poliſh a laſting ſtructure of our Iriſh affaires, I am emboulded to preſent them to your Lordſhips patronage, whoſe government I beſeech the Almighty ſo to bleſſe; that it may bee a long happines to this land.

Your Lordſhips ever humbly at commandement.

IAMES WARE.

THE PREFACE TO THE SVBSEQVENT HISTORIES.

WHat varietie of choyſe matter the affaires of this Kingdome doe affoord to an Hiſtorian, eſpecially ſince the middle of the raigne of King Henry *the VIII. any one that is but meanely verſed in our Hiſtories can teſtifie: But if we conſider how little hath hetherto bin publiſhed, wee cannot but blame the ſlownes of our learned men, who have (for by-reſpects) forborne to take paines in ſo worthy a ſubject. England hath had the happines that ſome parts of her Hiſtorie have bin lately excellently performed, by the right honorable* Francis *late Viſcount St. Alban, the right Reverend* Francis *Lo: Biſhop of Hereford, the moſt learned* William Camden *and others. Some will hereafter, I hope, doe the like for Ireland: In the meane while we are to accept of theſe taſtes, the one left unto us by* Edmund Campion, *and the other by Doctor* Hanmer, *who died (of the plague at Dublin in the yeare M. DC. IIII.) before he had finiſhed his*

intended worke : out of whoſe collections , what now beareth his name hath bin preſerved by our moſt Reverend and excellently learned Primate. Other helpes (to paſſe by thoſe which are already divulged) may be plentifully had by him who will undertake this taſke, out of the auncient and moderne recordes, both in this Kingdome and in England, as alſo out of diverſe manuſcript Annales and Chartularies, which are yet extant among us, beſides thoſe authors of Engliſh birth, as Iohn VVallingford *a Monke of S. Alban ,* Thomas VVike *a Canon of Oſney, and others, (which I have ſeene) in that excellent library and treaſury of MS S. antiquities, gathered by Sir* Robert Cotton *knight and Baronett deceaſed, who doe onely* obiter *touch upon our affaires. An intention there was not long ſince by Sir* Iames Ley *knight then Lord chiefe Juſtice of the Kings Bench in Ireland, (afterwards Lord high Treaſurer of England and Earle of Marleburgh) to have publiſhed ſome of our country writers in this kinde , for which end hee cauſed to be tranſcribed and made fit for the Preſſe, the Annales of* Iohn Clynne *a Friar minor of Kilkenny, (who lived in the time of King* Edw. *the 3.) the Annales of the Priory of* S. Iohn the Evangeliſt of Kilkenny, *and the Annales of* Multifernan, Roſſe *and* Clonmell, *&c. But his weighty occaſions did afterwards divert his purpoſe. The copies are yet preſerved , and I hope ere long with other Annales and fragments of the ſame nature will be divulged. Wee come now to the Authors in hand.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE

ROBERT DUDLEY, Baron of Denbigh, Earle of Leiceſter, Knight of the noble Order of the garter, and S. Michaels, Maſter of the Queenes Majeſties horſe, and one of her Privy Councell,

high Chauncellour of the Vniverſity of Oxford, my ſingular good Lord.

THat my travaile into Ireland , might ſeeme neither cauſleſſe, nor fruitleſſe, I have thought it expedient , being one member of your Lordſhips honorable charge to yeeld you this poore book, as an accompt of my poore voyage, happily not the laſt, nor the moſt beautifull preſent that is intended to your Honour by me, but ſurely more full of unſavoury toyle for the time, then any plot of worke that ever I attempted, which I write, not of vanity to commend my diligence , but of neceſſitie to excuſe mine imperfection. For whereas it is well knowne to the learned in this land, how late it was ere I could meet with *Gerald* of Wales, the onely Author that miniſtreth ſome indifferent furniture to this Chronicle , and with what ſearch I have beene driven to piece out the reſt by helpe of forreine Writers (incidently touching this Realme) by a number of briefe extracts of rolles , records and ſcattered papers. Theſe things (I ſay) conſidered , I truſt this little volume ſhall ſeeme great enough in ſuch barren ſhift, & my defect in penning the ſame ſhalbe imputed partly to my haſte , who muſt needes have ended all before I ſhould leave the land, and am now even upon point of my departure. So as to handle and lay theſe things

things together, I had not in all the ſpace of ten weekes. Such as it is, I addreſſe and bequeath it to your good Lordſhip, for two cauſes. Firſt that by the patronage of this Booke you may be induced to weigh the eſtate and become a patron to this noble Realme, which claimeth kindred of your eldeſt aunceſtors, and loveth entirely your noble vertues: The fame whereof is now carried by thoſe ſtrangers that have felt them into many forraine countryes that never ſaw your perſon. Secondly becauſe there is none that knoweth mee familiarly, but he knoweth vvithall how many vvayes I have beene beholding to your Lordſhip. The regard of your deſerts and of my duty hath eaſily wonne at my hands this teſtimony of a thankefull minde. I might be thought ambitious, if I ſhould recount in particular the times & places of your ſeverall curteſies to mee. How often at Oxford, how often at the Court, how at Rycot, how at Windſore, how by letters, hovv by reportes, you have not ceaſed to further with advice and to countenance with authority, the hope and expectation of mee a ſingle Student. Therefore in ſumme it ſhall ſuffice mee to acknowledge the generall heape of your bounties, and for them all to ſerve your honour frankely, at leaſt wiſe with a true heart: Let every man eſteeme in your ſtate and fortune, the thing that beſt contenteth and feedeth his admiration; But ſurely to a judgement ſetled and rectified, theſe outward felicities which the world gazeth on, are there, and therefore to be denied, praiſeable when they lodge thoſe inward qualities of the minde, which (ſaving for ſuſpition of flattery) I was about to ſay are planted in your breaſt. Thirteene yeares to have lived in the eye and ſpeciall credit of a Prince, yet never during all that ſpace to have abuſed this ability to any mans harme, to be enriched with no mans overthrow, to be kindled neither with grudge nor emulation, to benefit an infinite reſort of dayly ſutors, to let downe your calling to the neede of meane ſubjects, to retaine ſo lowly a ſtomacke, ſuch a facility, ſo milde a nature in ſo high a vocation, to undertake the tuition of learning and learned men. Theſe are indeede the kirnels for the which the ſhell of your nobilitie

ſeemeth

ſeemeth faire and ſightly; This is the ſap, for whoſe preſervation the barke of your noble tree is tendered. This is the ſubſtance which maketh you worthy of theſe Ornaments wherevvith you are attyred, and in reſpect of theſe good gifts as I for my part have ever bin deſirous to diſcover an officious and dutifull minde towards your Lordſhip, ſo will I never ceaſe to betake the uttermoſt of my power and ſkill to your ſervice, nor to begge of Almighty God your plentifull increaſe in godlines, wiſedome and proſperity. Fare you well: From Dublin 27. May, 1571.

Your Lordſhips humbly to commaund.

EDMUND CAMPION.

To the loving Reader.

AT my times of leisure from ordinary studies, I have since my first arrivall hither, enquired out an iquitys of the land, wherein being holpen by diverse friendly Gentlemen, I have given th'adventure to frame a Story, which I bring from the very first originall untill th'end of this last yeare 1570. I follow these Authors, Giraldus Cambrensis, who devideth his worke into two parts, from the first (which is stuffed with much impertinent matter) I borrow so much as serveth the turne directly, the second which containeth two bookes, and discourseth the conquest of Henry Fitz Empresse, I abridge into one Chapter: where Cambrensis endeth, there beginneth a nameles Author, who in certaine short notes containeth a Chronologie untill the yeare of Christ 1370. From thence to Henry the Eight, because nothing is extant orderly written, and the same is time beyond any mans memory, I scamble forward with such records as could be sought up, and am enforced to be the briefer. From Henry th'eight hitherto, I tooke instructions by mouth, whatsoever I bring besides these helpes, either mine owne observation hath found it, or some friend hath enformed me, or common opinion hath received it, or I reade it in a pamphlet, or if the Author be worthy the naming I quote him in the margent. Scottish Histories I used these twaine, famous in their times, Iohn Major, and Hector Boethius. For English, wherein the state of Ireland is oft implyed, because I am not in place to examine the auncient, I have credited these late writers, Fabian, Polidore, Cooper, Hall, Grafton, and Stowe: diligent and thankesworthy collectors. Touching the rest of all sorts, from whose bookes I picke matter to my purpose, they are mentioned as they fall in ure,

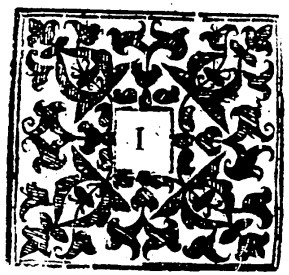
ure, which here I list not to reckon, being loath to fill the page with a ranke of empty names. Irish Chronicles, although they be reported to be full fraught of leude examples, idle tales, and genealogies: Et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historiâ, yet concerning the state of that wilde people specified before the conquest. I am perswaded that with choice and judgment, I might have sucked thence some better store of matter, and gladly would have sought them, had I found an interpreter, or understood their tongue. th'one so rare, that scarcely five in five hundred can skill thereof, th'other so hard, that it asketh continuance in the Land, of more yeares then I had moneths to spare about this busines, my speciall meaning was to gather so much as I thought the civill subjects could bee content to reade, and withall to give a light to the learned Antiquaries of this Countrey birth, who may hereafter at good leisure supply the want of this foundation, and polliſh the stone rough hewed to their hand. Not withstanding as naked and simple as it is, it could never have growne to any proportion in such post-haste, except I had entred into such familiar societie, and daylie table-talke with the worshipfull Esquire Iames Stanihurst, Recorder of Dublin. Who beside all curtesie of Hospitality, and a thousand loving turnes not heere to be recited, both by word and written monuments, and by the benefit of his owne Library, nourished most effectually mine endeavour. It remaineth that I request my Countrymen to bend their good liking to my good will, and the English of Ireland to favour the memory of their noble aunceſtors, both twaine to deliver me from all undue and wrong suspitions, howsoever the priviledge of an history hath tempered mine inke with sweet or sowre ingredients. Verily as touching the affaires and persons heere deciphered, how little cause I have with any blind and corrupt affection, either wayes to be miscarryed, themselves know best that heere be noted yet living, and other by enquiring may conjecture. Farewell. From Droghedah the 9. of Iune. 1571.

CAMPIONS HISTORIE OF IRELAND.

The First Booke.

CAP. I.

The Site and ſpeciall parts of Ireland.



IRELAND lieth a-looſe in the Weſt Ocean, and is deemed by the later Survey, to be in length well-nigh three hundred miles north & ſouth: broad from Eaſt to Weſt one hundred and twentie. In proportion it reſembleth an egge, blunt and plaine on the ſides, not reaching forth to Sea, in nookes and elbowes of Land, as Brittaine doth.

This Booke includeth the firſt part of Cambrenſis, devided by him into 5, diſtinctions. Which was delivered me, by Iames Stanihurſt.

Long ſince it was devided into foure regions, Leinſter Eaſt, Connaght Weſt, Vlſter North, Mounſter South, and into a fift plot defalked from every fourth part, lying together in the heart of the Realme, called thereof Media, Meath.

Lagenia.
Conatia.
Hultonia.
Momonia.
Media.

Each of theſe five (where they are framable to civility, and anſwere the writts of the Crowne,) be ſundred into ſhires and counties, after this manner.

Leinſter. In Leinſter lye the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weixford, Catherlagh, Kilkenny, King & Queenes coũties, theſe two lately ſo named by Parliament in the raignes of *Philip* and *Mary*, having Shire-townes accordant, Philipſtown and Marryborrow.

An. Philip & Mar. 3°. & 4°.

Iriſh families taken out of S. Henry Sidneys collections. Septes, Iriſh of name planted in theſe quarters, they reckon, the *Birnes*, *Tooles*, *Cauanaghes*, which is the nation of *Macmurrow*, *Omores*, *Oconnores*, *Odempſyes*, *Odun*.

Dublinum. Citties of beſt account, Dyvelin: the beauty and eye of Ireland, faſt by a goodly river which *Cambrenſis* calleth Avenlifius. *Ptolomy* Libnius, they call the Lyffie. The ſeat hereof is in many reſpects comfortable, but leſſe frequented of marchant ſtrangers, becauſe of the bard haven. Kildare hath Kildare and the Naaſs. Weixford hath Weixford and Roſſ. Kilkenny hath Kilkenny the beſt dry towne in

Lib. fl. Ireland on the Southſide of the river Suirus, alſo Callan and Thomaſtowne.

Suir fl.

Meath. Meath is devided into Eaſt and Weſt Meath, and the counties of Longford. Here dwelleth ancient Iriſh families

Iriſh families. (ſometime Princes & Potentates) *Omalaghlen*, *Mac-Coghlan*, *Obrien*, *Omulloy*, *Omadden*, *Macgoghigan*, the Fox. This whole part, and the veyne of Finegale in Leinſter, are beſt imployed with huſbandry, and taken to be the richeſt ſoyles in Ireland.

Connaght. Galvia. Connaght hath as yet but the county Clare, the town of Athenry: & Galway, a proper neat city at the ſea ſide. Herein *Turlogh More Oconner* was a peere, & parted the whole betwixt his two Sonnes, *Cahal*, and *Bryen Oconnor*. In it

Iriſh fam. Ororicke. are now cheife Iriſh, *Breni Oreli*, *Breni Oruarke*, *Oconnor Sligo*, *Odoude*, *Ohara*, *Macphilippin*, *Mac-dermot*, *Oconnordonn*, *Oconnor-Roe*, the *O-kellies*, *Macglomore*, of Langues, L. *Bermingham*, *Omaly*, *Mac-william Euter*, *Oflaherty*, *Clanricarde*.

Vlſter, Vlſter wherin *Oneale* & *Odonil* are cheife Iriſh, contayneth the coũties, Louth, Down, Antrim, one moity of Droghdah (for

(for the reſt is in Meath) cheife town of Louth Dundalk, of Down, Down, & Carlingford, of Droghdagh, Droghdaghe, of Antrim, Cnockfergus called alſo Cragfergus.

Boyn. fl. Lacus ſolius. This part is diſſevered from Meath and Leinſter by the river Boandus, which breaketh out beſide Logh-foyle, a bogg betweene Ardmagh, and S. *Patrickes* Purgatorie. *Cambrenſis* reputeth the bogge at 30. miles in length, and halfe ſo much in breadth, and the ſame once firme Land, to have beene ſuddenly ouerflowen, for the beſtiall inceſt committed there, unfit to be told.

Diſt. 1.

Mounſter. In Mounſter lye the counties of Waterford, Limericke, Cork, counties Pallatine of Tipperary, Kerry, and exempt from priviledge the Croſſe of Tipperarie.

Waterford hath Dongarvon, and Waterford full of traffique with England, France, and Spaine, by meanes of their excellent good Haven.

Limericke hath Kilmallocke lately ſacke by *Iames Fitz Morice*, and the Citie Limiricum, coaſting on the ſea, hard upon the river Shannon, whereby are moſt notably ſeve-

Shanon, fl. red Mounſter and Connaght.

Corke hath Kinſale, Yowghall, and the Cittie Corke, Tipperary hath Tipperary, Clonmell, Fidderſtown, Caſſell. Mounſter was of old time devided into Eaſt-Mounſter, Ormond, Weſt-Mounſter, Deſmond, South-Monſter, Thomond. Here dwell *Obrenes*, *Macnemarraes*, *Mack-mahownes*, and one ſept of the *Offlherties*.

Iriſh families.

In theſe quarters lyeth the Countryes of *O-Carroll*, *O-Magher*, the white Knight, *Mac-Ibrine*, *O-Gaunaghe*.

Waterford contayneth the Powers, and Deces.

Corke the *Barries* Lands, Imokillie, Carbarrie,

Maccarty-more, Maccarty-reagh, L. *Roches* lands, Oſulivan, Muſcry, L. *Courcy*, and diverſe more, ſome of Iriſh blood, ſome degenerate and become Iriſh.

Limericke hath in it the Knight of the valley, *VVilliam Burcke*, Mac-Ibrine Ara, part of the white Knights Lands, *Coſmay*, *Obrenes*, and upon the edge of Kerrie the greene knight, *alias* the knight of Kerrie.

Leinſter butteth upon England, Mounſter and Connaght upon France and Spaine, Vlſter upon the Scottiſh Ilands (which face with *Hebrides*) ſcattered between both realmes; wherein at this day, the Iriſh Scot Succeſſour of the old Scythian Pict or Redſhancke dwelleth.

Biſhops in Ireland. Bern. in vita Malach. An. 1148.

The ſpirituall Iuriſdiction is ordered into 4. Provinces whereof the primacy was euer given (in reverence toward Saint *Patricke* their Apoſtle) to the Archbiſhoppe of Ardmagha, now called Ardmagh, which cuſtome was ſince confirmed by *Eugenius* the 3. who ſent withall 3. other prelates to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Caſhell, & the laſt at Tuam. To theſe are ſuffraganes in right 29. and all they inferiour to the Primate of Ardmaghe: under his province are the Biſhopprickes of Meath, Derry, Ardagh, Kilmore, Clogher, Downe, Coner, Clonmacknoes, Rapho, and Dromore.

Province of Ardmagh.

Dublin. an. 1212. S. Pat. booke of Recordes.

Vnder Dublin (whereunto *Innocentius* 3. united Glandelagh) are the Biſhop of Elphine, Kildare, Fernes, Oſſorie and Laighlein.

Caſhell.

Vnder Caſhell are B. of Waterford, Lyſmore, Corke, & Clone, Roſſe, Ardigh, Limericke, Emely, Killalo, Ardferte.

Tuam.

Vnder Tuam the B. of Kilmaco, Olfine, Anaghdoune, Clonfert, Mayo. In this recount ſome diverſities have happened by reaſon of perſonall and reall union of the Seas and for other alterations.

Engliſh pa'e.

An old diſtinctiō there is of Ireland into Iriſh & Engliſh pales, for whē the Iriſh had raiſed cōtinual tumults againſt the

the Engliſh planted heere with the Conqueſt. At laſt they courſed them into a narrow circuite of certaine ſhires in Leinſter, which the Engliſh did chooſe as the fatteſt ſoyle, moſt defenſible, their proper right, and moſt open to receive helpe from England. Hereupon it was termed their pale, as whereout they durſt not peepe. But now both within this pale, uncivill Iriſh and ſome rebells doe dwell, and without it, Countreyes and cities Engliſh are well governed.

CAP. II.

The temporall Nobility.

BY conference with certaine gentlemen, attendants upon Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputie, (who excelleth in that knowledge) I tooke notice of the moſt noble Engliſh families in Ireland, which heere enſue with their ſurnames as they ſtand at this preſent.

Gerald Fitz Gerald Earle of Kildare, this houſe was of the nobilitie of Florence, came thence to Normandie, and ſo with earle Strangbow his kinſman, (whoſe Armes hee giveth) into Wales, neere of bloud to *Rice ap Griffin* Prince of Wales, by *Veſta* the mother of *Morice Fitz Gerald*, and *Robert Fitz Stephens*: with the ſaid Earle it removed into Ireland, one of the ſpeciall conquerors thereof. One record that I have ſeene, nameth a *Geraldine* the firſt Earle of Kildare, in anno 1289. But another ſaith, there dyed a *Geraldine* the fourth Earle of Kildare in anno 1316. the family is touched in the ſonnet of Surrey, made upon Kildares ſiſter, now Lady Clinton. Flatsbury.

From Tuſcane came my Ladyes worthy race,
Faire Florence was ſometime her ancient ſeate,
The weſterne Iſle whoſe pleaſant ſhore doth face,
Wilde Cambres cliffes did give her lively heate.

His eldeſt ſonne Lord *Gerald*, Baron of Ophalye, I reade the *Geraldine* Lord of Ophalye, in anno 1270.

Sir *Thomas Butler*, Earle of Ormond and Oſſorye: the *Butlers* were ancient Engliſh Gentlemen, preferred to the Earledome of Ormond in the firſt of *Edward* the 3. Anno 1327. which fell upon heires generall, laſtly upon Sir *Thomas Butler* Earle of Wilſhire, after whoſe diſſavour it reverſed to the name of *Pierce Butler*, whom little before King H.8. had created Earle of Oſſorye. *Theo. Butler* was Lord of the Carricke. An. 1205. And Earle of Tipperarie 1300. or ſooner: the Latine Hiſtory calleth him *Dominum de Pincerna*, the Engliſh *Le Bottiller*, whereby it appeareth that hee had ſome ſuch honour about the Prince, his very ſurname is *Becket*, who was advanced by H. le 2. in recompence of the injurie done to *Thomas* of Canterburie their kinſman.

Stowe.

Flatsbury.

His eldeſt ſonne Lord *Butler*, Viſcount Thurles.

Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earle of Deſmond, *Morice Fitz Thomas* a Geraldine, was created Earle of Deſmond the ſame yeare: ſoone after that the Butler became Earle of Ormond. The Iriſh ſay, that the elder houſe of the *Geraldines* was made Earle of Deſmond, though *Kildare* be the more ancient Earle.

His eldeſt ſonne *L. Fitz Gerald* of Deſmond, Baron of Inſhycoin.

Sir Richard Burcke, Earle of Clanriccard, a braunch of the Engliſh family, *de Burge* Lord *Burgh*, who were noble men before their arrivall into Ireland.

His eldeſt ſonne *Vlioke Burghe* Baron of Donkeline.

Conegher Obrene, Earle of Tumond: the name of Earle given to *Murroughe Obrene* for terme of life, and after to *Donoghe Obrene*, An. 5. *Edw.* 6. now confirmed to the heires male.

His eldeſt ſonne *Lo. Obrene*, Baron of Ibrecane.

Mac Cartimore, Earle of Clancar, created An. 1565.

His eldeſt ſonne Lo: Baron of *Valentia*.

Viſcount *Barrie*.

Viſcount

Viſcount *Roche*.

Preſton, Viſcount of Gormanſton, whereunto is lately annexed the Barony of Lounders, their auncеſtour *Preſton*, then cheiſe Baron of the Exchequer, was made Knight in the field by *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of Ireland.

Euſtace alias *Powere*, Viſcount of Baltinglaſſe, Lord of Kilkullen, to him and his heires male An. H. 8. 33. Their anceſtour *Robert le Powere* was ſent into Ireland with commiſsion, and in his Off-ſpring hath reſted heere ſince An. 1175. *Powere* alias *Euſtace* is written Baron of Domvile An. 1317.

Sir *Richard Butler*, Viſcount Mongaret, to him and his heires males An. Edw. 6. 5.

Viſcount *Deces*.

Lord *Bermingham*, Baron of Athenrye, now degenerate and become meere Iriſh, againſt whom his auncеſtors ſerved valiantly in An. 1300.

Sir *Richard Bermingham* was Lord of Athenrye. 1316.

John Bermingham Baron de Atrio dei, Anno 1318.

Baron of Anry.
Baron of Ardigh.

Mac Morice alias *Fitz Gerald*, Baron of Kerye.

Lord *Courcye* a poore man, not very Iriſh, the auncient deſcent of the *Courcyes* planted in Ireland with the Conqueſt.

Lord *Flemmynge* Baron of Slane, *Simon Flemmynge* was Baron of Slane in Anno 1370.

Plonket, Baron of Killyne: this family came in with the Danes, whereof they have as yet ſpeciall monuments.

Nugent, Baron of Delvin.

Saint Laurence, Baron of Hothe.

Plonket, Baron of Dooneſawny.

Barnewall, Baron of Trimleſton: they came from little Brittaine, where they are at this day a great ſurname, upon their firſt arrivall they wonne great poſſeſsions at Beirnhaven, where at length by conſpiracie of the Iriſh, they were all ſlaine, except one yong man, who then ſtudied the com-

mon

mon Lawes in England, who returning, dwelt at Dromnaghe beſides Divelin, and his heires are there at this day: from thence a ſecond brother remooved to Sireſtone, and ſo to Trimleſtone, and married the Lady Bruns, who cauſed him to be made Baron.

This writeth the Lord of Donſany.

Edward Butler, Baron of Donboyne, given to *Edmund Butler* eſquire, and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8.

Fitz Patricke, Baron of upper Oſſory, given to *Barnabie Mac Gilpatricke*, and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8.

Donnate clonnaghe Mac Gilpatricke, was a peereleſſe warriour in Anno 1219.

Plonket Baron of Louthe, to Sir *chriſtopher Plonket* and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8. This Barony was an Earledome in An. 1316. appertaining to *Bermingham*.

Oneale, Baron of Dongannon, to whom the Earledome of Terone was entayled by gift of H. 8.

Powere, Baron of Curraghmore.

Mac Suretan Lord Deſeret, whom Sir *Henry Sidney* called *Iordan de Exeter*. This was Lord in the time of *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, An. 1361. now very wilde Iriſh.

Murroghe Obrene, Baron of Inſickeyne, to him and his heires males, An. 35. H. 8.

Mac coſtilaghe, L. Nangle, whom Sir *Henry Sidney* called *de Angulo*, now very Iriſh.

Mac William Burcke, Lord of eighter Connaght, now very Iriſh.

Baronets.

Seintleger, Baronet of Slemarge, meere Iriſh.
Den, Baronet of Por man ſton, waxing Iriſh.
Fitz Gerald, Baronet of Burnehurch.
Weil-ſlye, Baronet of Narraghe.
Huſee, Baronet of Galtrim.
S. *Michell*, Baronet of Reban.
Marwarde, Baronet of Scryne.
Nangle, Baronet of the Navan.

Engliſh

Engliſh gentlemen of longeſt continuance in Ireland are the race of thoſe which at this day, either in great povertie, or perill, doe keepe the properties of their auncеſtors lands in Vlſter, being then companions to *Courcy* the conquerour and Earle of that part. Theſe are the *Savages*, *Iordanes*, *Fitz Symonds*, *Chamberlaines*, *Ruſſels*, *Benſons*, *Audleyes*, *Whites*, *Fitz Urſulyes*, now degenerate, & called in Iriſh, *Mac Mahon* the Beares ſonne.

Gentlemen moſt ancient in Ireland of Engliſh bloud.

CAP. III.

Nature of the ſoyle, and other incidents.

THe ſoyle is low and wateriſh, & includeth diverſe little Ilands, invironed with bogges and mariſhes: Higheſt hilles have ſtanding pooles in their toppe, Inhabitants (eſpecially new come) are ſubiect to diſtillations, rhumes and flixes, for remedy whereof they uſe an ordinary drinke of Aquavitæ, ſo qualified in the making, that it dryeth more, and inflameth leſſe, then other hote confections. The aire is wholſome, not altogether ſo cleare and ſubtle as ours of England. Of Bees good ſtore, no vineyards, contrary to the opinion of ſome writers, who both in this and other errours touching the land, may eaſily be excuſed, as thoſe that wrote of heareſay.

Aquavitæ.

Camb. part. 1.
Io. Bohem. lib. 3. c. 26.
Munſt. lib. 1.

Cambrenſis in his time, complaineth that Ireland had exceſſe of wood, and very little champaigne ground, but now the Engliſh pale is too naked: Turffe and Sea-coales is their moſt fuell: it is ſtored of kyne, of excellent horſes, & hawkes, of fiſh and fowle. They are not without wolves, and grey-hounds to hunt them, bigger of bone and limme then a colt. Their kyne, as alſo their cattle, and commonly what els ſoever the Countrey ingendreth (except man) is much leſſe in quantity then ours of England. Sheepe few, and thoſe bearing courſe fleeces, whereof they ſpinne notable

Diſt. 3.

lib. 12. 32.

Barnacles.

table rugge mantle . The country is very fruitefull both of corne and graſſe , the graſſe for default of Husbandrie (not for the cauſe alleaged in *Polychronicon*,) groweth ſo ranke in the north parts , that oft times it rotteth their Kyne. Eagles are well knowne to breed heere, but neither ſo bigge nor ſo many as Bookes tell. *Cambrenſis* reporteth of his owne knowledge , and I heare it averred by credible perſons, that Barnacles, thouſands at once, are noted along the ſhoares to hang by the beakes , about the edges of putrified timber, ſhippes, oares, anchor-holdes, and ſuch like: which in proceſſe taking lively heare of the Sunne, become water-foules, and at their time of ripeneſſe either fall into the ſea, or fly abroad into the ayre. *Æneas Sylvius* (that after was Pope *Pius* the ſecond) writeth himſelfe, to have perceaved the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof, to be found in the Ilands Orchades. Horſes they have of pace eaſie, in running wonderfull ſwift. Therefore they make of them great ſtore, as wherein at times of need they repoſe a great peice of ſafetie. This broode, *Raphael Volateranus* ſaith, to have come at firſt from Arturia the country of Spaine, betweene Gallicea and Portugall, whereof they were called Aſturçones a name now properly applyed to the Spaniſh Iennet.

Anſeres arborei

Volat. lib. 3. de gege.

I heard it verified by Honourable to Honourable, that a Nobleman (offered and was refuſed) for one ſuch horſe, an hundred kyne, five pound Lands, & an Airy of Hawks yearely during ſeven yeares. In the plaine of Kildare ſtood that monſtrous heape of ſtones brought thither by Gyants from Affrique and removed thence to the plaine of Sarilbury at the inſtance of *Aurel. Ambroſe* King of Brittaine. No venemous creping beaſt is brought forth or nouriſhed, or can live here, being ſent in, and therefore the ſpider of Ireland is well knowne, not to be venemous.

Camb. dil. 1.

lib. 1. Anglor. hiſt. cap. 1.

Onely becauſe a frogge was found living, in the Meadowes of Waterford, ſomewhat before the conqueſt, they conſtrued it to import their overthrowe. S. *Bede* writeth that

that Serpents conveyed hither did preſently die being touched with ſmell of the land; and that whatſoever came hence was then of Soveraigne vertue againſt poyſon. He exemplifieth in certaine men ſtung with Adders , who dranke in water the ſcrapings of Bookes that had beene of Ireland, and were cured.

Generally it is obſerved, the further Weſt the leſſe annoyance of peſtilent creatures . The want whereof is to Ireland ſo peculiar, that whereas it lay long in queſtion, to whether Realme, (Brittaine or Ireland) the Ile of Man ſhould pertaine, the ſaid controverſie was decided, that forſomuch as venemous beaſts were knowne to breed therein , it could not be counted a naturall peice of Ireland.

Ile of Man.

Neither is this propertie to be aſcribed to S. *Patrickes* bleſſing (as they commonly hold) but to the originall bleſſing of God who gave ſuch nature to the ſituation and ſoyle from the beginning . And though I doubt not, but it fared the better in many reſpects for that holy mans prayer, yet had it this condition notified hundred of yeares ere he was borne.

CAP. IIII.

Of the Iriſh tongue and the name Hibernia, Ireland.

I Finde it ſolemnely avouched in ſome of their pamphlets, that *Gathelus*, and after him *Simon Brecke*, diviſed their language out of all other tongues then extant in the world. But conſidering the courſe of enterchanging and blending ſpeeches together, not by invention of Arte, but by uſe of talke, I am rather led to beleeve (ſeeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the deviſion of the tongues) that *Baſtolenus* a braunch of *Iapheth* who firſt ſeaſed upon Ireland,

Gathelus. Simon Brecke.

land, brought hither the ſame kinde of Speech; ſome one of the ſeventie two Languages, that to his family befell at the diſſolution of Babell, unto whom ſucceeded the Scithians, Grecians, Ægyptians, Spaniards, Danes: of all which this tongue muſt needes have borrowed part, but ſpecially retaining the ſteps of Spaniſh then ſpoken in Granado, as from their mightieſt aunceſtors. Since then to *Henry Fitz Empreſſe* the Conquerour, no ſuch invaſion happened them, as whereby they might be driven to infect their native language, untouched in manner for the ſpace of 1700. yeares after the arrivall of *Hiberius*. The tongue is ſharpe and ſententious, offereth great occaſion to quicke apothegmes and proper alluſions, wherefore their common Ieſters, Bards, and Rymers, are ſaid to delight paſſingly thoſe that conceive the grace and propriety of the tongue. But the true Iriſh indeede differeth ſomuch from that they commonly ſpeake, that ſcarce one among five ſcore, can either write, read, or underſtand it. Therefore it is preſcribed among certaine their Poets, and other Students of Antiquitie.

Eſiph. cont. hereſ. l. 1. tom. 1.

Munſt. l. 2.

Iriſh tongue.

Touching the name *Ibernia*, the learned are not yet agreed. Some write it *Hibernia*, and ſuppoſe that the ſtrangers finding it in an odde end of the world, wet and froſty, tooke it at the firſt for a very cold country, and accordingly named it, as to ſay, the winter land: Another bringeth a gueſſe of Irlamal, of whom becauſe I read nothing, I neither build upon that conjecture, nor controll it. Thirdly, they fetch it from *Hiberus* the Spaniard. Moſt credibly it is held that the Spaniards their founders for devotion toward Spaine, called then Iberia, and the rather for that themſelves had dwelled beſides the famous river Iberus, named this land Iberia, (for ſo *Iohn Leland*, and many forraine Chroniclers write it,) or Ibernia, adding the letter n. for difference ſake, there being a rich Citty which *Ptolome* recounteth called then Ibernis, & from Ibernia proceedeth Iberland or Iuerland, from Iuerland by contraction Ireland,

Hibernia.

Irlamale Fab. part. 2. cap. 32.

Hiberus.

in Cign. cant.

Pliny writeth it Iuuernia. Ibernis. Iuerland. Ireland.

land for ſo much as in corruption of common talke, wee finde that v, with his vowell, are eaſily loſt and ſuppreſſed. So wee ſay ere for ever, ore for over, ene for even, nere for never, ſhoole for ſhovell, dile for divell. At the ſame time it was alſo named *Scotia* in reverence of *Scota*, the wife of *Gathelus*, auncient Capitaine of thoſe Iberians, that flitted from Spaine into Ireland. And the ſaid *Scota* was olde grandame to *Hiberus* and *Hirimon*, after the Scottiſh Chronicles, who in any wiſe will have their Countrymen derived from the Iriſh, and not from the Brittaines.

Io. Ma. Sco. l. 1. c. 9.

CAP. V.

Diſpoſitions of the People.

THE People are thus inclined; religious, franke, amorous, irefull, ſufferable, of paines infinite, very glorious, many ſorcerers, excellent horſemen, delighted with Warres, great almes-givers, paſſing in hoſpitalitie: the lewder ſort both Clarkes and Lay-men, are ſenſuall and looſe to leachery above meaſure. The ſame being vertuouſly bred up or reformed, are ſuch mirrours of holineſſe and auſteritie, that other Nations retaine but a ſhewe or ſhadow of devotion in compariſon of them. As for abſtinence and faſting which theſe dayes make ſo dangerous, this is to them a familiar kinde of chaſtiſement: In which vertue and diverſe other, how farre the beſt excell, ſo farre in gluttonie and other hatefull crimes the vitious they are worſe then too badde. They follow the dead corpes to the grave with howlings and barbarous out-cryes, pittyfull in apparance, whereof

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grew (as I ſuppoſe) the Proverbe , to weepe Iriſh. The uplandiſh are lightly abuſed to believe and avouche idle miracles and revelations vaine and childiſh , greedy of prayſe they bee , and fearefull of diſhonour. And to this end they eſteeme their Poets who write Iriſh learnedly, and penne their ſonnetts heroicall , for the which they are bountifully rewarded. But if they ſend out libells in diſprayſe , thereof the Gentlemen , eſpecially the meere Iriſh, ſtand in great awe. They love tenderly their foſter children , and bequeathe to them a childes portion , whereby they nouriſh ſure friendſhippe , ſo beneficiall every way , that commonly five hundreth kyne and better are given in reward to winne a noble mans childe to foſter. They are ſharpe-witted , lovers of learning , capable of any ſtudie whereunto they bend themſelves , conſtant in travaile, adventerous , intractable , kinde-hearted , ſecret in diſpleaſure.

Hitherto the Iriſh of both ſortes meere , and Engliſh , are affected much indifferently , ſaving that in theſe, by good order , and breaking the ſame , vertues are farre more pregnant. In thoſe others , by licentious and evill cuſtome , the ſame faults are more extreame and odious, I ſay , by licentious and evill cuſtome , for that there is daylie tryall of good natures among them. How ſoone they bee reclaymed , and to what rare gifts of grace and wiſedome , they doe and have aſpired. Againe , the very Engliſh of birth , converſant with the brutiſh ſort of that people, become degenerate in ſhort ſpace , and are quite altered into the worſt ranke of Iriſh Rogues , ſuch a force hath education to make or marre. It is further to bee knowne , that the ſimple Iriſh are utterly another people then our Engliſhe in Ireland , whome they call deſpitefully *boddai Saſſoni's* , and *boddai Ghalt* , that is, Engliſh and Saxon churles , becauſe of their Engliſh auncеſtors planted heere with the Conqueſt, and ſithence with deſcent hath laſted now 400. yeares. Of this people

people therefore ſeverally by themſelves I muſt intreate. Yet none otherwiſe then as they ſtand unfiled, and ſerve their accuſtomed humours, with whom I joyne all ſuch as either by living neere them, or by liking their trade are tranſformed into them.

CAP. VI.

Of the meere Iriſh.

TOuching the meere Iriſh , I am to advertiſe my Reader, that hee impute not to them the faults of their Auncеſtors, which heere I have noted for two cauſes. Firſt, that when the ſame are reade in *Cambrenſis* , *Solinus*, or others, he confounds not the times, but may be able diſtinctly to conſider their manners, then different from theſe dayes. Secondly, that it may appeare how much Ireland is beholding to God for ſuffering them to be conquered , whereby many of theſe enormities were cured, and more might be, would themſelves be plyable.

In ſome corners of the land they uſed a damnable ſuperſtition, leaving the right armes of their Infants males unchriſtened (as they tearmed it) to the intent it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow. Old cuſtomes of the Iriſh.

I found a fragment of an Epiſtle, wherein a vertuous Monke declareth, that to him (travailing in Vlſter) came a grave Gentleman about Eaſter, deſirous to be confeſſed and howſeled, who in all his life time had never yet received the bleſſed Sacrament. When he had ſaid his minde , the Prieſt demaunded him, whether he were faultleſſe in the ſinne of Homicide? Hee anſwered , that hee never wiſt the matter to bee haynous before , but being inſtructed thereof , hee confeſſed the murther of five , the reſt hee Epiſtle of an Iriſh Monke.

left wounded, ſo as he knew not whether they lived or no. Then was he taught that both the one, and the other were execrable, and verie meekelie humbled himſelfe to repentance.

Solinus writeth that they woonted (becauſe they would ſeeme Terrible and Martiall,) to embrue their faces in the bloude of their Enemyes ſlaine. *Strabo* the famous Geographer, who flouriſhed under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius Cæſar*, more then fifteene hundred yeares agoe, telleth (without aſſeveration) that the Iriſh were great Gluttons, eaters of mans fleſh: and counted it Honourable for Parents deceaſed, to bee eaten up of their Children, and that in open ſight they medled with their Wiues, Mothers, and Daughters: which is the leſſe incredible, conſidering what Saint *Hierome* avoucheth of the Scots their Of-ſpring and Allies, and what all Hiſtories doe witneſſe of the Scithians their auncient founders. See *Strabo lib. 4. Geograph.*

Although ſince the time of Saint *Patricke*, Chriſtianitie was never extinct in Ireland, yet the governement being hayled into contrarie factions, the Nobilitie lawleſſe, the multitude willfull, it came to paſſe that Religion waxed with the temporall common ſort cold and feeble, untill the Conqueſt did ſettle it, eſpeciallie in caſes of reſtrainte and Diſcipline. The Honourable ſtate of Marriage they much abuſed, either in contracts, unlawfull meetings, the Leviticall and Canonicall degrees of prohibition, or in divorcementes at pleaſure, or in ommitting Sacramentall ſolemnities, or in retayning either Concubines or Harlots for Wiues. Yea even at this day, where the Cleargie is fainte, they can bee content to Marrie for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeares end, to returne her home uppon any light quarrells, if the Gentlewomans friendes bee weake and unable to avenge the injurie.

rie. Never heard I of ſo many diſpenſarions for Marriage, as thoſe men ſhewe, I pray God graunt they bee all authentique and buylded uppon ſufficient warrant.

Covenant and Indent with them never ſo warilie, never ſo preciſelie, yet they have beene founde faithleſſe and perjured. Where they are joyned in colour of ſureſt Amitie, there they intended to kill. This ceremonie reporteth *Cambrenſis*. The parties to bee coupled in League, meete at Church, become God-ſeptes, or Allies, beare each other on his backe certaine paces in a Ring, kiſſe together holy reliquees, take bleſſing of the Biſhoppe, offer each to other a droppe of his owne bloude, and drinke it up betweene them: Even in the doing hereof, they practiſe mutuall deſtruction.

They have beene uſed in ſolemne controverſies, to proteſt and ſweare by Saint *Patrickes* Staffe, called *Bachal eſu*, which oath, becauſe upon breach thereof heavy plagues enſued them, they feared more to breake, then if they had ſworne by the holy Evangeliſt.

In Vlſter thus they uſed to Crowne their King, a white cow was brought forth, which the King muſt kill, and ſeeth in water whole, and bathe himſelfe therein ſtarke naked, then ſitting in the ſame Caldron, his people about him, together with them, he muſt eat the fleſh, and drinke the broath, wherein he ſitteth, without cuppe or diſh or uſe of his hand. So much of their old Cuſtomes. Now a few words of their trade at this preſent.

Cleare men they are of Skinne and hue, but of themſelves careleſſe and beſtiall. Their Women are well fauoured, cleare coloured, faire handed, bigge and large, ſuffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body.

Their infants of the meaner ſort, are neither ſwadled, nor lapped in Linnen, but foulded up ſtarke naked into a Blankett till they can goe, and then if they

get

get a piece of rugge to cover them, they are well ſped. Linnen ſhirts the rich doe weare for wantonnes and bravery, with wide hanging ſleeves playted, thirtie yards are little enough for one of them. They have now left their Saffron, and learne to waſh their ſhirts, foure or five times in a yeare. Proud they are of long criſped glibbes, and doe nouriſh the ſame with all their cunning: to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable peece of villany. Shamrotes, Water-creſſes, Rootes, and other herbes they feede upon: Oatemale and Butter they cramme together. They drinke Whey, Milke, and Beefe broth, Fleſh they devoure without bread, corne ſuch as they have they keepe for their horſes. In haſte and hunger they ſqueſe out the blood of raw fleſh, and aſke no more dreſſing thereto, the reſt boyleth in their ſtomackes with Aquavitæ, which they ſwill in after ſuch a ſurfeite, by quarts & pottles. Their kyne they let blood which growen to a jelly they bake and over-ſpread with Butter, and ſo eate it in lumpes.

One office in the houſe of great men is a tale-teller, who bringeth his Lord on ſleepe, with tales vaine and frivolous, whereunto the number give ſooth and credence. So light they are in beleeving whatſoever is with any countenance of gravitie affirmed by their Superiours, whom they eſteeme and honour, that a lewd Prelate within theſe few yeares needy of money, was able to perſwade his pariſh: That S. *Patricke* in ſtriving with S. *Peter* to let an Iriſh Galloglaſs into Heaven, had his head broken with the keyes, for whoſe releiſe he obtained a Collation.

Without either precepts or obſervation of congruity they ſpeake Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common Schooles of Leach-craft and Law, whereat they begin Children, and hold on ſixteene or twentie yeares conning by roate the Aphoriſmes of *Hypocrates*, and the Civill Inſtitutions, and a few other parings of thoſe two faculties. I have ſeene them where they kept Schoole, ten in ſome one Chamber, groveling upon couches of ſtraw, their Bookes at their noſes, themſelves lying flatte proſtate, and ſo to chaunte out their leſſons by peece-meale, being the moſt part luſtie fellowes

lowes of twenty five yeares and upwards.

Other Lawyers they have, liable to certaine families which after the cuſtome of the country determine and judge cauſes. Theſe conſider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or fellony, or treſpaſſe, all is redeemed by compoſition, (except the grudge of parties ſeeke revenge:) and the time they have to ſpare from ſpoyling and proyning, they lightly beſtow in parling about ſuch matters. The Breighoon (ſo they call this kind of Lawyer) ſitteth him downe on a banke, the Lords and Gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceede.

They honour devoute Fryars and Pilgrimes, ſuffer them to paſſe quietly, ſpare them and their manſions, whatſoever outrage they ſhew to the country beſides them. To robbe and prey their enemies, they deeme it none offence, nor ſeeke any meanes to recover their loſſe, but even to watch them the like turne. But if neighbours and friends ſend their Cators to purloyne one another, ſuch Actions are judged by the Breighoones aforeſaid.

Toward the living they are noyſome and malicious; the ſame being dead they labour to avenge eagerly and fiercely. They love and truſt their Foſter Brethren more then their owne. *Turlogh Leinagh Oneale* that now uſurpeth, is ſaid to repoſe in them his greateſt ſurety.

Strumpets are there too vile and abominable to write of, which not onely without feare, but alſo without remorſe doe advance themſelves in numbring what noblemen have had liking to their bodies. Hee that can bring moſt of his name into the field, baſe or other, triumpheth exceedingly. For increaſe of which name, they allow themſelves not onely whoores, but alſo choiſe & ſtore of whoores. One I heard named which hath (as he calleth them) more then ten wiues, in twentie places.

There is among them a brother-hood of Carrowes that profeſſe to play at Cards all the yeare long, and make it their onely occupation. They play away Mantle and all to the bare ſkinne, and then truſſe themſelves in ſtrawe or in leaves,

they

they waite for paſſengers in the high way, invite them to a game upon the greene, and aſke no more but companions to hold them ſport, for default of other ſtuffe they pawne portions of their glibbe, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their privie members; which they loſe or redeeme at the curteſie of the winner.

Where they fancie and favour, they are wonderfull kinde, they exchange by commutation of wares for the moſt part, and have utterly no coyne ſtirring in any great Lords houſes. Some of them be richly plated: their Ladies are trimmed rather with maſſie Iewels, then with gariſh apparell, it is counted a beautie in them to be tall, round and fat.

The inheritance deſcendeth not to the Sonne, but to the Brother, Nephew, or Couſin germaine eldeſt and moſt valiant: for the Childe being oftentimes left in nonage or otherwiſe young and unſkillfull, were never able to defend his patrimonie, being his no longer then he can hold it by force of armes. But by that time he grow to a competent age, and have buryed an Vncle or two, he alſo taketh his turne, and leaveth it in like order to his Poſterity. This cuſtome breedeth among them continuall Warres and treaſons.

CAP. VII.

The moſt auncient Inhabitants of Ireland.

In præfat. l. 1. dec. 1.

THe honourable Hiſtorian *Titus Livius*, yeeldeth certaine priviledge to antiquitie, and will have it held excuſed, if percaſe for advancement of their Cities, they ſtraine a point of truth, and derive a firſt foundation from one or other, of their ſuppoſed Gods: wherefore though I can no leſſe doe then reject a fable concerning the arrivall of *Noes* Neece into this Iſland, yet this kinde of forgery being ſomewhat univerſall, ſeeing every Chronicler paineth himſelfe, to fetch his reckoning with the fartheſt let him hardly be pardoned, who led by relation of his elders, committed firſt to writing ſo dull a tale. As for the

the multitude of writers that agree thereon, they are in effect but one writer, ſeeing the lateſt ever borrowed of the former, and they all of *Cambrenſis*, who affirmeth it not, but onely alleadgeth the received opinion of Iriſh Hiſtories, yea rather in the foote of that Chapter, he ſeemeth to miſtruſt it, and poſteth it over to the credit of his authors: ſo then if the greateſt weight hereof doe conſiſt in Iriſh antiquities, which the learned here confeſſe to be ſtuffed with ſuch implements, notoriouſly felt to be vaine and frivolous, I truſt I ſhall not ſeeme contentious, nor ſingular in damning ſuch a fable, not onely falſe, but alſo impoſſible. Thus they ſay, In the yeare of the world, 1536. The Patriarch *Noe* began to preach vengance upon the people for their accurſed lives, to builde his Arke, to enforme his kindred and ſpeciall friends ſeverally, that within few yeares the earth ſhould be ſunke in waters, if they amended not. This did he before the generall flood one hundred and twentie yeares, when every man foreſlept the monitiõ, onely a Neece of his named *Ceſara* miſdoubting the worſt, and hearing her Vncle propheſie that all ſhould be drowned for ſinne, determined with her adherents, to ſeeke adventures into ſome forraine Iſland, perſwaded that if ſhee might happely finde a Countrie never yet inhabited, and ſo with ſinne undefiled, the generall ſentence of Gods anger ſhould there take no place. Whereupon ſhe furniſhed a navy, and fled into Ireland, with three men, *Bithi*, *Laigria*, *Fintan*, and fifty women, left unto her after many ſhipwrackes. The ſhore where ſhe landed, & where ſhe lyeth entombed, is at this day called *Navicularum littus*. The very ſtones wherein the memorie hereof hath beene preſerved from the violence of waters, were ſaid to be ſeene of ſome. Within forty dayes after her footing in Ireland, the deluge prevailed univerſally, and all this coaſt was caſt away. Now to ommit that part of this device, which is too flat, and ridiculous, if we conſider that before the flood, no part of the Earth was knowen, nor touched beſide Syria, where the firſt age dwelled, that ſailing was then utterly unheard of in the world, the [illegible]veſſell being by Gods owne direction wrought, that ſhe might

Ceſara.

An. Dom. 1656

Rab. Iſaac. in Gen. 5.

might have ſped at home, would ſhe repent with more eaſe and ſurety, that *Iapheth* with the Hebrewes, and *Iaſon* with the Greekes, were the firſt pilots: that the Records hereof graven in ſtone, is but a borrowed invention from *Ioſephus*. Theſe things I ſay conſidered, it wilbe no hard matter to deſcry the falſhood, wherin I would be more exquiſite, were it worth my labour. We need not ſo ambitiouſly runne to *Ceſara*, to begge a forged evidence, ſeeing without her helpe, Ireland muſt be confeſſed to have been knowne and peopled with the ſame kinred, even with the firſt Ilands of the world. For within three hundred yeares after the generall Floud, immediately after the confuſion of tongues, when *Iapheth* and his poſterity, imboldened by the example of *Noe*, adventured by ſhip into divers Weſt Ilands, there was in his retinew one of his progeny, *Baſtolenus*, who conceiving ſtomack and courage at the late ſucceſſe of *Nemrodus*, *Ninus* his kinſman (then newly intruded upon the Monarch of Aſſyria) & wandred ſo farre Weſt, intending to rule without compeeres, till Fortune caſt him and his people upon the coaſt of Ireland. There he ſettled with his three ſonnes, *Languinus*, *Salanus*, *Ruthurgus*, active and ſtout gentlemen, who ſearching the Land through & through, left their owne names by three notable places, *Languini ſtagnum*, *mons Salangi*, ſince named S. *Dominicks* hill, and *Ruthurgi ſtagnum*. Of *Baſtolenus* is little remembred, ſave that in ſhort ſpace with many hands working at once, he plained a great part of the Country, then overgrown with woods and thickets. This poſterity kept the Land under the government of theſe three ſonnes & their off-ſpring, about 300. yeares. Together with *Baſtolenus*, arrived in Ireland certaine godleſſe people of the ſtocke of *Nemrod*, worthily tearmed a gyant, as one that in bodily ſhape exceeded proportion, & uſed his ſtrength to winne ſoveraigntie, & to oppreſſe the vveake vvith rapine and violence: That linage (*Chams* breed) grevv to great numbers, & alvvay bethought them of getting maſtery, vvhereſoever they tarryed. One cauſe vvas their bodily force anſvvereable to their hugeneſſe of quantity: another the example of *cham Zoroaſtes*, that magitian,

Anno mundi 1957. after the beſt authors, which make 300. yeares, and not 100. betweene Noes ſtoud and Babell. Baſtolenus. Clem. recogn. l. 4.

Giants firſt in Ireland.

Clem recognit. l. 4.

tian, and *Nemrodus*, *Ninus* his Nephew, which two in themſelves and their progenies, were renowned throughout the world, as victorious Princes over two mighty Kingdomes Ægypt and Aſſyria. Thirdly they maligned the bleſſings beſtowed upon *Sem* and *Iapheth*, counting it neceſſary for themſelves, to ſtirre, and prevent Dominions, leſt the curſe of ſlavery propheſied by *Noe* ſhould light upon them, as notwithſtanding it did at laſt. Gen. 9.

Thus irked, they began to kicke at their Governours, and taking head, ſet up a King of their owne faction, nouriſhing the ſame, and annoying the Subjects inceſſantlie, the ſucceſſe on both ſides was variable, quarrels increaſed, the enemie caught handfaſt, & every day bred a new ſkirmiſh. It ſeemed intolerable, & very neceſſity cõpelled them to try their whole force in one Battle, either utterly to weede out the Gyants, or to die free. Peace therefore concluded among themſelves, for any private grudge hitherto maintayned, all ſorts brake truce and amity with the Gyants, and ſtraited them up ſo, that from all corners of the land, they muſt needes aſſemble into one field and fight for the better, maynelie they tugged certaine houres, but in concluſion the lawfull Kings prevayled, the miſcreants done to death. See now the mockery of Fortune, Victors they were, and promiſed themſelves a ſecurity: Anger & inſolencie over-turned all, for what with ſpoiling the dead carcaſes, what with murthering the remaynder of that generation, man, woman, and childe, in all parts of the Realme, vouchſafing them no buryall, but caſting them out like a ſort of dead dogges, there enſued through the ſtench of Anno mundi 2357. thoſe carryons ſuch a mortall peſtilence, infecting not onely the places where they lay, but the ayre round about by contagion, that beſide thoſe few which by ſea returned homeward, few eſcaped alive, and heereby hangeth a tale, From this plague (ſay the Iriſh) was preſerved *Ruanus* the Gyant, who from time to time kept true record of their hiſtories, elſe utterly done away by ſundry caſualties of death, warre, ſpoyle, fire, forraine victories, and he (forſooth) continued till the yeare of Chriſt 430. and told S. *Patrick* all the newes of the

Ruanus, who is of ſome thought to be Fin Macoole.

the country requiring of him to bee baptized, and ſo died, when he had lived no more but two thouſand and forty one yeares: which is above twice the age of *Methuſalem*. Had it beene my chaunce in Ireland, to meete & conferre with this noble Antiquarie, hee might have eaſed me of much travell. Theſe things I note for no other purpoſe, but that the ſimple ſtumbling upon ſuch blinde legends ſhould be warned to eſteeme them as they are, idle fantaſies, wherewith ſome of their Poets, dallyed at the firſt, and after through error and rudenes it was taken up for a ſad matter.

Gen.5.

CAP. VIII.

The ſeverall Inhabitants of Ireland ſince Baſtolenus.

OF an infinite number of Gyants ſlaine, certaine hid families lurked and eſcaped the common miſchiefe, whom at length penury conſtrayned to forſake their dennes, and to pilfer for meate, when they perceived the murraine of men and beaſts, and that none gave them reſiſtance, they waxed hardie, & ſearching the land, found it wel-nigh deſolate, wherefore they harboured themſelves in the cleareſt coaſt: and eaſily ſubduing the poore ſoules remaining, revived their blood, and became Lords of the whole Iland 60. yeares.

Gen.10. Among the Sonnes of *Iapheth*, Geneſis recounteth *Magog* who had now planted his people in Scithia within Tanaris, from whom at this day the Turkes are deſcended. They hearing the hard happe of their fathers lyne, caſt out by the collaterall braunches of *Cham*, the late King of the Bactrians, their odious neighbours, ſent into Ireland *Nemodus* with his foure ſonnes, *Starius*, *Gerbavel*, *Amimus*, *Fergusius*, captaines over a faire company, who paſſing by Greece and there taking up ſuch as would ſeeke fortunes, finally landed here, held the country, multiplyed, but not without continuall warre upon the

Anno Mundi 2317. Nemodus.

the Gyants aforeſaid, who in th'end vanquiſhed and chaſed them thence againe into Greece, after 216. yeares, from Anno mundi 2533. from which time untill the comming of *Dela* his ſonnes, the Gyants poſſeſſed it peaceably without forreine invaſion. But themſelves being diſordered, and meaſuring all things by might, ſeditiouſly vexed each other, nor were they ever able to frame a common-wealth.

That eſpyed five brethren, ſonnes to *Dela* the Grecian, notorious Pilots, named *Gaudius*, *Genandius*, *Sagandius*, *Rutherogius*, *Slanius*, the poſterity of *Nemodus* expulſed ſucceſſors; who fortified their navyes, and finding the Countrey but weake, wanne it entirely, rooted out the old enemy, divided the Iland into five parts, & in each of them ſeverally raigned, for better contentation of all ſides, they agreed to fixe a meare ſtone in the middle point of Ireland, to which ſtone every of their Kingdomes ſhould extend, and bepartakers of the commodities then chiefly found in that ſoile. Theſe are alſo ſuppoſed to have invented the diſtribution of ſhires into Cantredes, every Cantrede or Barony, conteining an hundred Townes-ſhips, wherewith the name and uſe of hundreds, well knowyne in England, might ſeeme to accord.

Aun. mundi 2714. The ſonnes of Dela.

Cantredes.

Variance for the chiefty ſet the foure brethren at a lowre ebbe, and then *Slanius* perched over them all, encroached every vvay round about the middle ſtone certaine miles for proviſion and furniture of his ovvne houſhold, vvhich plott in time obtained the name of one generall part, and nowv maketh up the fift, *Media*. Meth it vvas called either for moytie of Cantredes, being but ſixteene, vvhereas the reſt compriſed thirty tvvo apeece, or for the ſite thereof in the navell of Ireland. This hee aſſigned to the Monarch a ſurplus over and above his Inheritance, vvhich notvvithſtanding grevv to a ſeverall Kingdome, and allovved thereof certaine parts by compoſition. Not long after dyed *Slanius*, & vvas buryed in a mountaine of Meth that carrieth his name. Thirty yeares the Monarchy vvas poſſeſſed in this order, but ſhortly the Princes ovving fealty, beganne to ſtomack the Intruſion of *Slanius*, & vvhen he vvas once rid,

Meth.

thay disdained his successour, whereupon ensued everlasting Battels. The Monarchy was laide downe, then fell they at debate for the land of Medh, which strife could never be appeased. In the necke of those troubles came over a new army of Scithians, who claymed also from *Nemodus* their fore-father, and they tooke parts, and made parts, set all in uproare with sword, and havocke. To be short, they spent themselves one upon another so fiercely and furiously, that now they reckoned not what nation or what souldiour they received in, to keepe up or beate downe a side. By which occasion the Britaines also put in a foot, who discovering the state of the land to their Princes, opened a gappe for *Brennus* the brother of *Belinus*, to direct his course thither with the same Navy which he had furnished to serve *Signimius* then King of Lyons amid the Galles in France. But *Brennus* took small effect. Before him also divers Kings of Brittaine had scope in Ireland. Insomuch that *Gargantius* the sonne of *Beline*, repulsed the same by lineall descent among his owne Dominions. Notwithstanding they never injoyed it longer then they could keepe possession perforce, and often were they repelled and vexed with seeking after it, as wherein they found small fruite, and blowes enough. Lastly came the Spaniards from Biscaye, conducted by foure Captaines, of whose arryvall before I speake, I must repeate their originall somewhat farther, and so give a light to the assoyling of a controversie, that is, whether the Irish came from Ægypt, or from Spaine. It shall appeare they came from both.

Ann. mundi 2800.

Brennus.

CAP. IX.

CAP. IX.

The arrivall of the Spaniards, then called Iberians, into Ireland.

IN the yeare of the World 2436. after the universall floud 780. while the children of Israell served in Ægypt, *Gathelus* the sonne of *Neale*, a great Lord in Greece, was upon disfavour exiled the Country with a number of his faction, adherents, and friends. The young Greeke being very wise, valiant and well spoken, got honourable entertainement with *Pharao* surnamed *Amænophis* king of Ægypt, and in short space reached to such a credit that he espoused the Kings base Daughter *Scota*, whereof the Scotts are thought to be named. This match bred to the King some tumult, and to the young Gentle-man much envy, wherefore assoone as the foresaid *Amænophis* was drowned in the Red Sea, the Princes of Ægypt so vexed *Gathelus* and his wife, that they were faine to buske them, withall their traine into Europe, and came first to Lusitania, where diverse of his people tyred with travaile, would needs abide, he builded there the city of Brigantia, called afterwards Novium, now Compostella. The remnant passed with him into Ireland, where the Barbarians highly honoured him, for his cunning in all languages, who also greatly perfected and beautified the Irish tongue, taught them letters, sought up their antiquities, practised their youth in martiall feates, after his Greeke and Ægyptian manner. Finally so well he pleased them that to gratifie such a Benefactour, they were content to name the Iland after him Gathelia, and after his wife Scotia. Truely that Scotia is the auncient appellation of Ireland, all Chroniclers agree, as it shalbe more plaine, when wee touch the Scottish pedigree. A brute there is in Ireland but uncertainelie fathered, that in remembrance of *Pharao*, their good lord, the Kerne pitching his Dart, cryeth of courage *faro, faro*; but the learned thinke that to bee taken from the Spaniard, who in his *loco dicano* exclaimeth

Hector. Boeth. l.1. Hist. Scot.

Ioh. Major. de gestis Scot. lib. 1. cap. 9.

Gathelus.

Exod. 14.

Hector. Boeth. lib. 1.

claymeth *fabo, fabo.*

The people left in the coaſt of Spaine, founded the city of Bayon, now part of Gaſcoigne, and repleniſhed all the ſhore towards Africk, and the edges of Portugall, Caſtile, Galæcia, towardes the ſea Cantabricum, well nigh 200. yeares, after which time ſome of them began to minde another travaile, becauſe they were peſtered with Inhabitants, and whether they ever ſped to Ireland, it is unknowne, at the leaſtwiſe in the raigne of *Gurguntius* the Brittaine, then chiefe Lord of Bayon, foure brethren Spaniards, whereof two are noted, *Hiberus* and *Hirimon*, not the ſonnes of *Gathelus* (as writeth *Boethius*) but his off-ſpring, underſtanding that divers Weſtern Ilands were empty, deſirous to live in eaſe and elbovv-room, ſayled Weſtvvard vvith a great retinue of men, vvomen and babes, hovering long about the Ilands Orchades in 60. great ſhips, untill by good hap they met vvith *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conqueſt of Denmarke, vvho had refuſed to pay him the tribute, vvhich *Belinus* his father vvan, him they beſought (conſidering their vvant of victuals, unable any longer to dvvell in their ſhips, accumbred vvith carriage of vvomen & children) to direct & further them to ſome place of habitation, proffering to become his liege people to hold the ſame of him & his heires for ever. The King adviſing himſelfe, remembred vvith vvhat difficultie he kept the Iriſh in ſubjection, & conceived hope that theſe ſtrangers vvould endeavor either to ſtub out that unruly generation, or to nurture them. & ſo taking their oathes and hoſtages, he mann'd their ſhips, ſtored thē vvith victuall & munition, & ſeated thē in Ireland. Thus had the Brittaines an elder right to the Realme of Ireland, then by the conqueſt of *Henry* the 2. vvhich title they never ſurceaſed to claime, & ſomtimes prevailed, as in the dayes of King *Arthur*, to vvhom the Iriſh Princes agnized their tribute and apparance, made at his Parliament in *urbe Legionū*, vvhich I take to be Weſtcheſter, called of old Carleon, as divers other citties vvere, vvherein the Romanes placed the legions. Again the Kings of Britain vvere thē Lords of the place vvhence this people came, ſo as their vvinnings muſt have

Ann. mundi 2642.

Hiberus and Hirimon.

The head Captaine was Bartholmew, as many Authors affirme.

Fab. part. 2.

Graſton. p. 60.

Ann. mundi 3592.

have beene the Kings Dominion.

To all this when their owne free aſſent, the dedition of other Princes, lawfull conqueſt and preſcription is adjoyned, it forceth an invincible title. But to proſecute our purpoſe. Thoſe Iberians being ſubſtantially ayded of *Gurguntius*, enjoyed the Lands, beſtowed themſelves foure brethren into foure parts thereof, untill their pride and ambition armed two againſt other two, *Hiberus* and his brother againſt *Hirimon* and his. In this conflict *Hirimon* ſlew *Hiberus*, and raigned quietly. At this time the countrey was firſt named *Ibernia*, as I have declared in the third Chapter. The King to avoyde obloquie and ſlaunder, purged himſelfe to his ſubjects, that neither maliciouſly nor contentiouſly, but for his neceſſary defence and ſafeguard he had borne armes againſt his brother. And to witneſſe how farre he was from deſire to rule alone, he nominated ſpeciall Captaines to be Kings under him of their ſeverall Countryes, reſerving to himſelfe but one fourth part, and the portion of Meth allotted to the Monarchie for the better maintenance of his part.

Theſe afterward clambered into five Kingdomes incompatible, Leinſter, Connaght, Vlſter, Mounſter in two portions, and ſometimes to more by uſurpations and compoſitions. but ever one was elected the Monarch over all.

Severall Kingdomes in Ireland.

An hundred and thirtie chiefe Kings are reckoned of this Nation from *Hirimon* to *Laigirus* the ſonne of *Nealus magnus*, in whoſe time the bleſſed Biſhop *Patricius* converted them to Chriſtianity.

CAP. X.

The comming of the Picts into Ireland.

An. Dom. 120.

Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

NOW lived the Iriſh in tollerable order under their ſundry Kings, and applyed themſelves to peace and gathering of wealth, when ſuddainely *Rodericke* a Red-ſhank of Scythia fled thither with a ſmall company of Galleyes, and winde-driven in compaſſing round about the Britiſh coaſt, were happely blowne aſhore into Ireland. Theſe are the Picts, a people from their cradle diſſentious, land-leapers, mercileſſe, ſowre and hardy, being preſented to the King, they craved Interpreters, which granted, *Roderick* their Chieftaine uttered for him and his, the requeſt in this manner.

Picts.

Ioh. Maior. de geſt. Scot. lib. c. 10.

The words of Roderick King of Picts.

Not as degenerate from the courage of our auncеſtors, but inclining our ſelves to the bent and ſwaye of fortune, we are become ſuppliants to Ireland, that never before have humbled out ſelves to any, Looke Sir King, eye us well, It is [illegible] light proweſſe that hath cauſed theſe valiant bodies to ſtoop. Scithians we are, and the Picts of Scithia, great ſubſtance of glory lodgeth in theſe two names, what ſhall I tell of the civill Tumult that hath made us leave our home? or rippe up old Hiſtoryes to make ſtrangers bemoane us? Let our vaſſailes and children diſcourſe it at large and leyſure, if perhaps you vouchſafe us any leyſure in the Land: To which effect and purpoſe your infinite neceſſities pray your favours. A King of a King, Men of Men, Princes can conſider how neere it concerneth their honour and ſurety to proppe up the ſtate of a King defaced by Treaſon, and men will remember nothing better beſeemeth the nature of man, then to feele by compaſſion the griefes of men. Admit we beſeech you theſe ſcattered reliques of Scithia, If your Realmes bee narrow, we are not many. If the ſoyle be barren, we are born to

to hardneſſe. If you live in peace, we are your ſubjects. If you warre, we are your Souldiours. We aſke no kingdome, no wealth, no triumph in Ireland. We have brought our ſelves, and left theſe caſualtyes with the enemie. Howſoever it like you to eſteeme of us, we ſhall eaſily learne to like it, when we call to minde, not what we have beene, but what we are.

The Anſwar.

Great conſultations was had upon this requeſt, and many things debated too and fro. In the end they were anſwered, that their antiquities layde forcible arguments, wherefore it could not be expedient to accept the Scithians into Ireland, that mingling of natiõs in a Realme breedeth quarrels remedileſſe, that Ireland finding ſcarcity rather of roome then of people, that theſe few inferred amongſt a many might quickly diſturbe and put the whole out of joynt. But quoth they, though wee may not dwell together yet ſhall you finde us your very good neighbours and friends. Not farre hence lyeth the Iland of Brittaine, in the north thereof, your manhood and polycies ſhall winne you ſcope enough, our Capitaines ſhall conduct you the way, our ſtrength ſhall helpe to ſettle you, addreſſe your ſhippes and hye you thither. With this perſwaſion they ſhaped courſe towards the north of Brittaine, now called Scotland, where contrary to all expectation *Marius* the King awayted their comming, and gave them there a ſharpe battle, wherein *Rodericke* was ſlaine, with diverſe of his band. Them which remained and appealed to mercy, he licenſed to inhabite the uttermoſt borders of Scotland: Wives they wanted to encreaſe their Iſſue, and becauſe the Brittaines ſcorned to match their daughters with ſuch a froward and beggerly people, the Picts continued their firſt acquaintance with the Iriſh and by entreaty obtained wives from them, conditionally that if the Crowne ſhould happe to fall in queſtion they ſhould then yeeld thus much prerogative to the woman as of the female blood royall, rather then of the male to chooſe their Prince, which Covenant, ſaith S. *Bede*, the Picts are well knowne to keepe at this day.

Iohn Stow.

Bede lived an. Dom. 730.

But long afore this time the Scottiſh Chronicles mention the

Anno Mundi 3217. ante Chriſtum 330.

the arrivall of Almaine Picts into the marches now of England and Scotland, vvith vvhom certaine Iriſh called then alſo Scotts joyned againſt the Brittaines, deviſing to erect a kingdome there, alſweil to fortify themſelves as to gratifie the Iriſh, who detracting their obedience lately promiſed to *Gurguntius*, practiſed all they might to abridge the kingdome of the Brittaines. Firſt therefore came from Ireland, *Fergusius* the ſonne of *Ferchardus*, a man very famous for his ſkill in blaſoning of armes. Himſelfe bare the Red Lyon rampant in a golden field. There was in Ireland a monument of Marble faſhioned like a Throne, which *Simon Brecke* a companion to *Hiberus* and his brethren found in the journey, & becauſe he deemed the finding thereof to be ominous to ſome Kingdome, he brought it along with him, and layde it up in the country for a Iewell. This marble *Fergusius* obtained towards the proſpering of his voyage, and in Scotland he left it, which they uſed many yeares after in Coronation of their King at Scona. But *Fergusius* though he be ſcored in the row of Kings, for one, and the firſt, yet he held himſelfe there obſcurely, ſundry times beat backe into Ireland, where he was finallie drowned by miſfortune within the Creeke of Knockfergus. That *Fergusius* encountred with *Coilus* the Brittaine and ſlew him, as writeth the Scotts, it is impoſſible except they miſtake the name of *Coilus* for *Calius*, with whom indeede the age of *Fergusius* might well meete, and the rather for that in the firſt yeare of his raigne, the Picts entred, and then *Fergusius* immediately after them, 330. yeares ere Chriſt was borne. Now *Coilus* raigned in the yeare of our Lord, 124. about which time befell the ſecond arrivall of the Picts in Brittaine, ſo it ſeemeth they miſtake by a ſlight error, *Coilus* for *Calius*, and the ſecond arrivall of the Picts, for the former. This confuſion of Hiſtories is learnedly noted by *Cooper* in his generall collection of Chronicles.

Ioh. Major. lib. 1. capit.

CAP. XI.

CAP. XI.

How the Friſh ſeated themſelves in Scotland.

RETurne wee now to the courſe of our Hiſtorie, while the Picts were beſtowed in the north of Brittaine and waxed populous, the Iriſh made ſundry arrands over to viſite their Daughters, Nephewes, and kindred. In often comming and going, they noted waſte places, and little Ilands not repleniſhed, but rather neglected and ſuffered to grow wilde. Hereof in Ireland they advertiſed their Prince, namely *Reuther* or *Rheuda*, who being the Iſſue of *Fergusius*, bethought himſelfe of his intereſt to certaine peeces of land beſide the nation of the Picts. Hee therefore well appointed, partly by compoſition, and ſome deale perforce ſtepped into thoſe hamlets which no man occupied, & proceeded hanſomely to reare his kingdome. By little and little he edged forward, and got betweene the Picts and Brittaines on this ſide the Scottiſh banke, which he poſſeſſed but a ſeaſon. The place was thereof named Rheudiſdale, now Riddeſdale, (aſmuch to ſay, as the part of *Rheuda*) for *dahal* in their language, ſignifieth part. In thoſe quarters after ſundry conflicts with the borderers, hee was by them ſlaine, but the kingdome laſted in his ſucceſſours ſtill, and the tvvo nations the Picts and the Iriſh lovingly ſuffered each other to thrive. The Scotts caught up the Iſlands & the Frontiers. The Picts dwelt in the middle: Soone after the peace betweene them, vvent ſuſpitions & the diverſities of people, place, cuſtome, language, vvith the memorie of old grudges ſtirred up ſuch inward jealouſies and hate, that it ſeemed they were eaſie to kindle, & as in ſuch factions, there never wanteth drifte to drive a tumult, ſo it happened that certaine of the Nobilitie of the Scotts reſciant next them had with ſome difficultie, received out of Greece a Moloſſian Hound, which breede both in ſwiftneſſe of foote, and in ſvveetneſſe of opening, vvas reputed peereleſſe.

An. Dom. 160. Ioh. Major. l. 1. cap. 11. Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

Rheuda.

Ioh. Maior. de geſt. Scot. l. 5. c. 15.

This

This Hound, a willfull Gentleman, a Pict, ſtole home, and therewith gratified his Prince, glad of the novelty, and little thoughtfull of the diſpleaſure. Contrarywiſe the Iriſh, wood for anger at this diſhonour, and injury, aſſembled in poſte haſte under *Eugenius* their King, and after brawling, fell to ſpoyle, and ſo to blowes; whereof parts and ſtomackes being even, the fortune was variable. In this diviſion they ſcambled out a few yeares, untill the malice of *Caraſſus* a Brittaine forced a quietneſſe betweene them to abuſe their helpe againſt th'Empire. But hee was ſhortly ſlaine by *Alectus* the Romane Captaine, and hereupon the old ſore waxed rawe: To heape the miſchiefe, a Brittiſh Lord named *Maximus*, aſpiring to the kingdome, ſent an ambaſſadge to *Ethodius* king of Picts, pleading with him a league of friendſhip, utterly to expulſe the Iriſh Scot: conditioning withall their aſſiſtance to chaſe the Romanes out of Brittaine, which was concluded, and by this confederacie, after many lamentable skirmiſhes, the Iriſh were betrayed, *Eugenius* the King, *Ethai* his brother, and *Ericus* his nephew, and alſo the reſidue, ſuch as could eſcape the enemies ſword, fled thence, ſome into Norway, ſome into Ireland their firſt home.

Lucan. li. 5.

An. Dom. 288.

An. Dom. 353.

Maximus watching his time, deſpairing of the Brittiſh Kingdome, and eſpying the Picts tyred vvith continuall vvarres, turned his povver upon them, and brought them to ſuch an exigent, that they had no readier ſhift then to crave helpe from Ireland, and ſo by degrees vvhen ſome private perſons, nouriſhers of the quarrell, vvere out-vvorne, the matter of malice vvas qualified, and the remnant of the Iriſh Scots, vvith their friends and off-ſpring called home to their dvvelling, after their firſt baniſhment, 43. yeares expired.

Fo. Maior. li. 2. c. 1.

An. Dom. 398.

From this time forvvard the amity vvaxed ſteddy, and the Iriſh under *Fergusius* the ſecond their King vvan ſuch credit, that finally the nation of Picts vvere afflicted by the Brittaines, then the Scots incroched into the heart of the Realme, and became the mightier and more populous, of vvhom the Countrey vvas ever ſince under one Generall name called Scotland.

Thus

Thus you ſee the Scotts a lively, ſtirring, ancient, & victorious people, are mixed firſt of Brittaines, (though the Chronicles diſſemble it) whom *Brutus* planted there with *Albanactus*: Secondly, of Picts: Thirdly and chiefly, of the Iriſh, which after this time left the name of Scott, for thoſe in Brittaine, and delighted rather to be called Iriſh. Then came up the diſtinction of *Scotia major* for Ireland, and *Scotia minor* for the Scotts in Brittaine.

An. Dom. 423.

But moſt effectually (as ſaith *Cambrenſis*) the Scotts prevayled under the guiding of ſix valiant Gentlemen, Sonnes to *Muridus* King of Vlſter, who in the time that *Neale* the great enjoyed the monarchy of Ireland, going to ſuccour their countrymen there, at laſt alſo tooke up for themſelves no little portions of ground, which their poſterity kept in *Cambrenſis* time, the yeare of Chriſt 1200. who treateth their exploits more largely in his Topography of Ireland. Ever ſince then, they were utterly named and eſteemed Scotts: The nation of the Picts driven into corners, albeit the moſt parts & the out Iſles retaine at this day a people mungrell betwixt both, called Redſhanks. The Scotts write that their King *Gregorius*, in an. Dom. 875. invaded Ireland as his lawfull inheritance, and the ſame conquered, who lieth buried in one of their out-Iles, called Iona, beautified with the Sepultures of Scottiſh Kings, where the Iriſh tongue is their native language, & therefore they call the ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh to Henry the 2. a defection from Scotland, which nevertheleſſe they recke, ne regard not, but willfully did forgoe it, as reaping leſſe then they expended, and unable to defray the growing charge, which coſt conſidered little better then nothing, ſay they, the King of England winneth by keeping of Ireland. Yet in the late government of *S. Henry Sidney*, Vlſter being conveyed by diſcent, & act of Parliament to the Crowne, which Earledome was in the time of *Edward* the third reckoned at thirty one thouſand markes yearely, the ſame being but one fift part of Ireland, It ſeemeth that if this right be well proſecuted that Ireland might pay in ſelfe of neceſſaries, and yeeld ſufficient benefit to the Princes Coffers.

Diſtinct 5.

Ioh Major. l. 1. cap. 10.

Pol. l. 1. Angl. hiſt.

CAP. XII.

CAP. XII.

The conversion of the Irish to Christianity.

An. Dom. 420. ABout this time, Holy Church being stayed in peace, enriched with possessions, supported with authority, many noble Clearkes flourishing in diverse Realmes, the Holy Doctor *Augustine* yet in life: *Theodosius* the second, suppressing Idols in all the Empyre: *Celestinus* 1. Bishop of Rome, conferred with his cleargy touching the instruction specially of the vvestern parts, wherin the faith of Christ was hitherto, either not planted, or by persecution extinct, or by corruption of Hereticks defaced: of them all, no country was more lamented then Ireland, which partly for distance from the heart of Christendome, partly for their infinite rudenesse, had yet received no fruit of true Religion. In that assembly was *Palladius* Arch-Deacon of Rome, a good Priest and well learned, who profered his charitable travaile towards the conversion of any those lands, whither he should be by them directed and appointed. The Pope knowing the sufficiency of the man, did consecrate *Palladius* a Bishop, authorized his journey, furnished his wants, associated to him, diverse religious persons, delivered him the Holy Bible, with great solemnities, and certaine monuments of *Peter* and *Paul*, whereat diverse miracles had beene shewed. He arryved in the North of Ireland, whence he escaped hardly with his life, into the Ilands adjoyning, there preaching and converting many, erecting monasteries, and ensueing his vocation so painefully, that the onely report of his holynesse and cunning, excited the Scotts (late christened, but abiding in schisme, and committing the function of Bishoppes to single Preists,) to call him thither, whereunto he assented; upon the Popes answere, and leaving his Disciples in the Ile, became the speciall apostle of Scotland, where he spent the residue of his time, with more fruite then among the Irish. Hereunto *Celestinus* condiscended the easier, for that in the very

Nicephor. l. 14. cap. 40. Plat in Celestin. 1.

Vita S. Patricij.

Ioh. Major. l. 1. cap. 2. Prosp. Aquit. in Chron.

very point of *Palladius* his departure, *Patricius* attended at Rome to bee sent with leave and benediction into Ireland. In which attempt hee found such joyfull successe, so farre different from their accustomed frowardnesse, that a man would weene the Realme had beene reserved for him. And because it pleased God to worke to the Land such an universall benefite by the meanes of this holy Patriarch, I take it convenient to set downe briefly here his course of life, after the most approoved Chronicles that I could finde.

The life of S. Patrick.

Patricius was borne in the marches of England and Scotland, in a sea towne called then Taburnia, whose father *Calphrune* (as writeth *Ioseline*) was a Deacon and a Priests sonne, his mother *conches* was sister to S. *Martin*, the famous Bishoppe of Toures in France. The childe was from his cradle brought up in the Faith, and much given to devotion.

Ioselin. of Furnesse.

Novv vvere the Irish through the helpe of the Scots and Picts, arch-pirats of the narrovv seas, and used to sacke litle vveake villages scattered along the shore, and for vvant of other prey, to bring the Inhabitants home Captives, vvith others also vvas taken this *Patricius*, a ladde of sixteene yeares olde, being then a student of secular learning, and became the Villaine of an Irish Lord called *Mackbiam*, from vvhom after sixe yeares hee redeemed himselfe vvith a peece of gold vvhich hee found in a clod of earth, nevvly turned up by the svvyne hee kept the time of his Banishment (as affliction commonly maketh men religious.) This vvith the regard of his former education, printed in him such remorse and humility, that being from thenceforth utterly vveaned from the vvorld, hee betooke himselfe to contemplation, ever lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that Land, vvherefore not despairing, but that in continuance, some good might bee vvrought upon them, hee learned their tongue perfectly, and alluring one companion vvith him for his exercises, he departed thence into France, ever casting backe his eye to the conversion of Ireland, vvhose babes yet unborn, seemed to him in his dream

Ex Epist. Patricij. An. Dom. 386.

(from out their mothers vvombes) to call for Chriſtendome. In this purpoſe he ſought out *Martinus* his Vncle, by vvhoſe meanes the yong man entred under the government of *Germanus* then Biſhop of Antiſiodore, vvhoſe ſcholler and familiar he vvas forty yeares, beſtovving all that time in prayer and ſtudy of eloquence and holy Scriptures. Then at the age of threeſcore and two yeares, being renowned through the Latine Church for his wiſdome, vertue, and skill, hee came home to Rome, recommended with letters from the French
An. Dom. 430. Biſhops, to Pope *celeſtine*, to whom he uttered his full mind, and the ſecret vow which long ſince he had conceived touching Ireland. The Pope inveſted him Archbiſhop and Primate of the whole Iland, bleſſed him, commaunded publique prayer and faſting, brought him and his diſciples onward on the voyage. Therefore in the tvventie third yeare of *Theodoſius* the younger, which was the yeare of our Lord 430. *Patricke* landed in Ireland: and becauſe he ſpake the tongue plentifully, being a reverent perſonage, he tooke holy Bible, adding thereto diverſe miracles in the Name & vertue of Iesus whom he preached: many liſtened unto him, namely ſuch as in the late entertainement of *Palladius* and *Albius* the Iriſh Biſhops his Diſciples, had ſome little feeling in the Goſpell. In continuance, hee wanne the better part of that Kingdome, except *Laigirus* himſelfe ſonne of *Neale* the great Monarch, who (notvvithſtanding hee relyed nothing to the Goſpell yet) becauſe hee ſtopped not the courſe thereof, nor forbid any that liſt to embrace it, the Biſhop denounced to him a curſe from God, accordingly tempered vvith mercy and judgement, that during his life hee ſhould bee victorious, but after him, neither the Kingdome ſhould ſtand, nor his linage inherite. Thence hee journeyed vvith a great number of his Diſciples and friends to *Conill* Lord of Connaght, (vvho honourably reputed him, and vvith all his people vvas converted) and then ſent him to *Logan* his Brother, King of Leinſter, vvhom hee likevviſe perſvvaded. In Mounſter he vvas highly honoured of the Earle of Daris, vvho gave him a dvvel-

a dvvelling in the Eaſt angle of Ardmagh, called Secta, where hee erected many Celles and Monaſteries, repleniſhed with votarious men and women. Thirty yeares continually hee travailed in preaching through the Land, ever leaving behinde him Biſhops and Prieſts, whoſe learning and holineſſe by the ſpeciall grace of God ſhortly repaired the faith ſo begunne, other thirty yeares hee ſpent in his Province of Ardmagh among his ghoſtly brethren, in viſitation of thoſe religious Houſes, which by his meanes were founded, ſo hee lived in the whole An. Dom. 492. one hundred twentie two yeares, and lyeth buryed in Downe.

CAP. XIII.

Of Saint Patrickes Purgatory.

EVery Hiſtory of Ireland that I have ſeene, maketh one ſeverall title *De mirabilibus Hiberniæ*, and therein with long proceſſe treateth of ſeverall Ilands, ſome full of Angels, ſome full of devils, ſome for male only, ſome for female, ſome where poore may live, ſome where none can dye: finally ſuch effects of waters, ſtones, trees, and trinkets, that a man would vveene them to be but heedleſſe and uncertaine tales by their complexion.

Verily, being inquiſitive of theſe matters, I could finde no one of them foothed by ſuch perſons upon whoſe relation I am diſpoſed to venture. Onely the place behinde Ardmagh called S. *Patricks* Purgatory, becauſe it is knovvne and confeſſed, and becauſe I vvould be diſcharged of my Readers expectation, who perhaps vvith the name of S. *Patricke* looketh to bee informed thereof, I can bee content to put ſo much in vvriting, as Bookes and reports affirme vvith moſt likelyhood.

Tvvo things I muſe at, that neither the time nor the author

of ſo ſtrange erection was preſerved. Concerning the time one Record putteth it in Anno Domini 302. which is 128. yeares before S. *Patricke* converted Ireland, and ſixty ſixe yeares before his birth. Againe *cambrenſis* who maketh curious recitall of wonders in the land, never uttereth word of this Purgatory; & though a negative authority be not invincible, yet conſidering the propertie of that man, and what a ſort of trifles he taketh paine to juſtifie, it may ſerve for a vehement ſuſpition, that the place was then either not found, or not miraculous. Concerning the Author, very few there are that referre it to this *Patricke* their Apoſtle, but rather to an Abbot of the ſame name, whom I marvaile I finde not in the mighty bigge volume of their Saints: Notwithſtanding theſe Originalls might bee either loſt or altered, but the thing it ſelfe being extant, muſt needes have had a beginning, whereof poſſibly there are monuments in that Church, or in the Iriſh tongue to me unwitting.

Therefore I hold him unwiſe that will utterly miſtruſt the principall, becauſe the circumſtances vary; or condemne the vvhole, becauſe he could not reach to the undoubted truth of ſome part. If any man bee ſo delicate, that not a jote thereof vvill ſinke into his head, vvho ſhall controule him? neither hee nor vvee are bound to believe any ſtory beſides that vvhich is delivered us from the Scriptures, and the conſent of Gods Church. Let the diſcreet Reader judge of it.

This I learne, that the holy Abbot *Patricius ſecundus*, not the Biſhop their Apoſtle, laboured the converſion of the people of Vlſter, vvhich being novv Chriſtians, could yet at no hand be vvonne to renounce their olde ſenſuality, cruelty, murthers, extortion. And vvhen he much inforced the life to come, they replyed unto him vvith contempt, that unleſſe they ſavv proofes of theſe Ioyes and paines hee preached, they vvould never leeſe poſſeſſion of the pleaſures in hand, for hope or dread of things to come they vviſt not vvhen. At their importunacie hee beſought God, vvere it his good pleaſure to give out ſome evident token of

Polichro. l.1. ca.35. Treviſibid.

of the maters they required: finally by the ſpecial direction of God he found in the north edge of Vlſter a deſolate angle hemmed in round, & in the mids thereof a pit, where he reared a Church, cloſed the ſame with a wall, beſtowed therein Canons regular, at the Eaſt end of this Church yarde, a doore leadeth into a cloſet of ſtone, which they call the Purgatory, becauſe devout people have reſorted thither for pennance, and reported at their returne, ſtrange viſions of paine and bliſſe appearing to them. They uſed to continue therein foure & twenty houres, which doing one while with ghoſtly meditations, and another while a dreadfull conſcience of their deſerts, they ſaw as they ſay, a plaine reſembling of their owne faults and vertues, with the horror and comfort thereto belonging, that one ſo terrible, the other ſo joyous, that they verily deeme themſelves for the time to have ſight of heaven and hell. The revelations of men that went in (Saint *Patricke* yet living) are kept vvritten vvithin the ſaide Abbey. When any perſon is diſpoſed to enter (for the doore is ever ſparred) he repaireth firſt for advice to the Archbiſhop, vvho caſteth all perils, and diſſvvadeth him, becauſe they ſay diverſe never came backe againe, but if the party be reſolute, he recommendeth him to the Pryor, vvho in like manner favourably exhorteth him not to hazard ſuch a danger, if notvvithſtanding he finde the party fully bent, he conducteth him to this Church, enjoyneth him to begin vvith prayer, faſt and vigill of 15. dayes, ſo long together as in diſcretion can be endured. This time expired, if he yet perſevere in his former purpoſe, the vvhole Convent accompanieth him vvith ſolemne proceſſion and benediction to the mouth of the cave, vvhere they let him in, & ſo barre up the doore till the morrovv, & then vvith like ceremonies they avvaite his returne, & reduce him to the Church. If he be ſeene no more, they faſt & pray 15. dayes after. Touching the credit of thoſe matters, I ſee no cauſe but a Chriſtian man aſſuring himſelf that there is both hel & heaven, may vvithout vanity upon ſufficient information, be perſuaded that it might pleaſe God at ſomtime for conſiderations to his infinit vviſdome knovvn to reveale

by miracles the viſion of Ioyes & paines eternal, but that altogether in ſuch ſort, & ſo ordinarily, & to ſuch perſons, and by ſuch meanes as the common fame & ſome records therof doe utter, I neither believe, nor wiſh to be regarded. It appeares by *Treviſa* in his additions to *Polichronicon*, that a ſuperſtitious opinion of this Purgatory was then conceived, which he diſproveth. And a man of indifferent judgement may ſoone ſuſpect that in the drift and ſtrength of Imagination, a contemplative perſon would happely ſuppoſe the ſight of many ſtrange things which he never ſaw. Since writing hereof I met with a Prieſt, who told mee that he had gone the ſame pilgrimage, and affirmed the order of the premiſſes: But that he for his owne part ſaw no ſight in the world, ſave onely fearefull dreames when he chanced to nod, and thoſe he ſaith were exceeding horrible: further he added, that the faſte is rated more or leſſe, according to the quality of the penitent, and that the place ſeemed to him ſcarcely able to receive ſixe perſons.

CAP. XIIII.

The Friſh Saints.

THough my ſearch thereof in this my haſte out of the land be very cumberſome, yet being loath to neglect the memory of Gods friends, more glorious to a Realme then all the victories and triumphs of the world, I thinke it good to furniſh out this chapter with ſome extracts touching the Saints of Ireland, namely thoſe that are moſt notable, mentioned by authors of good credit. *cambrenſis* telleth, that in S. *Patricks* time flouriſhed S. *Bride* the virgin, and S. *columbe* in Doune, where their bodies ſoone after the conqueſt, and alſo S. *Patrickes* body were found, Sir *Iohn courcye* being then Preſident of Vlſter. In vievving of the ſepulture hee teſtifieth to have ſeene three principall jevvells, vvhich vvere then tranſlated as honourable monuments vvorthie to be preſerved..

Diſtinct. 3. 6. Brigid. Colum.

Of

Of S. *Columbe* it is doubted, whether he lived in that age. *Brigide* was baſe Daughter of *Dubtachus* a Captaine in Leinſter, who perceiving the Mother with child, ſold her ſecretly, fearing the jealouſy of his wife, to a Iriſh Poet, reſerving to himſelfe, the fruite of her wombe, ſhe was there delivered of this *Brigide*, whom the Poet trained up in letters, and ſo conveyed her home to her father. The Damoſell was ſchooled in the faith by S. *Patricke*, preaching then in thoſe parts, ſhe became ſo religious, and ſo ripe in judgement, that not onely the multitude, but a whole ſynode of Biſhoppes aſſembled by Dublin, uſed her advice in weighty cauſes, and highly eſteemed her. One fact of hers being yet a childe, made her famous. The King of Leinſter had given to *Dubtachus* in token of ſingular affection, for his good ſervice, a rich ſword. Now it befell, that the maiden viſiting her ſicke neighbours, diverſly diſtreſſed for hunger, (her father being a ſterne man, his Lady a ſhrewe) ſhe ſaw none other helpe to releive theſe wretched people, but to part the Iewels of that idle ſword among them. This matter was haynouſly taken, and came to the Kings eares, who (comming ſhortly after to a Banquet in her fathers houſe) demaunded the Girle, not yet nine yeares old, how ſhe durſt preſume to deface the gift of a King, ſhee anſwered, that it was beſtowed upon a better King, then hee was, whom (quoth ſhe) finding in ſuch extremity, I would have given all my father hath, and all that thou haſt, yea your ſelves and all, were yee in my power to give, rather then Chriſt ſhould ſtarve.

Ex Vitis ſanctorum Hiberniæ.

An. Dom. 439.

An Dom. 448.

At convenient age ſhe profeſſed virginity, and allured other noble Virgins to her fellowſhip, with whom ſhe lived in her owne Monaſtery, untill the yeare of our Lord 500. and was buried at Downe, in the Tombe of S. *Patricke*, what *Cambrenſis* reporteth of his own knowledge and ſight, I will be bold to adde hereunto.

Among her reliques, was found a concordance of the 4. Evangeliſts, ſeeming to bee written with no mortall hand, beautified with myſticall pictures in the margent, whoſe colours and workemanſhip, at the firſt bluſh were darke and unplea-

unpleaſant, but in the view wonderful liuely and artificiall.

Senanus. An. Dom. 493. *Senanus* firſt a Souldiour, ſucceeded S. *Patricke* in the See of Ardmagh, when he had beene certaine yeares a *minor* and doctour to the Campe.

Brendan. *Brendan* Abbot at the age of ten yeares, was of ſuch incomparable holineſſe, and thereto ſo wiſe and lettered, that his parents thinking themſelves to have wonne the moſt notable fruite, that could enſue their marriage, by mutuall conſent profeſſed continencie. Hee flouriſhed in the time of S. *Bride*, lived familiarly with *Ercus* the Biſhop, and *Finan* the Abbot.

An. Dom 466. Edan, or Madoc. *Madoc alias Edan* of noble parentage, taken priſoner with the King of Temore, and kept in his court with diverſe yongmen his ſchoole-fellowes, openly adjured the King to ſuffer him and them to depart and ſerve God, as they were accuſtomed, which being now ſundred and diſtrayned of libertie they had partly diſcontinued, immediately they were diſmiſſed: he died Biſhop of Fernes, and laide the foundation of that Burrogh.

Molingus. *Molingus* the ſucceſſor of S. *Madoc* being Biſhop tooke himſelfe to voluntary labour, & with his owne hands, drived a running ſpring to his Monaſtery, enduring that travaile dayly after prayer and ſtudy, eight yeares together.

Finian. *Finian* the Abbot was had in ſuch veneration, that whereas *Colm* King of Leinſter, kept priſoner *Cormak* the Kings ſonne of Kenſill: He went boldly with 12. of his Diſciples through the preſſe of the Souldiours, and in ſight of the King, reſcued the young Prince, for the Iriſh in no wayes are outragious againſt holy men. I remember, *Cambrenſis* writeth himſelfe, merrily to have objected to *Morris* then Archbiſhop of Cathell, that Ireland in ſo many hundred yeares had not brought forth one Martyr. The Biſhop anſwered pleaſantly, (but alluding to the late murther of *Thomas* of Canterbury,) Our people (quoth he) notwithſtanding their other enormities yet have ever more ſpared the bloode of Saints, marry now we are delivered to ſuch a nation, that is well acquainted with making Martyrs, henceforwards I truſt this complaint ſhall ceaſe.

Malachias. An. Dom. 1094 *Malachias* was borne in Ardmagh of noble parents, cheriſhed

riſhed in vertue by example of his Mother, and trayned up in learning, even yet a very babe, he vvas oft-times eſpied to ſteale from his companions to pray in ſecret, ſo grave & modeſt, that of himſelfe he chooſed alwayes the moſt ſevere and rigorous Schoolemaſters, and refuſed an excellent Clerke, only becauſe he ſaw him, ſomewhat lightly demeaned at game. In the beginning of his youth hee yeelded himſelfe the Diſciple of *Imarius*, an old recluſe, whoſe auſterity of converſation, the whole towne admired. There he became a Deacon, and at twenty five yeares a Prieſt. The Archbiſhop for the fame and opinion of his worthineſſe, made him his Coadjutor, in the which office he reformed ſuperſtitions and revived the ſtrength of religion, ſpecially the uniformitie of their Church ſervice, wherein before time they jarred. The famous monaſtery of Banchor he reedified, of the patrimony & legacies by his Vncle left him. The ſame Monaſtery was of old time, firſt governed by *Congellus*, and then proceeded *Columbanus*, the father of many religious houſes in France. Banchor had beene ſo ſtored with Moncks, that no houre of day nor night they ceaſed, but ſome company or other was in continuall ſucceſſion at divine ſervice. Of which brethren there were in one day murthred 900. and the place ſpoyled, whoſe poſſeſſions conveyed to *Malachias* by his Vncle, hee reſtored forthwith, and bettered the foundation. At the age of thirtie yeares, he was by Canonicall election forced to accept the Biſhopricke of Conereth, a people of all the Iriſh then moſt ſavage and beſtiall, whom he with ineſtimable toyle reclaymed.

Bernard in vita Malach.

Banchor.

In the meane while died *Celſus* Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, to whom ſucceeded *Malachias*, at the age of thirty eight years. But ere this wel-nigh the ſpace of 200. yeares together, a peſtilent cuſtome had crept into the country, that the Metropolitanes See, was inferred upon meere lay perſons of the blood royall in manner by inheritance, wherefore *Nigellus* the next of kindred animated by the partiality of ſome Princes, & getting into his cuſtody the Bible and Staffe, and other Ornaments of S. *Patricke* (whereunto the eares of the common

people

people tyed the prelacy) came to the Pallace, with a bande of Souldiours to have slaine the Bishop. When all the people wept and howled, for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demaunding their purpose. The very Tyrants letting fall their weapons in stead of the murder conspired, fell to reverence him and departed friends. Three yeares he sate in the primacy; rather to discontinue the horrible corruption before used, then with intent to abide there: and their error having disanulled the abuse, he procured *Gelasius* to be his Successor, and returned to his former Bishopricke of Downe. For to Downe was then annexed Coner. But *Malachias* understanding that in times past, they were severall, sundred them againe, and preferred another to the Diocesse of Coner, desirous rather to discharge his cure, then to enlarge the fruites, while he preached, a woman fell at his feete, and besought his prayer, for that she had gone now with childe fifteene moneths and twenty dayes, nor could by any meanes be delivered, which done, the newes of her delivery was reported before the assembly brake up. Hee threatned vengance to a Captaine, unlesse he would turne away the Concubine he kept, the same being also his brothers Concubine. The Captaine tooke it disdainefully, and within one houre, was slaine by a conspiracy of women, whose Daughters and servants he had defiled. There dwelt in Lismore a notable Clerke, of conversation upright, but corrupt in judgement of religion, this fellow advancing his doctrine, offered disputation to the Bishop, before the multitude, when he was forced to silence with the waight of truth, yet he cavelled maliciously, that not the cause nor learning, but the countenance and credit of *Malachias* had wonne the victory. To whom the Bishop answered, our Lord compell thee, even maugre thine owne willfulnesse to acknowledge thine errors. At these words the Clerke and intending to fly the sight of men, was prevented with a mortall infirmity, and beseeching the Bishop of his peace and communion, died immediatly, reconciled to God and holy Church. Being demaunded of his Brethren, the Moncks of Banchor, where and when hee would

would wish to dye, and be buryed, if it lay in his choyse, hee answered: If in Ireland, beside the body of S. *Patricke*: If beyond the seas, at Clarivall, where S. *Bernard* was then famous and in the feast of *All Soules*. He cast in his mirde, within a few dayes to sue to *Eugenius* the third, for the increase of the number of Metropolitanes, which request, was shortly after sped, and in this voyage he rested at Clarivall, and there diverse times, openly foretold that his yeare of departing was come: accordingly when he had taken leave of S. *Bernard* and the brethren, descended from his chamber to Church, and received the rites of a christian man, he returned to his lodging, and dyed on *All Soules* day, in the yeare of his age fifty foure, so mildely and peaceably that it seemed rather a sleepe, then a death. There his obsequies was solemnized and miracles wrought at his tombe, and from thence his body was translated to Ardmagh, in the yeare 1192. 1148.

Malchus, though borne Irish, yet he spent most part of his time in the monastery of Winchester, in England, from thence assumpted Bishop of Lismore, him also remembreth S. *Bernard* upon occasion. A lunaticke childe he cured in Bishopping him. This miracle was through the world seene and confessed of many hundreds. There happened the same time, a discord betweene the King of Mounster, and his Brother, wherein the King was overmatched and fled into England, visited *Malchus* in his Abbey, and would at no hand be said nay, but so long as it should please God to afflict him, he would live there under his governement, and ensue his conversation, he contented himselfe with a poore Cell, used dayly a cold bathe to represse the wantonnesse of his flesh, dieted himselfe with none other fare, then bread, water and salt, passed dayes and nights in sobbing and remorse of sinne. At length the Kings and Nobles of Ireland began to stomacke the usurper, vanquished him, called home the good King to his right, who with many perswasions of *Malchus* and *Malachias* could scarcely be gotten to forsake ghostly company, & trade of life. King of Mounster.

CAP. XV.

CAP. XV.

The moſt noble events in Ireland, betweene the time of Saint Patricke, and the conqueſt under Henry the 2.

585. IN the yeare of Chriſt 586. the people of Norway were Lordes and victours of the Ilandes in the Weſt Ocean called Orchades, and great ſcowrers of the ſeas: A nation deſperate in attempting the conqueſt of other Realmes: as being ſure to finde warmer dwelling any where, then at their owne home. Theſe fellowes lighted into Ireland by this meanes, *Careticus* King of Brittaine (odious to his ſubjects) fell with them at civill warre. Ioyfull was the newes hereof to the Saxons, who then in the ſix ſeverall kingdomes, poſſeſſed the Iland ſundry wayes, ſo they laide together their force, & aſſociated to them *Gurmondus*, a Rover out of Norway, who having a navy ſtill in a readineſſe, and an army thereafter furniſhed, holpe the Saxons, to hunt the Brittaines into the marches of Wales, builded the towne of Gormond-cheſter, and then having holpen the Saxons, made a voyage into Ireland where he ſped but meanely, and therefore the Iriſh account not this for any of their conqueſts, as ſome of their antiquities have informed me. The ſame *Gurmondus* finding hard ſucceſſe, did but build a few ſlight caſtles and trenches in the frontiers, and then leaving the land, got him home into France, where he was finally ſlaine, him our Chonicles name King of Ireland. But the Iriſh affirme that before *Turgeſius* no Eaſterlings obtained a Kingdome. Here *Cambrenſis* to ſalve the contradiction, thinketh *Gurmundus* to have conquered the land by *Turgeſius* his Deputy, ſent thither at his proviſion, which anſwere breedeth a contrariety more incurable, for himſelf numbreth betweene *Laigirius* King of Ireland, in an. 430. and *Fedlemidius* whom *Turgeſius* vanquiſhed, Monarches 23. and yeares 400. ſo that *Turgeſius* lived in an. 830. and could not poſſibly deale

Careticus K. of Brittaine.

Turgeſius.

deale with *Gurmondus*, who joyned with the Saxons againſt *careticu* in Anno 586. This knot might be untwyned with more facility. *Gurmondus* made much of that little he caught, and wrote himſelfe King, which Title our Hiſtories doe allow him, becauſe he opened a gappe, enjoyed it for a while, and brake a way for his Countreymen. *Turgeſius* brought this attempt to perfection, and in theſe reſpects each of them may be called firſt King and Conqueror.

Secondly therefore *Turgeſius* with his Normans, aſſaulted Ireland, ſuſtained loſſe and many overthrowes, but in the end faſtening his power to the ſea coaſts, and receiving in his friends at will, he ſubdued the land through and through, ever as he went building up Caſtles and fortreſſes, wherewith the Iriſh had not beene yet acquainted, for hitherto they knevv no fence, but vvoods or bogges, or ſtrokes. *Turgeſius* bridled the Kings, and avved them ſo, that vvithout interruption he raigned thirty yeares, cryed havocke & ſpoile vvhere any vvealth vvas heaped, ſpared neither Lay nor Clergy, nor Church, nor Chappell, but very inſolently abuſed his victory. *O-malaghlien* king of Meth, vvas in ſome truſt vvith the Tyrant, his onely Daughter *Turgeſius* craved for his concubine. The father having a preſent vvitt, and vvatching ſome ſubtle oportunities, Saving your fancie, my Lord, quoth hee, there are diverſe Ladies of my bloud fvveeter bed-fellovves for a king, then that brovvne girle, and then he began to count nee es and couſins a number forſooth, endovved vvith angell-like beauties, painted ſo lively vvith his Tale, that the Tyrant doted already upon them ere hee ſavv them: But ever he doubted, leſt *O-malaghlien* extolled them to exempt his ovvne, and the vviſe father cloaked his drift vvith modeſtie in anſvveres, and lingering his graunt to enflame the leachers folly, as hee that vvould any thing to bee ſuſpected rather then his thought indeed. And at the laſt vvhen the other tooke his delay ſomevvhat unkindely, and bade his Queene ſpeake to him. If I ſaid (quoth hee) that vvith my very goodvvill my ſole daughter ſhould bee ſent to you to bee deflovvred, your high vviſedome

830.

would gueſſe I did but faine and flatter, and yet if ten daughters were deerer unto me then your good pleaſure and contentation, by whoſe bounty, both ſhe & I, and we all are ſupported, I were unworthie the ſecret friendſhip, wherein it lyeth in you to uſe mee. As for the wench, it will in part ſeeme honourable to bee asked to the bed of ſuch a Prince, ſeeing Queenes have not ſticked to come from farre, and proſtrate their bodies to noble Conquerours, in hope of iſſue by them, and howſoever it bee taken, time will redeeme it. But ſuch a friend as you are to mee and mine, neither I nor mine ſhall live to ſee, and I purpoſe not to offend your amity with ſaving a greater mater then twenty maiden-heads, ſeeing fathers have not ſticked to yeeld their owne wives to quench the loves and luſtes of their ſonnes.

Therefore I am thus agreed, name you the day and place, ſever your ſelfe from the open eye of your Court, conferre with thoſe that have a curious inſight and skill in beauties, I will ſend you my daughter, and with her the choice of twelve or ſixteene gentlewomen, the meaneſt whereof may bee an Empreſſe in compariſon, when all are before you, make your game at will, and then if my childe ſhall pleaſe your fancie, ſhee is not too good to be at your commandement: Onely my requeſt is, that if any other preſume upon your leavings, your Majeſtie will remember whoſe fathers childe ſhee is. This liberall proffer was accepted of him, whoſe deſire was inſatiable, with many faire promiſes and thankes. To bee ſhort, the ſame day *O-malaghlien* attired Prince-like his owne Daughter, and with her ſixteene beautifull ſtriplings, which preſented to the King in his privy Chamber, accompanied onely with certaine wantons of the Nobility, drew foorth from under their woman-like garments, their skeanes, and valiantly beſtirred themſelves, ſtabbing firſt the Tyrant, next the youth preſent that prepared but ſmall reſiſtance, ſurely fitt mates to ſupply the office they tooke in hand, of *Paris*, not of *Hector*.

Turgeſius murdered.

Out

Out flew the fame thereof into all quarters of Ireland; and the Princes nothing dull to catche holde of ſuch advantage, vvith one aſſent, roſe ready to purſue their liberty. All Meth and Leinſter vvere ſoone gathered to *O-malaghlien*, the father of this practiſe, vvho lightly leapt to horſe, and commaunding their forvvardneſſe in ſo naturall a quarrell, ſayde, Lordings and friendes, this caſe neither admitteth delay, nor asketh policie, heart and haſte is all in all, vvhile the feate is young and ſtrong, that of our enemies ſome ſleepe, ſome ſorrovv, ſome curſe, ſome conſult, all diſmayed, let us anticipate their furye, diſmember their force, cut off their flight, occupie their places of refuge and ſuccour. It is no maſtery to plucke their feathers, but their neckes, nor to chaſe them in, but to rovvſe them out, to vveede them, not to rake them; nor to treade them dovvne, but to digge them up. This leſſon the Tyrant himſelfe hath taught mee, I once demaunded him in a parable, by vvhat good husbandry the Land might bee ridde of certaine Crovves that annoyed it, hee adviſed to vvatche vvhere they bred, and to fire the neſtes about their eares. Goe vvee then upon theſe Cormorants that ſhrovvde themſelves in our poſſeſſions, and let us deſtroy them ſo, that neither neſt, nor roote, nor ſeede, nor ſtalke, nor ſtubbe may remaine of this ungracious generation.

The words of O-malaghlien, King of Meth.

Scarce had he ſpoken the vvord, but vvith great ſhovvtes and clamours, they extolled the King as patron of their lives and families, aſſured both courage and expedition, joyned their confederates, and vvith a running campe, ſvvept every corner of the Land, razed the caſtles to the ground, & chaſed the ſtrangers before them, ſlevv all that abode the battaile, recovered each man his ovvne precinct and former ſtate of government. The Iriſh delivered of ſlavery, fell to their old vomit in perſecuting one another, & having lately defaced their fortified caſtles & tovvns, as coverts to the enemy; al ſides lay novv more open in harmes vvay. This conſidered, the Princes that in the late rule of *Turgeſius* eſpied ſome towardneſſe

to wealth and eaſe, began to diſcourſe the madneſſe of their fathers, who could not ſee the uſe of that vvhich their enemies abuſed, they began to loathe their unquietneſſe, to wiſh either leſſe diſcord, or more ſtrength in every mans dominion to caſt out the danger of naked Territoryes, as ready to call in the enemy, as the contrary was to ſhrowd them, faine vvould they mend, and they vviſt not hovv. The former ſubjection though it ſeemed intollerable, yet they felt therein a grovving to peace, fruits of merchandize, reſt & ſurety; for it fared diverſly tvvixt thoſe Eaſterlings, & theſe Iriſh: they knevv hovv to thrive, might they get ſome commodious ſoyle. Theſe had all the commodities of the ſoile, & reckoned them not. While the Princes & Potentates pavvſed in this good mood, certain marchants out of Norvvay, called Oſtomanni, Eaſterlings, becauſe they lay Eaſt in reſpect of us, though they are indeede properly Normans, & partly Saxons, obtained licence ſafely to land & utter their yvares. By exchanging of vvares & money, finding the Normans civill and tractable, delighted alſo vvith gay conceipts, vvhich they never eſteemed needfull untill they ſavv them, they entred into a deſire of traffique vvith other nations, to allure marchants, they licenſed the ſtrangers aforeſaid to build, if they vvere diſpoſed, Haven-Tovvnes, vvhich vvas done. *Amellanus* founded Waterford; *Sitaricus*, Limericke; *Inorus*, Dublin, more at leiſure by others. Then were repaired by helpe and counſell of theſe men, caſtles, forts, ſteeples, and Churches every-where. Thus are the Iriſh blended alſo in the blood of the Normans, who from thenceforth continually flocked hither, did the Inhabitants great pleaſure, lived obediently, till wealth made them wanton and rebelli ous. But they could not poſſibly have held out, had not the conqueſt enſuing determined both their contentions. The mea ne while they waxed Lords of Havens and Bur-Tovvnes, houſed their ſouldiours, and oftentimes skirmiſhed tooke their fortune, crept no higher, onely a memory is left of their field in Clantarfe, where diverſe noble Iriſh men were ſlayne, that lye buryed before the Croſſe of Kilmaynam.

Waterford. Limericke. Dublin.

1010. al. 1014.

And

And it is to be noted, that theſe are the Danes, which people (then Pagans) waſted England, and after that, France. From whence they came againe into England with *VVilliam* the Conquerour. So that Oſtomani, Normans, Eaſterlings, Danes, and Norway-men are in effect the ſame, and as it appeareth by conference of times and Chronicles, much about one time or ſeaſon, vexed the French men, ſubdued the Engliſh, and multiplyed in Ireland. But in the yeare of CHRIST 1095. perceiving great envy to lurke in the diſtinction of Eaſterlings and Iriſhe utterly weſt, and becauſe they were ſimply Northerne, not Eaſterne, and becauſe they magnified themſelves in the late conqueſt of their Countreymen, who from Normandy flouriſhed now in the Realme of England, they would in any wiſe bee called and counted Normans.

Guil de Nangiac. Polid l.8. Anglhiſt.

An. Dom. 900.

Flatſbury.

Long before this time, as ye have heard, Ireland vvas beſtowed into tvvo principall Kingdomes, and ſometime into more, whereof one was ever elected Monarch, whom they tearme in their Hiſtories, *maximum regem*, or without addition, *regem Hiberniæ*. The reſt were written *Reguli* or *Reges* by limitation, as the King of Leinſter, of Connaght, of Vlſter, of Mounſter, of Meth. To the Monarch beſides his allovvance of ground, and titles of Honours, and other priviledges in Iuriſdiction, was graunted a negative in the nomination of Biſhops at every vacation. The Cleargy and Laity of the Dioceſſe, recommended him to their King, the King to their Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for that as yet the Metropolitanes of Ireland had not receaved their palles: In this ſort was nominated to the Biſhopricke of Divelin, then voide Anno 1074. (at the petition of *Godericus* King of Leinſter, by ſufferance of the cleargy & people there, with the conſent of *Terdilvachus* the Monarch) a learned prelate called *Patricius*: who the bleſſed archbiſhop *Lanfrancus* conſecrated at S. *Pauls* Church in London, & ſwore him to the obedience after the maner of his anteceſſors. *chriſtian* Biſhop of Liſmore

An. Dom. 948.

Legate to *Eugenius* 3. ſummoned a Provinciall Councell in Ireland, wherein were authorized foure Metropolitan Sees, Ardmagh, Dublin, Caſhell, & Tuam: Biſhops thereof being *Gelaſius*, *Gregorius*, *Donatus*, *Edanus*; for hitherto, though they yeelded a primacy to the Biſhop of Ardmagh, in reverence of Saint *Patricke*, yet was it partly voluntary, and ratified rather by cuſtome, then by ſufficient decree: neither did that Arch-Biſhop take upon him to inveſt other Biſhops, but ſent them to Canterbury (as I ſaid before) which henceforth they did not. Namely the next Biſhop S. *Laurence*,
1162. ſometimes Abbot of S. Kevynes in Glandilagh, was ordered and inſtalled at home by *Gelaſius* Primate of Ardmagh.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF CAMPION'S HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CAP. I.

The conqueſt of Ireland by Henry the ſecond, King of England, commonly called Henry Fitz Empreſſe.

1167. This Chapter concludeth the 1. and 2. booke Cambrenſ de conqueſt Hiberniæ: delivered unto me by Francis Agard.

D*Ermot Mac Murrough*, King of Leinſter, halt and leacherous, vowed diſhoneſtly to ſerve his luſt on the beautifull Queene of Meath, and in the abſence of her huſband, allured the woman ſo farre, that ſhe condiſcended to be ſtolne away. This diſhonourable wrong to avenge, *O-Rorick* the King her huſband, beſought aſſiſtance of *Rodericke Oconor*, King of Connaght; at that ſeaſon the generall Monarch of all Ireland. The ſubjects of Leinſter deteſting the quarrell, and long ere this time hating their Prince, left him deſolate in his greateſt neede, ſo as with much difficulty he caught his boate, and fled over for ſuccour to *Henry* the 2. King of England, then warring upon the Frenchmen, within his Dukedome of Aquitaine. Somewhat before this ſeaſon ſate in the See of Rome, *Adrianus* 4. an Engliſh man borne, who having in his youth taken a painefull pilgrimage into Norway, and reduced the whole Iland unto Chriſti-

Polichron. Plat. in Adr. 4. Ioſtell. in Chr.

Iohn Stow. Chriſtianity, learned diſtinctly the ſtate of Ireland, and how their countrymen which dayly repaired thither, being themſelves the moſt part infidels, meeting with a people there, wilde and furious, were like very ſhortly (but if God found remedy) to deface religion: for though Chriſt were beleeved and taught, yet the multitude eft ſoone, grew to a ſhameleſſe kinde of liberty, making no more of neceſſary points of Doctrine, then ſerved their looſe humour. Beſides theſe occaſions *Henry* the 2. builded upon the Popes favour, his borne ſubject, had ſent Ambaſſadours to Rome, in the firſt yeare of his raigne, asking leaue to attempt the conqueſt of Ireland. *Adrian* truſting and requiring a diligent reformation of the premiſſes, graunted his Bull, which *Alexander* his Succeſſour confirmed, and ratified upon the ſame conditions. Now when *Dermot* was come in the very necke of theſe conſultations, and put up his complaint, wherein he preferred the intereſt of his Crowne, and craved a reſtitution of ſome peece of his lands, the matter did ſeeme not all untowardly broached, *Henry* having his hands full with the French, becauſe *Mac Murrough* urged all poſſible haſte, could not perſonaly intend that offer, but ſent him honourably garded into England, with letters patents bearing this Tenour.

The Kings letter. HENRY the ſecond, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earle of Angiow. To all our true ſubjects, Engliſh, Normans, Welchmen, Scotts, and to all nations within our Dominions whatſoever. Greeting. Witt yee that the Bearer hereof, *Dermot Mac Murrough* King of Leinſter, we have received into the ſoveraigne protection of our Grace and bounty, wherefore who ſo of you all our loving ſubjects will extend towards him, your ayde for his reſtoring, as to our truſty and welbeloved, know yee that he is thereto authorized by theſe preſents, and ſhall deſerve at our hands high favour in ſo doing.

With theſe letters and many gay additions of his owne, he arrived at Briſtow, where he fell at conference with *Richard Strongbow*, Earle of Pembroke, with whom he covenanted, the delivery of his onely daughter and heire unto marriage, and

Le Strongbow al. Chepſtowe.

and ſo the remainder of his Kingdome: If the ſaid Earle would recover him his home. That day were planted in Wales two gentlemen, *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, brethren of a Mother, allyed to *Rice ap Griffin*, then Prince of Wales, whoſe Grand-father was ſurnamed *Rice* the great. *Fitz Stephens* had beene high Conſtable there under the King, and for executing rigour upon the Princes ſervants, was with him detained priſoner three yeares, ne would in any wiſe pay ranſome or accept the liberty promiſed him, but if the conditions were loyall to the Crowne, and to his perſon no diſ-worſhip. Laſtly by the mediation of *David* Biſhop of S. Davids, the third brother, and of *Fitz Gerald*, and at the inſtance of *Mac Murrough* whom the Prince entertained in that diſtreſſe, *Fitz Stephens* was conditionaly delivered, that he and his brother *Maurice*, ſhould the next ſpring, while *Strongbow* provided his army, aſſiſt the Iriſh out-caſt, who in conſideration thereof aſſured them an eſtate for ever in the towne of Weixford, and two Cantreds adjoyning.

Fitz Stephens. Fitz Gerald.

Thus much firmely concluded on all ſides, the King ſtale ſecretly home, and wintered cloſely among the Cleargie of Fernes.

According to covenant came *Fitz Stephens*, with 30. Knights of his blood, 60. Squiers, & 300. footemen Archers, to whom at his landing, *Dermot* ſent in aid his baſe ſonne *Duvelnaldus*, and five hundred ſpeares. The towne and ſuburbes of Weixford marched forth againſt him: But when they ſaw Souldiours in array, diverſly dighted and weaponed, furniſhed with artillery, barbed horſes and harneſſe, they retyred to their walles and ſtrengthned them, burning the villages thereabouts, and all the proviſion they could not carry. The aſſault laſted 3. dayes, in the 4. certaine Biſhops reſciant there, tooke up the variance, pacified the Townesmen to their King, and procured the rendring of the Towne. *Dermot* having tryed the valiantnes of the Welchmen, immeadiately kept his touch, and gave poſſeſſion of Weixford with the appurtenances aforeſaid, to *Fitz Stephens* and his brother. After ſucceſſe of theſe matters, they leavyed to the number of

of 3000. Souldiours, and deviſed to vexe the Lords of Vpper Oſſory, who had beene to the King of all other moſt cruell and injurious. Them they compelled to deliver Trewage and ſweare fealty.

Rodericke the monarch appalled at theſe newes, reared up all the Kings, in defence of the land, verily ſuppoſing that all would to wrecke, were it not prevented. And firſt they directed courteous meſſages and gifts to *Fitz Stephens*, moving him to depart the land quietly, and not to moleſt them without cauſe. To whom he anſwered, that much he wondred at the folly of thoſe Princes, who to ſatiſfie their choller had opened ſuch a gappe to their owne prejudice, as though the ſubjects whom they had ſchooled, to breake allyance towards the King of Leinſter, would not be as ready by this example to learne to withſtand the King of Connaght, for his owne part, though hee might with better reaſon invade ſtrangers, then they could expell their neighbours and their peere, yet would they ſuffer the King to reenter his right, they ſhould not finde him ſtiffe, nor untractable, otherwiſe they ſhould well feele that the Bryttons wanted neither abilitie, nor truth, to maintaine their word.

Rodéricke perceived it was no boote to ſpurne, and therefore bethought himſelfe of compoſition upon agreement, they reſolved thus.

Conditions of peace

Inprimis, that *Mac Murrough* ſwearing afreſh his obedience to the Monarch, ſhould quietly, repoſſeſſe the parts of Leinſter, which *Rodericke* with-held by ſuſpenſation.

Secondly, that for enſurance thereof, he ſhould pledge his deareſt baſe ſonne *Cuothurn*, to whom *Rodericke* promiſed his daughter, if this peace were found effectuall.

Thirdly, that being reſted in his kingdome, he ſhould diſcharge the Welch army, nor ſhould henceforwards call them over in defence.

About this time, *Donatus* the good King of Ergall, founded the Abbey of Mellyfont, which is the eldeſt that I finde recorded ſince the Danes arrivall, except S. *Mary* Abbey, beſides Divelin, erected in an. 948.

The

The meane while was landed at Weixford, *Maurice Fitz Gerald* with his proviſion, ten Knights, thirty Squiers, and an hundred Bowmen, hereupon *Dermot* and the two Brethren, ſet their force againſt Divelin, which being the cheife Citty of his Realme, refuſed to yeeld, when Divelin and the country about it vvas recover'd, there befell hoſtility between *Rodericke*, and *Duvenaldus* Prince of Limericke, vvhom *Dermot* his father holpe in field, foyled the enemy, and then vvithdrevv his obedience from the Monarch. Shamefull was *Rodericke's* flight, and *Dermot* inſinuated into the favour of his people, began to recount the confederates of his firſt miſfortune, and conſulted with the two Captaines for the invaſion of Connaght, finding them preſt, he wrote over to the Earle *Strongbow*, renewed their covenants, prayed his helpe. *Richard* Earle *Strongbow* (whoſe auncеſtors came in vvith the Conqueſt, but commonly of the King and his ſucceſſors diſfavoured) having read the letters, he paſſed to King *Henry*, beſought him either to anſwere him his rightfull heritage, vvhich other men occupied, or to licence him elſe vvhere in uncouth lands, to ſeeke his fortune. The King halfe in deriſion bad him on in the name of God, even as farre as his feete could beare him. The Earle diſſembling to perceive the hollovvnes of the king, furniſhed his Couſin *Reymond le Groſe*, Nephevv to the brethren aforeſaid, vvith ten Knights, and 70. Bovvmen, himſelfe enſued vvith about 200. Knights, and 1000. luſty Welchmen, tryed Souldiours, ſhortly they vvanne the Citty of Waterford, and then immediately *Mac Murrough* accompliſhed his convention, gave to the Earle in marriage his daughter *Eve*, with the ſucceſſion of his Kingdome. When Waterford was gotten, and Leinſter pacified, and the Princes of Oſſory tamed, and a choſen band ever in garriſon, *Mac Murrough* became ſo terrible, that none durſt encounter him. The Cleargy aſſembled themſelves at Ardmagh, and with one accord did proteſt that for all their ſinnes, and eſpecially for the Turkiſh kinde of Tyrany which they uſed in buying and ſelling, and with vile ſlaveries oppreſſing the bodies of the Engliſh, (whom their pyrats tooke) their land was like

Reymond le Groſe.

to

to be translated to that nation, whose captives they handled so cruelly. To appease in part, the indignation of God, they decreed, that all English, wheresoever in hold within the realme, should forthwith be looſed, Further, if it pleased God to scourge them, it should be meekely suffered, as farre beneath the debt of their deserts. King *Henry*, though he was well apayed that the Earle should be from him, yet he liked no deale, his growing in Ireland to such power, as percase in time to come, with his faction in Wales, then living under a Prince of their owne, he might be able to face the Crowne of England. An edict was therefore drawne, whereby all subjects were charged upon their perill, to reverte into England by a day, and a caveat annexed, that upon paine of death, none should presume to passe over without a new warrant, nor ship over any ware, money, munition, or victua's into Ireland.

1170. Dive in assaulted by the Normans.

Thus had the Irish a breathing space, and would perhaps have picked greater benefits thereby, had not the Normans beene in their top immediately after. Great force they laide to Divelin, but vvere valiantly repelled, and their Captaine *Hasculphus* taken prisoner, who being calmely intreated, began to overview himselfe, and to imagine that the Citizens durst not use him extreamely, & once in open audience brake forth his unseasonable courage, in these wordes. Take this (quoth he) but for hansell, the game is to come: which heard they delayed him no longer, but pusht him downe on a blocke, and swapped off his head.

Hasculphus the Norman.

1171

Strongbow perceiving the Kings jealously not yet allayed, having wel-nigh spent his army in defence of diverse good townes, impugned by *Rodericke* and the Irish, left sufficient warde till his returne: and met the King at Glouceſter. To whom he writeth, declaring the envy that lurked in his preferment, yeelded the tittle of all his winnings, craved good countenance with his grace, contented himselfe with any portion whatsoever his Majesty should relinquish: a finall quietnesse was driven betweene them, Dublin with th'appurtenances, and all port townes of Leinster, & all fortresses reserved

reserved to the King. The Earle should enjoy with good-leave whatsoever he had gotten beside. This yeare dyed *Mac Murrow*, and the Abbey *de castro Dei* was founded.

Soone after the King with five hundred Knights with archers and horsemen many more tooke shore at Waterford, and was such a terrour to the Irish, that incontinently all Mounster submitted themselves to his peace. There the men of Wexford to feede the surmises of *Henry* conceived against the gentlemen, betrayed their Lord *Fitz Stephens*, and him delivered to the King. The King to gratifie them, for a while tremely chained and hampered the prisoner, quarrelling with him, notwithstanding the inhibition he had proceeded in atchieving the conquest of Ireland, but shortly hee enlarged him, and ratified the grants of Wexford above-mentioned.

1172. Regni sui 17. Ætatis 41.

These Princes of the South sware fidelity and tribute to *Henry*. *Dermot Cartye* King of Corke, *Donald Obrene* king of Limericke, *Donald* and *Omalaghlien*, puissant Lords of Ossory, and in briefe, all the states of Mounster, from thence hee journeyed to Dublin, where in like manner all the Captaines of Leinster, and *Ororicke* king of Meth, and *Rodericke Oconor*, king of Connaght, and of all Ireland for himselfe, and the whole Iland, humbly recognized his soveraignety: finally, no man there was of name in the land (except them of Vlster) but they to him bowed and sware obeysance. All which he feasted royally with a dinner of Cranes flesh, a fowle till then utterly abhorred of the Irish.

Merlin had propheſied, that five should meete, and the sixt should scourge them. This sixt they now construed to be *Henry*, in whom the five pettie Kingdomes were united. Of the same conquest propheſied their foure notable Saints, *Patricke*, *Brachon*, *Colme*, and *Moling*.

Merlines Prophecy.

Irish Prophets. Fab. part 7. c. 137.

The King not unmindfull of his charge, enjoyned by the Popes *Adrian* and *Alexander*, entred into a reformation

mation of the Church: and mooved the famous Biſhop of Liſmore, Saint *Chriſtian*, their Legate, to call a Synode at *Caſhell*, wherein they defined Eight Articles.

Pol Virg. lib. 13 Angl. Hiſt. Synode of Caſhell.

1. Firſt, that their people ſhould abandon unlawfull contracts of their couſins and allyes, and obſerve the Canons of Matrimonie.

2. That their Infants ſhould be primeſtened of the Prieſts hand at the Church dore, and then baptized in the font of their mother Church.

3. That all faithfull duely pay their Tithes.

4. That holy Church be for ever quit of thoſe curſed exactions of diet and harborow whereunto they had beene accuſtomably ſtrayned foure ſeaſons in the yeare, and elſe againſt right.

5. That the fine levyed for manſlaughter, be not borne by the Clearkes, and kinſmen to the malefactour, but if he were acceſſary or faulty to the deed doing.

6. That the ſicke doe his Teſtament to be made or read in the preſence of credible perſons.

7. That the funerals of the dead be devoutly and ſolemnly kept.

8. That foraſmuch as GOD hath univerſally delivered them into the government of the Engliſh, they ſhould in all points, rights, and ceremonies, accord with the Church of England.

To theſe things *Gelaſius* Primate of Ardmagh, becauſe he was old and impotent, gave his conſent at Divelin in the preſence of the King, he died two yeares after, ſo aged, that his ſuſtenance was the milke of a white Cow, which he carried with him whereſoever he travelled. This yeere the Abbey *de fonte vivo* was founded.

While all went well in Ireland, newes came that *Henry* the ſonne (whom his father had for good purpoſe crowned King of England) was miſledde to intrude upon the actuall poſſeſsion of the Crowne in his fathers life-time, which ſtirre to appeaſe, the King left the cuſtody of Ireland with *Hugh de Lacy*, to whom he gave Meth in fee, with *Fitz Stephens*,

Stephens, *Fitz Gerald*, and *Philip de Bruiſe*, and diverſe others, and ſayled into England.

King Henry returneth into England.

In abſence of King *Henry*, *Ororick* King of Meth, ſurnamed *Monoculus*, required conference and parley with *Hugh de Lacy*, in which communication the King had trayterouſly murdered *Lacy*, had not *Fitz Gerald* reſcued him. Then ſtept out an ambuſhment of the Iriſh, but *Griffin* a Gentleman of the bloud royall in Wales, flighted the *Kyrneghes*, and ſlew *Ororick*.

Ororick with one eye.

The Engliſh perceived ſuch practices daylie ſought and attempted, tooke from the Iriſh as farre as they durſt, all truſt of government, fenced themſelves vvith garriſons, made Captaines, Keepers and Conſtables, vvhereſoever they vvanne the better. But King *Henry* vvas ſo affrighted vvith his ſonnes rebellion, and grevv into ſuch envye both at home and abroad for the death of *Thomas* late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he had no vvill to mind his proceedings in Ireland. Ever his jealouſie increaſed tovvardes the Earle *Strongbow*, vvhom he ſuppoſed eaſie to bee carryed avvay vvith any light occaſion of tumult. The Earle vvas a man of great birth, but not of great port until this good marriage befell him, & knovving himſelfe neither to be brooked in ſight, nor truſted out of ſight, kept ſtill one certaine rate in all his doings, bare but lovve ſaile, fed no quarrells, ſhunned all ſuſpicious conference.

Earle Strongbow.

While they ſtood thus in a mammaring, and Letters ctme daylie over, hovv faintly the States and Princes of Ireland performed obedience; for except in Leinſter, all other parts retayned ſtill their auncient kinde of government, and did onely acknovvledge Tribute. It vvas thought expedient by *Henryes* Counſellours, to diſcharge his minde of that care, and ſeeing there vvas trouble on all ſides, and all could not bee intended one vvay, they determined to venture the cuſtody of Ireland to *Strongbow*, being likely for his ovvne vvealth and aſſurance, to procure all poſſible meanes of bridling and annoying the Iriſh.

Stronghow Lord Warden of Ireland.

No ſooner vvas the Earle landed with his Commiſſion Lord Warden of Ireland, but *Donald* King of Limericke met him at the vantage, and courſed him within the walls of Waterford, whereof hearing the reſidue their mates were animated, ſo that up they ſtart in every corner, tagge and ragge to expell the Engliſh.

It went hardly, then the Earle remembred himſelfe of his couſin Lord *Reymond*, left behinde him in Wales a ſuitor to *Baſil* his ſiſter, whoſe marriage nothing ſtopped but the Earles conſent. Now therefore hee writeth lovingly to the Wooer, and upon condition that hee came ſpeedily to ſuccour him, hee yeelded the Lady and all elſe at pleaſure. *Reymond* in his firſt entry brake into Divelin, marryed his Wife in compleate Armour, and the very next daye ſprang foorth, whipped the Rebells, quieted Leinſter.

Pol Virg. lib. 13 Angl. Hiſt.

Alſo the Cleargy having lately peruſed the Popes Bull, wherein hee entitleth *Henry* Lord of Ireland, and under ſtraight paynes commaundeth alleagiance unto him, buſily repreſſed the fury of their Countreymen. And forſomuch as immediatly after Chriſtianity planted there, the whole Iland had with one conſent given themſelves not only into the ſpirituall, but alſo into the temporall juriſdiction of the See of Rome, which temporall right the two Biſhops *Adrian* and *Alexander* had freely derived into King *Henry*, as by their publique inſtruments read in their counſell at *Caſhell* appeareth, they denounced curſe and excommunication to any that would maliciouſly gainſay or fruſtrate the ſame.

When theſe broyles were rocked aſleepe and huſht for a time, the familiars of *Stronghow* greatly forethought them of the credit and rule committed to *Reymond*, whom in concluſion they procured home againe vvhen he had ſerved their turne at neede. The meane vvhile dyed *Stronghow*, as ſome ſay, betrayed and vvounded, he lyeth buryed in the Body of Chriſt Church in Divelin, leaving behinde him one onely daughter *Iſabel*, married after 14. yeares to *VVilliam* Earle marſhall.

1175. Flatsbury.

marſhall. Cloſely they concealed *Strongbowes* death, untill they had compaſſed from the King another Governour after their owne tooth. For even they dreaded, that *Reymond* being in the Princes eye, and friended in the Court, would catch his oportunity, and wynde himſelfe (might he get an inkling in time of the Earles death) into the ſucceſſion of his office, which even then waxed ſweet and ſavoury. Coodgellors of this drift, ſtopped meſſengers, intercepted letters, haſted on their owyn courſe. *Baſil* the wife of *Reymond*, more dutiful to her husband, then naturall to her brother, continued ſtill in Ireland ſicke, but having privy knowledge of thoſe newes, ere the breath was quite out of the Earles body, payned her ſelfe to diſturbe this whole array. And whereas ſhee knew well her letters ſhould bee ſearched, and her owne ſervants ſtayed, ſheelet it be delivered at all a very venture to one of the maryners, and therein draweth a long proceſſe of her affayres and houſhold, but in the middle ſhuffles in a few lines of her meaning, under theſe tearmes: To all my afflictions is added now lately the tooth-ake, ſo that except that one maſter-tooth had fallen (which I ſend you for a token) I weene I were better out of my life. Now was the tooth tipped with golde, and burniſhed feately like a preſent, which *Reymond* wiſt well to bee none of hers, and therefore quickly ſmelled the conſtruction, lingred not for Letters Patents, but ſtept over preſently, and made his packe, and was elected by the Kings Agents there, Lord Proteſtour of Ireland, till the Kings pleaſure were further knowne: During his authority flouriſhed the *Geraldines*, but ſhortly after they quayled againe, under the government of *VVilliam Fitz Aldelin*, with him was joyned in commiſſion the valiant Knight *Iohn de Courcy*, conquerour, and Earle of Vlſter, which hitherto the King had not obtained.

Baſil the wife of Reymond le Groſe.

Reymond Lord Proteſtour of Ireland.

Vlſter conquered. 1176.

That yeare was founded the Abbey of Crockeſden, by *Bertramus de Verdon*.

To eſtabliſh the conqueſt of Vlſter, and other victories of the parts of Ireland before enjoyed, *Alexander* 1177.

the third sent his Cardinall *Vivianus*, vvho declareth the Title that *Henry* held of the Pope; the reservation of the *Peter-pence*, the indignation of GOD and holy Church against the rebells, who beeing themselves contemners and breakers of Canons Ecclesiasticall, yet for maintenance of their unruly stomackes, had found the meanes to make Churches their barnes, bestowing therein both corne and pulse, that the victuallers and purveyors of the Princes campe should not dare to require the sale thereof for perill of sacrilledge. Therefore hee licenseth Officers in this behalfe soberly and discreetely to convent such persons, as made the Church a Sanctuary for their Corne, and in neede to take thereof at reasonable prices.

Little good did *Fitz Aldelin*, and lesse vvas like to doe, because hee delighted to crosse his Peeres, and vvas of them stopped in his course of government.

Hugh Lacye Protectour.

Hugh de Lacye vvas made Protector generall over the Land. But *Miles Cogan*, *Philip de Bruise*, *Fitz Stephens*, *Power*, and diverse other more preferred to severall countreyes under him.

This *Lacye* builded a sort of castles and forts throughout all Leinster and Meth, and the next sixe yeares continually devout gentlemen erected sundry Abbeyes, as the Abbey of Rosegласse, of Donbrothy by *Hervy* a Welchman, one of the speciall conquerours of Ireland, vvho himself after that, entred into religion in Trinity Priory at Canterbury, The Abbeyes of Geripont, and *choro Benedicti*, the Abbey *de lege Dei*, vvith repayring of many Chappels, Chauncells, Bell-houses, High-vvayes, and Bridges. Then dyed Saint *Laurence* Archbishop of Divelin, to vvhom succeeded *John comyn* an Englishman, brought up in the Abbey of Evesham, Founder of Saint Patrickes in Divelin, vvhich vvas before that time a Parish Church, & novv by the said Archbishop endovved vvith Prebends, Vicears, Clearkes, Choristes, and many notable possesions for their maintenance, vvhereout from time to time have proceeded Clergy-men of greatest learning & reputation in the Diocese.

Flatsbury. 1178.

1179.

1180.

1182.

S. Patrickes Church in Divelin founded.

Divers

Divers contentions were raised betwixt Christs Church and it, for antiquity, wherein they of S. Patrickes, are (no doubt) inferiour, as shall appeare. They are both written Cathedrall Churches, and both are the Bishops Chapiter, in vvhose election they both ought to convent within the Church of the blessed Trinity, called Christs Church, vvhich in all records hath the preheminency of place. The party that disturbeth this order of election, forfeiteth by deede to th'Archbishop of Divelin, 200. pounds. This foundation vvas much enriched by King *John*.

Infra cap. 41

S. Patrickes booke of recordes.

The same yeare died the yong King *Henry*, reconciled to his father, but preparing warre against his brother *Richard* Duke of Aquitain: soon after also deceased *Iessry* his other son, Duke of Brittaine. Thus were left *Richard*, his inheritour, and *John* afterwards Earle of Gloceſter, heretofore surnamed without land, to whom the father conveyed all his interest and Lordship of Ireland, sent him thither honourably accompanied, being then but twelue yeares old, and with him in speciall trust, *Giraldus Cambrensis* Clerke, a diligent searcher of the antiquities of Ireland, surely well learned, and in those dayes counted Eloquent.

Giral. Camb.

About the young Earle were servants and counsellours, three sorts, first Normans, great quaffers, lourdens, proud, belly swaines, fed with extortion and bribery, to vvhom hee most relyed: secondly, the English brought with him, meetly bold: Thirdly, the English found in the land, vvhom being best worthy and most forward in all good services, hee least regarded, hereof sprang parties and disdaine, and to the knights that hardiest were and readiest of courage no small discomfort, to the enemies a spurre.

Ioh. Lord of Ireland.

With the bruit of his arrivall at Waterford, the Kings of Thomond, Desmond and Connaght, put themselves in the bravest manner they could, to meete him and to submit their countries to his Grace, before them came the Irish Franklyns with rich presents, (and as they are very kind hearted where they list to shew obedience,) made unto the Childe, their Lord, the most joy and gladnesse that might be, and though

rude-

rudely, yet lovingly, and after the custome of their country, offred to kisse him, with such familiarity as they used towards their Princes at home. Two of the Guard, Normans, pickthankes, shooke and tare the Clownes by the gibs & beards unmannerly, and churlishly thrust them out of the presence, whom they should have instructed curteously, & born with. The Irish thus rejected, went against the fore-named Kings, opened the rebukes and villanyes done to them, for their meekenes, that their Lord whom they thought to honour, was but a Boy, peevish and insolent, governed by a sort of flatterers, younglings and prowlers: That sithence to them that buxome were and tractable, such despite and dishonour (that terme they have borrowed of the Spaniards) was proffered so soone, little good should the states of Ireland looke for in continuance, when the English had once yoked and penned them in their clouches.

This report lightly alienated the mindes of those Princes, not yet very resolute, and turned them home with great oathes and leagues, entred among themselves, caused also the mightiest Captaines elsewhere to sticke together, while their lives lasted, and for no manner earthly thing to slacke the defence of their auncient liberties.

Immediately walked abroad mutinyes of broyle & commotion, so that the young Earle and his army, were content to commit the tryall thereof, to *Lacy*, *Bruise*, *Courcy*, *Fitz Gerald*, and the rest, himselfe departing away the same yeare he came, and leaving the Realme a great deale worse bestedde then he found it.

From the Conquest hitherto *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and from hence to the yeare 1370. I am specially holpen by certaine briefe extracts, whose author is nameless, and therefore I quote him by the name of *Philip Flatsbury* who wrote them, and enriched them with collections of his owne, for *Gerald* the father of the Earle of Kildare then being. An. 1517.

In these notes I used the conference of 3. coppies, much different, sent me, the one by my Lord of Trimlestone, another from M Agard, the third from M. Stanyhurst.

Lacy the rather for these whisperings, did erect and edifie a number of Castles, well and substantially, provided in convenient places, one at Derwath, where diverse Irish prayed to be

be set on worke, for hyre. Sundry times came *Lacy* to quicken his labourers, full glad to see them fall in ure with any such exercise, wherein, might they once be grounded & taste the sweetenesse of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of reformation to be hoped, for which cause he visited them often, and merrily would command his Gentlemen to give the labourers example in taking paines, to take their instruments in hand, and to worke a season, the poore soules looking on and resting. But this game ended Tragically, while each man was busie to try his cunning: some lading, some plaistering, some heaving, some carving; the Generall also himselfe, digging with a pykeaxe, a desperate villaine of them, he whose toole the Generall used, espying both his hands occupied and his body, with all force inclining to the blow, watched his stoope, and clove his head with an axe, little esteeming the torments that ensued. This *Lacy* was conquerour of Meth, his body the two Archbishops, *Iohn* of Divelin and *Mathew* of Cashell, buryed in the monastery of of Becktye, his head in S. *Thomas* abbey at Divelin. The next yeare, was builded the abbey of Ines in Vlster, and soone after, the abbeyes of Iugo Dei, and of Comer, and then the abbey of Knockmoy, or de Colle victoriæ, by *Cathel Conderg* King of Connaght.

Lacy murdered. 1189.

Monast. de beatitudine. 1187. 1198. 1199. 1200

CAP. II.

The Titles of the Crowne of England to every part of Freland, and to the whole diverse wayes.

I Will begin with the pedigree of *William* Earle marshall, for thereupon depend many recordes in Ireland, and the Queenes right to Leinster. *Walter Fitz Richard*, who came from Normandy, with *William* Conquerour, died Lord Strongbow of Strigule *alias* Chepstow without issue, to whom succeeded his sisters sonne *Gilbert*, who was created the first Earle of Pembroke,

Pembroke, & had iſſue *Richard* the inheritour of Leinſter, by a covenant & marriage of *Eva* the ſole daughter of *Mac Murrough* King of Leinſter. This *Richard* conveyed to *Henry* the ſecond all his title, and held of him the Lordſhip of Leinſter in foure counties, Weixford, Catherlagh, Oſſory, and Kildare. *Richard* left iſſue, a daughter *Iſabel*, married to *VVilliam* Earle marſhall of England, now Earle of Pembroke, Lord Strongbow, and Lord of Leinſter. *VVilliam* had iſſue five ſonnes, who died without iſſue, when every of them, except the youngeſt, had ſucceſſively poſſeſſed their fathers lands, and five daughters, *Maude*, *Ioane*, *Iſabel*, *Sibil*, and *Eve*, among whom the patrimony was parted in an. 31. H. 3. Of theſe daughters beſtowed in marriage, are deſcended many noble houſes, as the *Mortimers*, *Bruſes*, *Clares*, &c. borne ſubjects to the Crowne of England, paying ever to the King his duties reſerved.

Title to Meth. *Hugh de Lacy* Conquerour of Meth, had iſſue *VValter de Lacy*, who held the ſame of King *Iohn*, paying a fine of foure thouſand marks ſterling, and hence beganne all the ſeverall claimes there at this day, with allegiance ſworne and done by their auncеſtours.

Title to Mounſter. At the very firſt arrivall of *Henry* the ſecond, the Princes of Mounſter came univerſally, and did homage voluntarily, and acknowledged to him and his heires, duties and payes for ever.

Title to Vlſter, & Connaught. *Iohn de Courcy* Conquerour and Earle of Vlſter, dyed without iſſue, King *Iohn* Lord of Ireland, gave the Earledome to *Hugh de Lacy*, who had iſſue, *VValter* and *Hugh*, dead without iſſue, and one daughter married to *Reymond Burke* Conquerour and Lord of Connaught.

Burke Earle of Vlſter and Connaught. Connaught deſcended to diverſe heires, owing ſervice to the Prince, but Vlſter is returned by devolution to the ſpeciall inheritance and revenues of the Crowne of England, in this manner. The ſaid *De Burgo*, had iſſue *Richard*, who had iſſue *Iohn*, who had iſſue *VVilliam*, who was ſlaine without iſſue, and a Daughter *Elizabeth* intytled to thirty thouſand marks yearely, by the Earledome of Vlſter, whom *Edward* the

the 3. gave in marriage to *Leonel* his ſecond ſonne, Duke of Clarence, who had iſſue a daughter *Philippe*, married to *Edmund Mortymer*, who had iſſue *Edmund*, *Anne*, *Elinor*. *Edmund* and *Elinor* died without iſſue, *Anne* was married to *Richard*, Earle of Cambridge, ſonne to *Edmund* of Laugley Duke of Yorke, fift ſonne to *Edward* the third, which ſaid *Richard* had iſſue *Richard Plantagenet*, father to *Edward* the fourth, father to *Elizabeth* wife to *Henry* the ſeventh, and mother to *Henry* the eight, father to *Mary*, *Edward* the ſixt, and *Elizabeth*.

Severall claimes to the Land of Ireland.

1. Firſt that the Iriſh (for of the reſt there is no queſtion) were ſubjects to the the Crowne of Brittaine, before they ſet foote in Ireland. Thus it appeareth. They dwelt on that ſide of Spaine, whereof Bayon was then cheiſe imperiall Citie, and the ſame then in poſſeſſion and obedience to *Gurguntius* 376. yeares ere Chriſt was borne, as it was to his ſucceſſours many a day after, namely to *Henry*, the which as I finde noted in certaine precepts of governement, dedicated by *Iames Young*, to *Iames Butler* Earle of Ormond, then Lieutenant of Ireland. an. 1416.

From this coaſt and Citty, now part of Gaſcoigne came the fleete of thoſe Iberians, who in 60. ſhips met *Gurguntius* on the ſea, returning from the conqueſt of Denmarke, to whom they yeelded oath and ſervice, ſued for dwelling, were by him conducted and planted in Ireland, and became his leige people.

2. *Mac Gil-murrow* King of Ireland, with all his petty Princes, Lordes, and Captaines, ſummoned to King *Arthurs* court held in Carlion, an. 519. did accordingly their homage, and attended all the while his great feaſt and aſſembly laſted.

3. The Monarch of Ireland and all other, both *reges* and *reguli* for them and for theirs for ever, betooke themſelves to *Henry* the ſecond in an. Dom. 1172. namely thoſe of the ſouth, whiles he lay at Waterford, *Dermot* King of Corke, which is the nation of *Mac Cartyes*, at Caſhell, *Donald* King of Limricke,

ricke, which is the nation of the *Obrenes*, *Donald* King of Oſſory, *Mac Shaghlen* King of Ophaly, at Divelin did the like, *Okeruell* King of Vriell, *Ororicke* king of Meth, *Rodericke* King of all Ireland, and of Connaght. This did they with conſents and ſhoutes of their people: and king *Henry* returned without any Battle given. Onely Vlſter remained which *Iohn de Courcy* ſoone after conquered, and *Oneale* Captaine of all the Iriſh there, came to Dublin to *Richard* the 2. in an. 1399. And freely bound himſelfe by oath and great ſummes of money, to be true to the crowne of England.

4. The ſame time *Obrene* of Thomond, *Oconor* of Connaght, *Arthur Mac Murrow* of Leinſter, and all the Iriſh Lords which had beene ſomewhat diſordered, renewed their obedience.

5. When Ireland firſt received Chriſtendome they gave themſelves into the juriſdiction both ſpirituall & temporall, of the See of Rome. The temporall Lordſhip, Pope *Adrian* conferred upon *Henry* the ſecond, and hee gave the ſame to *Iohn* his younger ſonne, afterwards King of England, and ſo it returned home to the Crowne.

6. *Alexander* the 3. confirmed the gift of *Adrian* as in both their Charters is expreſſed at large.

7. *Vivian* the legate on the Popes behalfe doth accurſe and excommunicate all thoſe that flitte from the obeyſance of the Kings of England.

8. The cleargy twice aſſembled, once at Caſhell, ſecondly at Ardmagh, plainely determined the conqueſt to be lawfull, and threatned all people, under paine of Gods, and holy Churches indignation, to accept the Engliſh kings for their Lords, from time to time.

9. It would aske a volume to recite the names of ſuch Iriſh Princes, who ſince the conqueſt have continually upon occaſions, revolts or petitions, ſworne truth and faith to the kings of England, from time to time, received honours, wages, fees, pardons, and petitions. And thus I thinke no reaſonable man will doubt of a right ſo old, ſo continued, ſo ratified, ſo many wayes confeſſed.

CAP. III.

CAP. III.

Richard the firſt, and King Iohn.

BY occaſion of *Lacyes* miſhap, *Iohn Courcye*, and *Hugh de Lacye* the younger, with all their aſſiſtants, did ſtreight execution upon the Rebells, and preventing every miſchiefe ere it fell, ſtayed the Realme from uproares. Thus they continued lovingly, and lived in wealth and honour all the dayes of *Richard* the firſt, untill the firſt yeare of King *Iohn* raigne. 1189.

Henry the ſecond had iſſue male, *VVilliam*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Ieffrey*, and *Iohn*. *VVilliam*, *Henry*, and *Richard* dyed without iſſue. *Ieffrey* Earle of Brittaine dyed before his father, and left iſſue two daughters, and an after-borne ſon called *Arthur*, whoſe title to the Crowne, as being the undoubted lyne of the elder brother, *Philip* King of France, and certaine Lords of England and Ireland ſtoutly juſtified: Him had King *Iohn* taken priſoner in Normandy, and diſpatched, if the fame be true, with his owne hands at Roane. Of this barbarous cruelty all mens eares were full, and *Courcye* either of zeale or partiality, ſpake bloudy words againſt it, which meane his undermyners caught, and did not onely heave him out of credite, but alſo got commiſſion to attach his body, and to ſend him into England. 1199. Stow: Grafton. Arthurus. Poſthumus.

The Earle miſtruſted his part, and kept aloofe, till *Hugh de Lacye* Lord Iuſtice, vvas faine to levye men in armes, and to invade Vlſter. Thence hee vvas often put to flight, vvhereupon hee proclaymed *Courcye* Traytour, and hyred ſundry gentlemen vvith revvards, to bring him in quicke or dead, ſo long hee vvooed the matter, that *Courcyes* ovvne Captaines vvere inveygled to betray their Lord. Therefore upon good Friday, vvhen the Earle did off his armour, and in ſecret meditations viſited religious places bare-footed, they layde for him, tooke 1202. Iohn Courcye:

him as a rebell, and ſhipped him into England the next way, where he was adjudged to perpetuall priſon. *Sentleger* addeth in his collections that *Lacy* payd the Traytors their money, and then immediatly hanged them.

This *Courcye* tranſlated the Church and Prebendaryes of the Trinity in Downe, to an Abbey of black Monks brought thither from Cheſter, and the ſame did hallow to S. *Patricke*, for which alteration of the name of God to his ſervant, hee deemed himſelfe juſtly puniſhed.

Not long after (as ſay the Iriſh) certaine French knights came to King *Johns* Court, and one of them asked the combat for tryal of the Dutchy of Normandy. It was not thought expedient to jeopard the title upon one mans lucke, yet the challenge they determined to anſwere: ſome friend put them in minde of the Earle impriſoned, a Warriour of noble courage, and in pitch of body like a gyant. King *John* demaunded *Courcye* whether hee would bee content to fight in his quarrell: Not for thee (ſaid the Earle) whoſe perſon I eſteeme not worthy the adventure of my bloud, but for the Crowne and dignity of the Realme, wherein many a good man liveth againſt thy will. The words were haply taken without dudgen, as proceeding from ſtomack, and from one counted more plaine then wiſe.

Courcye therefore being cheriſhed to the field, and refreſhed with dyet, fed ſo wonderfully after his hard keeping, that the French Challenger tooke him for a monſter, and privily ſtale into Spaine. Then was the Earle inlarged, and croſſed the ſeas tovvardes Ireland, fifteene times, evermore beaten back to the ſhoare, vvent thence into France to change the coaſt, and there dyed: after vvhoſe deceaſe vvithout heires of his body, the Earledome of Vlſter vvas entirely beſtovved upon *Hugh de Lacye* for his good ſervice.

Hugh de Lacy Earle of Vlſter

In Ireland remained one of the Courcyes, Lord of Rathenny and Kilbarrock, vvhom as a ſpye of all their practiſes, and an informer thereof to the King, *VValter* and *Hugh* the ſonnes of *Hugh* had ſlaine, and great ſeditions rayſed, bearing

bearing themſelves after the deceaſe of their father for Governours out of checke. To ſettle the Realme of Ireland, King *John* brought thither a maine Armye, baniſhed the *Lacyes*, ſubdued the remanents, tooke pledges, puniſhed malefactours, eſtabliſhed the execution of Engliſh Lawes, coyned money of like value currant ſterling in both Realmes. The two *Lacyes* repentant of their follyes and tyrannies, fled into France, diſpoyled of ſumptuous apparell, and unknowne, meekely they ſerved in Saint *Taurines* Abbey, as gardners, untill the Abbot by their countenance and behaviour, beganne to ſmell their eſtates, and preſſed them ſo farre, that they detected their offences, and the due deſert of much harder chaſtiſement, eſtſoone beſeeching the Abbot to keepe their counſells, who commending their humilities, yet adviſing them to laye holde upon their Princes favour, if it might be had, laboured the King his familiar and godſip earneſtly for their pardons and obtained it.

King Iohn entreth Ireland the ſecond time. Anno 1210, Stow.

Each of them were fined, *VValter* at 4000. and *Hugh* at 2500. markes, and reſtored him to the Lordſhip of Meth, this to the Earledome of Vlſter: King *John* made his Vice-gerent, and returned home, ſubdued the Welchmen, met with *Pandulphus* the Legate of *Innocentius* the third, who came to releaſe him of the ſentence wherein he ſtood excommunicate for his ſpoyle and extortion of Church goods, to whom being the Popes Atturney, hee made a perſonall ſurrender of both his Realmes in way of ſubmiſſion, and after his aſſoylement, received them againe: ſome adde that he gave away his Kingdome to the See of Rome, for him and his ſucceſſours, recognizing, to holde the ſame of the Popes in fee, paying yearely therefore one thouſand markes, and in them three hundred for Ireland. *Blundus* ſayth, *Centum pro utroq; auri marchas.* Sir *Thomas Moore*, a man in that calling & office likely to found the matter to the depth, writeth preciſely, that neither any ſuch writing the Pope can ſhew, nor were it effectuall if he could. How farre foorth, and with what limitation a Prince may or may not addict his Realme feodary

Polid. lib. 15.

In the ſupplication of ſoules.

to another, *Iohn Maior* a Scottiſh Chronicler, and a Sorboniſt, not unlearned, partly ſcanneth, who thinketh 300. marks for Ireland a very hard pennyworth. The inſtrument which Fabian. our Engliſh Chronicle rehearſeth, might haply be motioned and drawne, and then dye unratified, although the copy of that record continue: But certaine it is, that his ſucceſſours never payde it, and thereto aſſenteth *Iohn Bale* in his Apology againſt vowes.

1213. To *Iohn Comin* Founder of S. *Patrickes* Church, ſucceeded *Henry Lounders* in the Archbiſhops See of Divelin, who builded the kings Caſtle there, being Lord Chiefe Iuſtice of Ireland, him they nicknamed (as the Iriſh doe commonly give additions to their Governours in reſpect of ſome fact or qualitie) *Scorch-villaine*, and *Burnebill*, becauſe hee required to peruſe the writings of his Tenants, colourably pretending to learne the kinde of each mans ſeverall tenure, and burned the ſame before their faces, cauſing them either to renew their eſtates, or to holde at will. In the fourth yeare of King *Iohns* raigne, was founded the Abbey of Dowske, in the ſixt, the Abbey of Wethny in the Countie of Limericke, by *Theobald le Butler*, Lord of the Carricke, and in the twelfth, *Richard Tute* builded the Monaſtery of Granard.

Henry Scorchbill Lord Iuſtice.

CAP. IIII.

Henry the third, and Edward the firſt.

1228. AFter the death of *Lownders*, *Henry* the third (informed of the Truth and good ſervice done by the *Geraldines* ever ſince their firſt arryvall in the Countrey) made *Morrice Fitz Gerald* the ſonne of *Morrice* aforeſaid Lord Iuſtice.

Morice Fitz Gerald, Lord Iuſtice.

To him ſent *Edward* the Prince, ſurnamed *Longſhanke*, for aſſiſtance and power of men againſt the Welch Rebells, who leaving Warders in the Caſtle of Sligaghe, by him lately founded, together with *Phelim Oconnor*, and

and a luſty band of ſouldiours met the king at Chepſtovv, returned victoriouſly, and by this meanes increaſed favour, & ſtreightway they tvvo joyning vvith *Cormack mac Dermot*, *Mac Rory*, made a noble hoſting upon *Odonill* the Iriſh enemy that invaded and grieved the Kings ſubjects of Vlſter, when *Lacy* was once dead.

Odonill being vanquiſhed, the Lord Iuſtice forced pledges and Trowages of *Oneale*, to keepe the Kings peace, and diverſe other exploytes did hee during his time of government, which in particular rehearſeth *Flatsbury* in his notes collected for *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, Earle of Kildare, Anno 1517.

To him ſucceeded in office Sir *Iohn Fitz Geffrey* knight, 1248. *Geffrey Allan de la Zowche*, whom Earle Warren ſlevv, to 1259. *Zowch*, *Stephen de longa ſpata*, who ſlew *Oneale* in the ſtreets of 1260. Down, and there dyed. Him followed *William Den*, in whoſe 1261. time *Mac Cartye* played the devill in Deſmond, and to *Den*, *Richard Capell*, who envyed the Geraldines, and was of them taken priſoner, together with *Theobald le Butler*, and *Miles Cogan*. The king tooke up the variance, and diſcharged *Den*, preferring *David Barrye* to his roome, who tamed the inſolencie of *Morrice Fitz Morrice*, couſin germane to *Fitz Gerald*: upon *Barrye* came *Vfford*, upon *Vfford*, *Iames Audeley*, who dyed of a fall from his horſe in Thomond: and then for the time *Fitz Morrice* governed, till the king ſent over Sir *Ieffrey de Genevill*, newly returned in pilgrimage from the Holy Sepulture: Him called home againe *Edward* the firſt, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, and ſent in his ſtead *Robert Vfford* the ſecond time, who made his Vice-gerent, Fryar *Fulborne*, Biſhop of Waterford, and reſumed his charge at his next arryvall into Ireland. 1267. 1268. 1270.

At this time the citty of Divelin was miſerably waſted with fire, and the Bell-houſe of Chriſts Church utterly defaced, which the citizens before they repayred their private harmes jointly came to ſuccor, & collections made to redreſſe the ruines of that ancient building firſt begun by the Danes, as 1180. Divelin fired. Records of Chriſt Church.

as I finde in a monument of that foundation, continued by *Sitricus*, Prince of Divelin, at the motion of *Donate*, then Biſhop, & dedicated to the Bleſſed Trinity, finiſhed by *Richard* Earle *Strangbow*, *Fitz Stephens*, and S. *Laurence* the Archbiſhop, and his foure ſucceſſors, *Iohn* of *Eveſham*, *Henry Scorchbill*, Lord Iuſtice, & *Lucas*, and laſtly by *Iohn de S. Paul*, which worke at the decay by fire, and ſince, many devout citizens of Divelin have beautified.

It was firſt a Priory and Canons, now Deane and Chapiter.

The ſame *Strongbowes* Tombe ſpoyled by fall of the roofe, Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy, reſtoreth at this preſent, who hath alſo given a ſightly countenance to the Quire, by doing coſt upon the Earle of *Kildares* Chappell, over againſt the which he hath left a monument of Captain *Randolfe*, late Colonell of Vlſter, Valiantly dead in that ſervice, *Iohn Samford* Archbiſhop of Divelin Lord Iuſtice, *VVilliam Veſcy* Lord Iuſtice, who purſued *Omalaghlien* king of Meth, that ſoone after was ſlaine.

Cap. Randolfe.

1187. The Souldan of Babylon determined to vexe the Chriſtians cities of the Eaſt. Tripolis, Tyrus, Berinthus, Sidon, Ptolemais, now parts of Turky, vvhom to redeeme, & vvith their helpes to get againe the Holy Land, *Edward* the firſt had foure yeeres paſt obtained by licence of *Martin* the fourth, and by confirmation of *Honorius* his ſucceſſor, the vvhole tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in Ireland for 7. yeares, vvhereafter followved a fifteene of the Temporalty: And the ſame yeere *Iohn Baliol* Earle of Galvvay, founded *Baliol* Colledge in Oxford, made his homage to King *Edward* for his Kingdome of Scotland, and to the Lord Iuſtice for his Earledome of Ireland.

Blundus lib. 8.

1281. *Veſcey* vvas a ſterne man, and full of courage, but raſhe and impudent of his tongue: he convented before him, *Iohn* Earle of Kildare, & charged him vvith riots & vagaryes unſeaſonable, for that he ranged vvith his men abroad, & preyed upon privat enemies inordinatly, for malice & grudge, not for advancement of the publique vveale: vvhom the Earle as impatient as the other, anſvvered thus: By your honour and mine, my Lord, & by king *Edwards* hand, you vvould if you durſt, appeach me in plaine tearmes of felony: for vvhereas

1294.

I have the title, and you the fleece of Kildare, I wot well how great an eye ſore I am in your ſight, who if I could bee handſomely truſſed up for a fellon, then might my young Maſter your ſonne, become a Gentleman: Iuſtice, Gentleman (quoth he) thou proud Earle, the *Veſcyes* were gentlemen, before Kildare was an Earledome, and before the Welch bankrupt thy Couſin feathered his Neſt in Leinſter. But ſeeing thou dareſt me, I will ſurely breake thy heart, and with that word he called the Earle a notorious theefe & murderer. Then followed clattering of ſwords by Souldiours on both parties, untill either ſide appeaſed his owne, and the Lord Iuſtice leaving his Lieutenant *VVilliam Hay*, ſped over to the King, whom immediately followed the Earle, & as faſt as *Veſcey* charged Kildare with fellony, no leſſe did Kildare appeach the Iuſtice of high treaſon, and in tryall thereof he asked the Combate. But when the liſtes royall were provided, *Veſcey* was ſlipt away into France, and ſo diſherited of all his lands in the county of Kildare, which were beſtowed upon the Earle of Kildare and his heires for ever.

The Earle waxed inſolent upon this ſucceſſe, and ſquared with diverſe Nobles Engliſh and Iriſh of the Land, hee took priſoner, *Richard* Earle of Vlſter, and him detained untill the Parliament then aſſembled at Kilkenny, commanded his delivery, and forthat unrulineſſe, diſſeiſed the Geraldines of the Caſtle of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connaght.

VVilliam Doddingſale Lord Iuſtice. This yere for the defence of Wales, and commodity of Paſſengers, to and from Ireland, the King did coaſt upon the Iſle of Angliſey, called the mother of Wales, and builded there the caſtle *de bello mariſco*, or Bewmariſhe. *Thomas Fitz Morice* Lord Iuſtice.

1294.

Bewmariſhe.

Iohn VVogan Lord Iuſtice pacified the former ſtrife, betweene Vlſter and Kildare, and all the Geraldines, with their aſſociats, together with *Theobald* Lord *Butler*, gathered ſtrength of men, and met the kings army before Edinburgh, wan the Citty, ſlew 25. thouſand Scots, hampred *Iohn Baliol* king of the Scots, in ſuch ſort, that glad and faine was he to renew his homage.

1256.

1299.

CAP. V.

CAP. V.

Edward the ſecond.

1307. THomas *Fitz Morice* Lord Iuſtice.

I will begin this Chapter with the modeſtie of a good Clerke, *Richard Havering* who five yeares by diſpenſation had received the fruites and revenues of the Biſhopricke of Divelin, and long might have done, had he beene ſo diſpoſed. But now feeling in ſleep a waight upon his ſtomacke, heavyer to his weening then any maſſe of mettall, whereof to be releaſed he vowed in his dreame, all that ever he could make in this world: Suddainely the next morne, reſigned the cuſtodium of the Biſhopricke, and contented himſelfe with other eccleſiaſticall cures incident to his vocation. The ſame yeare was the bane of the Templers in Ireland, to whom ſucceeded the Knights of the Rhodes. This profeſſion began at Ieruſalem, by certaine Gentlemen that kept their abode next to the Temple there, who till the Councell of Creetz increaſed not above the number of nine. But thenceforth in little more then fiftie yeares, being enriched by contribution of all Chriſtian Realmes, every where their houſes were erected and endowed bountifully: they grew to 300. Knights of the order and into inferiour brethren innumerable. But with eaſe and wealth they declined now to ſuch intollerable deformities of life and other ſuperſtitious errors, nothing leſſe regarding then the purpoſe of this their foundation, that the generall Councell aſſembled at Vienna, diſanulled the ſame for ever. And thereupon as in other countries ſo in Ireland, they confeſſed the publicke fame of their enormities, and themſelves culpable, their perſons they yeelded to perpetuall pennance, their lands were given (though with ſome difficulty) to the Knights of S. *Iohns* hoſpitall at Ieruſalem, who ſince then for recovering the Iland of Rhodes from the Saracens, became famous, and multiplied much more honourably then did the Templers.

Templers.

Tyrel. 12. 647.

Gu. uin hiſt. Gall. 7.

Tom. 3 Conc.

Ian. in Clem. 5 ...yeth them ... treaſon ... and the ...rithans.

Of

Of this latter foundation was the priory of S. *Iohns* at Kilmaynam beſides Divelin. 1309.

Iohn Decer Major of Divelin builded the high Pype there, and the Bridge over the Liffy, toward S. Wolſtans, and a chapell of our Lady at the Fryar minors, where he lyeth buried, repaired the Church of the Fryars preachers, and every friday tabled the Fryars at his owne coſts. Iohn Decer.

In abſence of *VVogan*, Sr *VVilliam Burcke* was Lord Warden of Ireland, to whom King *Edward* recõmended *Pierce* of *Gaveſtone* the diſquieter of all the nobility in England, a companion to the King in vice, bolſtered up by the King ſo peremptorily againſt the will of his Councell, that whereas the ſaid *Pierce* was by them exiled, *Edward* ſent him now into Ireland with much honour and many Iewels, aſſigning him the commodities royall of that Realme, which bred ſome bickering betweene the Earle of Vlſter Sir *Richard Burke*, and *Gaveſtone*, who notwithſtanding bought the hearts of the Souldiours with his liberality, ſubdued *Obrene*, edified ſundry Caſtles, cawſwayes, and bridges, but within three yeares he retyred from Flaunders, into England, where the nobles beſieged him at Scarborough and ſmit off his head. Pierce of Gaveſtone. Stow.

Iohn VVogan Lord Iuſtice, ſummoned a Parliament at Kilkenny, where wholeſome lawes were ordained, but never executed: There fell the Biſhops in argument about their Iuriſdictions and in eſpeciall the Archbiſhop of Divelin forbad the Primate of Ardmagh to lift up his croſyer within the province of Leinſter. In ratifying of which priviledge I have ſeene the coppy of Pope *Honorius* Bull exemplified among the recordes of S. *Patricks* Church, ſhortly after *Rowland Ioyce*, then Primate, ſtale by night in his pontificals from Howth to the priory of Gracedieu, where the Archbiſhops ſervants met him, and violently chaſed him out of all the dioceſſe. This Archbiſhop was named *Iohn Aleeke*, after whoſe death were elected in ſciſme & diviſion of ſides, two ſucceſſours, *Thorneburgh* Lord Chancellor, and *Bignore* Treaſurer of Ireland. The Chancellor to ſtrengthen his election, haſtily went to ſea, and periſhed by ſhipwracke, the other ſubmitting his 1311.

cauſe

cause to the processe of law tarryed at home, and sped.

Theobald de Verdon Lord Iustice. Sixe thousand Scots fighting men, under the conduct of *Edward Bruise* brother to
1313. 1314. *Robert* King of Scotland, also the Earle *Murray*, *Iohn Menteith*, *Iohn Steward*, and others landed in the north of Ireland, ioyned with the Irish, and conquered Vlster, gave the Englishmen three notable overthrowes, crowned the said *Bruise* King of Ireland, burned Churches and Abbeyes, with all the people found therein, men, women, and children. Then was Sir
1315. *Edmund Butler* chosen Lord Iustice, who combined the Earle of Vlster, and the Geraldines in friendship, himselfe with Sir *Iohn Mandevill*, and preserved the rest of the Realme.

In the necke of these troubles, arose foure Princes of Connaght, to impaire and scatter the English force. But then the *Burckes* and the *Berninghams* discomfited and slew the number of eleaven thousand besides Athenry. To Sir *Richard*
Iohn Hussee. *Bermingham* belonged a lusty young swayne, *Iohn Hussee*, whom his Lord commanded to take a view of the dead carcasses about the walles, and bring him word whether *Okelly* his mortall foe were slaine among them. *Hussee* passed forth with one man to turne up and peruse the bodies. All this marked *Okelly*, who lurking in a bush thereby, being of old time well acquainted with the valiantnes & truth of *Hussee*, sore longed to traine him from his Captaine, and presuming
The wordes of Okelly. 'nowupon this opportunity, discloſed himself & said. *Hussee*, 'thou seest I am at all points armed, and have my Esquire, a 'manly man, besides me, thou art thin and thy page a young-'ling so that if I loved not thee for thine owne sake, I might 'betray thee for thy Masters. But come and serve me at my 'request, & I promise thee by S. *Patrickes* staffe, to make thee 'a Lord in Connaght, of more ground, then thy Master hath 'in Ireland. When these wordes waighed him nothing, his owne man (a stout lubber) began to reprove him, for not relenting to so rich a proffer, assured him with an oath, whereupon hee proffered to gage his soule for performance. Now had *Hussee* three enemies, and first he turned to his owne knave, and him he slew, next hee raught to *Okellyes*

Okellyes Squire a great rappe under the pit of his eare, which overthrew him: Thirdly he bestirred himselfe so nimbly that ere any helpe could be hoped for, he had also slaine *Okelly*, and perceiving breath in the Squire, he drawed him up againe, & forced him, upon a truncheon to beare his Lords head into the high towne, which presented to *Bermingham*, and the circumstances declared, he dubbed *Hussee* Knight and him advaunced to many preferments, whose family became afterwards Barons of Galtrime. While the Scots were thus matched, *Robert de Bruise* King of Scots, tooke shore at Cragfergus, to assist his brother, whose Souldiours committed sacriledge and impiety, against Monasteries, Tombes, Altars, Virgins, robbed Churches of all their plate and ornaments. They of Vlster, sent to the Lord Iustice pittifull supplication, for aide in this misery, who delivered them the Kings power and standerd, wherewith under pretence to expell the Scots, they raunged through the country with more grievance and vexation to the subjects, then did the strangers. *Le Bruise* proceeded and spoyled Cashell, and wheresoever he lighted upon the *Butlers* lands, those hee burned and destroyed unmercifully. By this time had the Lord Iustice, and *Thomas Fitz-*
1317. This is of some called the first Earle of Kildare. *Iohn* Earle of Kildare, *Richard de Clare*, and *Arnold de Powere*, Baron of Donoile, furnished and armed thirty thousand men ready to set forward. Then came newes that *William de Burgo* the Earles brother was taken by the Scots, whereof the Irish of Vlster imboldened with the presence of the Scotish Army, and with the late discomfiture which Earle *Richard Burcke* sustained at Coynes, denyed their alleagiance openly, and conspired in the behalfe of *Edward le Bruise*, whom they proclaimed King. The Lord Iustice had assembled such force against them, under the leading of the *Geraldines* and *Poweres*, that each of them was thought sufficient, by himselfe to winne the field. But suddainely the two Captaines, and their adherents squared, so as no good conclusion might be inferred: *Roger Mortimer*, trusting by their discenti-
Mortimer. on to imbeazell a victory, culled out fifteene thousand Souldiours, and met the Scots at Kenles, where he was shamefully foyled,

foyled, his men (as folke ſuppoſed) willfully forſaking him, and bearing falſe hearts. Vp ſtart the Iriſh of Mounſter at theſe newes, the *Ocooles*, *Obrines*, and *Omores*, and waſted with fire and ſword from Arkloe to Leix; with them coped the Lord Iuſtice and made a great ſlaughter, foureſcore of their heads were ſet upon Divelin Caſtle.

Edward Bruiſe raigneth in Vlſter.

The meane while *Edward Bruiſe* raigned in Vlſter, held his courts, pronounced his enemies traytors, abandoned the Engliſh blood, exhorted the Iriſh of Leinſter to doe the like, whereupon *Donald* the ſonne of *Arthur Mac Morrow*, a ſlip of the royall family, diſplayed his banner within two miles of Divelin, but him *Traberone* tooke priſoner, ſent him to the caſtle of Dublin, whence he eſcaped, ſlyding downe from the Turret, by a cord that one *Adam Maugle* brought him. The ſaid *Maugle* was drawne and hanged.

Donald ſonne of Arthur Mac Murrowe.

1317. *Roger Mortimer* Lord Iuſtice pacified the diſpleaſure, betweene *Richard* Earle of Vlſter, and the Nobles that had put the ſaid Earle under ſurety, miſdeeming him of certaine riots cõmitted againſt the kings ſubjects, wherby the Scots caught ſtrength and courage, whoſe ravening, cauſed ſuch horrible ſcarcity in Vlſter, that the Souldiours which in the yeare before abuſed the Kings authority, to purvey themſelves of wanton fare, ſurfeited with fleſh and aquavitæ all the Lent long, prolled and pilled inſatiably without neede, and without regard of poore people, whoſe onely proviſion they devoured: Thoſe (I ſay) now living in ſlavery under *Le Bruiſe*, ſtarved for hunger, when they had firſt experienced many lamentable ſhifts, as in ſcratching the dead bodyes out of their graves, in whoſe ſkulls they boyled the ſame fleſh, and fed thereof. *Mortymer* went over to the King indebted to the Citizens of Divelin for his viands, a thouſand poundes, whereof he payde not one ſmulkin, and many a bitter curſe carried with him to the ſea.

Famine horrible.

1318. *VVilliam* Archbiſhop of Caſheli Lord Chancellor was left Lord Warden of Ireland, in whoſe time *Bermingham* aforeſaid being generall of the field, and under him Captains, *Tute*, *Verdon*, *Tripton*, *Sutton*, *Cuſacke* and *Manpas*, led forth the Kings power

power againſt *Edward Bruiſe*, pitching by Dundalke, the Primate of Ardmagh perſonally accompanying our ſouldiours, bleſſing their enterpriſe, and aſſoyling them all, ere ever they began to encounter. In this conflict the Scots were vanquiſhed full & whole, 2000. ſlaine, & *Manpas* that preſſed into the throng to meet with *Bruiſe*, was found in the ſearch, dead, covering the dead body of *Bruiſe*. Thus diſſolved the Scottiſh Kingdome in Ireland, and *Bermingham* ſending his head to the King, received in recompence the Earledome of Lowth, and to his heires for ever the Barony of Ardee, and Athenry.

The Scots vanquiſhed.

Alexander Bigmore, Archbiſhop of Divelin, ſued to Pope *Iohn* the 21. (ſo I reckon, omitting the ſciſmaticke and dame *Ioane*) for priviledge of an Vniverſitie to bee ordained in Divelin, which tooke effect, and the firſt three Doctors of Divinity the ſaid Biſhop did create, *VVilliam Hardit* a Fryar preacher, *Henry Coggy* a Fryar minor, Fryar *Edmund Kermerdin*, & one Doctor of the Canon law; *VVilliam Rodiard* Deane of S. *Patricks*, Chancellour of the ſaid Vniverſity, who kept their termes & commencements ſolemnely, neither was the ſame ever diſfranchiſed, but onely through variety of time diſcontinued, and now ſince the ſubverſion of monaſteries, utterly extinct, vvherin the Divines vvere cheriſhed, and open exerciſe maintained. A motion vvas made in this laſt Parliament to erect it againe, contributions layde together, Sir *Henry Sidney* then Lord Deputy, proffered 20. pound lands, & one hundred pounds in money, others followed after their abilities & devotions, the name deviſed Maſter *Acworth*, *Plantolinum* of *Plantagenet* and *Bullyne*. But vvhile they diſputed of a convenient place for it, and of other circumſtances, they let fall the principall.

An. 1320.

Vniverſity at Dublin.

Thomas Fitz Iohn, Earle of Kildare, Lord Iuſtice, to vvhom ſucceeded *Bermingham* Earle of Lourh, and to him Sir *Iohn Darcy*. At this time lived in the Dioceſſe of Oſſorye, the Lady *Alice Kettle*, vvhom the Biſhop aſcited to purge the fame of inchaunting and Witch-craft objected to her, and to *Petronilla*, and *Baſill* her complices. They charged her mightily to have carnall conference vvith a

1311.

Alice Kettle a ſorcereſſe.

ſpirit called *Robin Artiſon*, to whom ſhee ſacrifized in the high way nine redde Cockes, and nine Peacockes eyes, ſhee ſwept the ſtreetes of Kilkenny betweene compleere and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of her ſonne *VVilliam Outlawe*, murmuring theſe wordes, *To the houſe of VVilliam Outlawe, murmuring theſe wordes, To the houſe of VVilliam my ſonne, hye all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.* At the firſt conviction they abjured and accepted pennance, but were very ſhortly found in relapſe, and then *Petronilla* was burned at Kilkenny, the other twayne could not be had: ſhee at the houre of her death, accuſed the ſaid *VVilliam* as privy to their ſorceryes, whom the Biſhop helde in durance nine weekes, forbidding his keepers to eate or drink with him, or to ſpeake with him more then once in the day, by procurement of *Arnold le Power*, then Seniſchall of Kilkenny hee was delivered, & corrupted the Seniſchall to vexe the Biſhop, which he did, thruſting him into priſon for three moneths. In ryfling the cloſet of *Alice*, they found a wafer of Sacramentall bread, having the devils name ſtamped thereon, in ſtead of IESUS; and a pype of oyntment, wherewith ſhee greaſed a ſtaffe, whereon ſhee ambled through thicke and thinne, when and how ſhee liſted. This buſineſſe troubled all the Cleargy of Ireland, the rather for that the Lady was ſupported by Noble men: and laſtly, conveyed into England, ſince which time no man wotteth what became of her.

CAP. VI.

Edward the third, and Richard the ſecond.

1317. Adam Duffe.

Scarcely vvas this buſineſſe ended, but another deviſt poſſeſſed another franticke gentleman of the nation of the *O-tooles* in Leinſter, named *Adam Duffe*, vvho denyed obſtinately the Incarnation of Chriſt, the Trinity of perſons in unity of the God-head, the reſurrection of the fleſh. Hee called the Holy Scripture, a fable; the bleſſed Virgin, a vvhore; the See Apoſtolick, erroneous; for vvhich aſſertions hee

he was burned in Hogging greene beſides Divelin.

Roger Outlaw, Prior of S *Iohns* of Ieruſalem at Kilmainam, became Lord Iuſtice. Great variance ariſing betvveene the *Geraldines, Butlers*, and *Berminghams* on the one ſide, and the *Powers* and *Burkes* on the other ſide, for tearming the Earle of Kildare a Rymer. The Lord Iuſtice ſummoned a Parliament to accord them, wherein he himſelfe was faine to cleare the ſlaunder of hereſie fathered upon him by *Richard Ledred*, Biſhop of Oſſory. The Biſhoppe had given a declaration againſt *Arnold le Power*, convented and convict in his conſiſtory of certaine hereticall opinions; but becauſe the beginning of *Powers* accuſations concerned the Iuſtices kinſman, and the Biſhop was miſtruſted to proſecute his owne wrong, and the perſon of the man, rather then the fault, a day was limited for the juſtifying of the bill, the party being apprehended and reſpited thereunto. This dealing, the Biſhop (who durſt not ſtirre out of Kilkenny, to proſecute his accuſation) reputed partiall; and when by meanes thereof the matter hanged in ſuſpence, hee infamed the ſaid Prior, as an abbettour and favourer of *Arnolds* hereſie. The Prior ſubmitted himſelfe to the tryall, and three ſeverall Proclamations were cryed in Court, that any man might lawfully come in and indict, accuſe or ſay evidence againſt the Iuſtice: none came: then paſſed the Councell a decree, commanding to appeare at Divelin, all Biſhops, Abbots, Pryors, the Majors of Divelin, Corke, Limericke, Waterford, Droghedah, the Sheriffes, Knights, and Seniſchalls of every ſhire. Out of them all they ſorted ſixe Inquiſitours, which in ſecrecie examined the Biſhoppes and perſons aforeſaid one by one, who with univerſall conſent depoſed for the Pryor, that to their judgements hee was a zealous and faithfull childe of the Catholique Church. The meane while deceaſed *le Power* priſoner in the Caſtle, and becauſe he ſtood unpurged, long he laye unburyed.

1328. The Lord Iuſtice cleared of a ſlander.

Sir *Iohn Darcye* Lord Iuſtice.

The Iriſh of Leinſter made inſurrections, ſo did *Magoghigan* in Meth, and *Obrien* in Mounſter, whom *VVilliam* Earle 1329.

of Vlſter, and *Iames* of Ormond vanquiſhed. In which ſturre, *VVilliam Bermingham*, a warriour incomparable, was found halting, and was condemned to dye by *Roger Outlawe*, Pryor of Kilmainam, then Lieutenant to the Lord Iuſtice, and ſo hanged was hee, a Knight among thouſands odde and ſingular. So outragious were the Leinſter Iriſh that in one Church they burned 80. innocent ſoules, asking no more but the life of their Prieſt then at Maſſe, whom they notwithſtanding ſticked with their ſavelins, ſpurned the bleſſed Sacrament, and waſted all with fire, neither forced they the Popes interdiction, nor any cenſures eccleſiaſticall denounced againſt them: But maliciouſly perſevered in that fury, till the Citizens of Weixford tamed them, ſlevv foure hundred in one skirmiſh, the reſt flying, vvere all drenched in the vvater of Slane.

Bermingham hanged.

1335. *Thomas Burgh* Treaſurer and Lieutenant of Ireland, vvhile *Darcy* Lord Iuſtice purſued the murtherers of *VVilliam Bourk* Earle of Vlſter, a young gentleman of tvventy yeares olde, vvhom the ſeditions of *Maundevill* murdered beſides Cragfergus. And vvhen hee had ſcourged thoſe Traytours, he entred Scotland vvith an army and might have poſſeſſed the Ilands beſides, had they bene vvorth the keeping, into vvhich Ilands beſides him and *Suſſex* the late Lieutenant of Ireland no Governour ever yet adventured.

Darcye and Suſſex.

1337. Sir *Iohn Carleton* Lord Iuſtice, vvith vvhom came his brother *Thomas* Biſhop of Hereford, Lord Chauncellor, and *Iohn Rice* Treaſurer, and tvvo hundred Welchmen ſouldiours. The Biſhop became Lord Iuſtice, in vvhoſe time all the Iriſh of Ireland vvere at defiance vvith the Engliſh, but vvere ſhortly calmed by the Earles of Kildare and Deſmond.

1338.

Sir *Iohn Darcy* by the Kings Letters Patents Lord Iuſtice of Ireland during life, in the fourteenth yeare of *Edward* the third, vvhich king abuſed by ſome corrupt informers, called in under his ſignet royall, fraunchiſes, and liberties, and graunts vvhatſoever his predeceſſours had ratified to the Realme of Ireland, and to every perſon thereof. This revocation vvas taken very diſpleaſantly.

1340.

The

The Engliſh of birth, and the Engliſh of bloud falling to vvords, and divided in factions about it. The Iriſh laye wayting for the contention, ſo as the Realme was even upon point to give over all and rebell. For remedy the Iuſtice began a Parliament at Divelin, whereto the nobles refuſed to make apparance, & aſſembled themſelves quietly without diſturbance at Kilkenny, where they with the Commons agreed upon certaine queſtions to be demaunded of the King by way of ſupplication, by which queſtions they partly ſignified their griefes: Thoſe in effect were,

The firſt notable diſſention of the Engliſh in Ireland.

1. How a Realme of warre might be governed by one, both unskilfull and unable in all warlike ſervice.

2. How an officer under the king that entred very poore, might in one yeare grow to more exceſſive wealth, then men of great patrimony in many yeares.

3. How it happened ſeeing they all were called Lords of their owne, that the Lord of them all was not a penny the richer for them.

The Prince of this repining was *Morice* Earle of Deſmond, whom *Vfford* the now Lord Iuſtice on paine of forfeiture of all his lands commaunded to the Parliament at Dublin, and there put him under arreſt, delivered him by main priſe of the tvvo Earles *Vlſter* & *Ormond*, & of 28. knights & ſquiers: All vvhich, except the Earles & tvvo knights, loſt their inheritãce by rigour of the ſaid *Vfford*, becauſe *Deſmond* had eſcaped.

1345.

Therefore at the deceaſe of the Lord Iuſtice, vvhich enſued the next yeare, Bonfires and gavvdes vvere ſolemnized in all the Land: his Lady vvas a miſerable ſott, and led him to extortion and bribery, much he clipped the prerogatives of the Church, and vvas ſo hated, that even in the ſight of the country, he vvas robbed vvithout reſcue, by *MacCarty*, notvvithſtanding he gathered povver, and diſperſed the rebellions of Vlſter.

Robert Darcy Lord Iuſtice, choſen by the Councell, untill the Kings charter came to Sir *Iohn Fitz Morrice*, vvho inlarged *Fitz Thomas* Earle of Kildare, left in holde by *Vfford*, *Fitz Morrice* vvas depoſed, and Sir *VValter Bermingham*

1346.

elected, who procured ſafe conduct for *Deſmond* to pleade his right before the King, where he was liberally intreated, & allowed towards his expences there twenty ſhillings a day at the Princes charge, in conſideration of which curteſie to his kinſman, the Earle of Kildare, accompanyed with diverſe Lords, Knights, and choſen horſemen, ſerved the King at Callice, a towne thought impregnable, and returned after the winning thereof in great pompe and jollity.

1348. Bar. Carew. *Iohn Archer* of Kilmainam, Lieutenant to the Lord Iuſtice, to whom ſucceeded Baron *Carew*, after *Carew* followed Sir *Thomas Rokeſby* knight.

1350. Sherman Major of Divelin. This yeare dyed *Kemvricke Shereman*, ſometimes Major of Divelin, a Benefactour to every Church and religious houſe twenty miles round about the citty: his legacies to poore and others, beſides the liberality ſhewed in his life time, amounted to 3 000. marks: with ſuch plenty were our fathers bleſſed, that cheerefully gave of their true winnings to needfull purpoſes, whereas our time that gaineth exceſſively, and whineth at every farthing to be ſpent on the poore, is yet oppreſſed vvith ſcarcity and beggery.

Sir Robert Savage. The ſame time dvvelled in Vlſter Sir *Robert Savage*, a vvealthie Knight, vvho the rather to preſerve his ovvne, beganne to vvall & fortifie his Mannour houſes, vvith caſtles and pyles againſt the Iriſh enemy, exhorting his heire Sir *Henry Savage*, to intend that Worke ſo beneficiall for himſelfe and his poſterity. Father (quoth he) I remember the Proverbe, better a Caſtle of bones, then of ſtones, vvhere ſtrength and courage of valiant men are to helpe us. Never vvill I, by the grace of God, cumber my ſelfe vvith dead vvalls, my fort ſhall be vvhereſoever young blouds be ſtirring, and vvhere I finde roome to fight. The father in a fume let lye the building, and forſvvore it. But yet the vvant thereof, and ſuch like, hath beene the decaye aſvvell of the *Savages*, as of all the Engliſhe Gentlemen in Vlſter, as the lacke of vvalled townes is alſo the principall occaſion of the rudeneſſe and wildeneſſe in other partes of Ireland. This *Savage* having prepared

pared an army againſt the Iriſh, allowed to every Souldiour before he buckled with the enemy, a mighty draught of Aquavitæ, Wine, or old Ale, and killed in proviſion for their returne, beeffes, veniſon, and foule great plenty, which diverſe of his Captains miſliked, & conſidering the ſucceſſe of warre to be uncertaine, eſteemed it better pollicy to poyſon the cates or to doe them away, then to cheriſh a ſort of Catives with princely foode: If ought ſhould happen to themſelves in this adventure of ſo few, againſt ſo many. Hereat ſmyled the Gentleman and ſaid: Tuſh yee are too full of envy, this world is but an Inne whereunto you have no ſpeciall intereſt, but are onely tennants at the will of the Lord. If it pleaſe him to commaund us from it, as it were from our lodging, & to ſet other good fellowes in our roomes, what hurt ſhall it be for us to leave them ſome meate for their ſuppers, let them hardly winne it, and weare it, If they enter our dwellings, good manners would no leſſe but to welcome them, with ſuch fare as the country breedeth, and with all my heart much good may it doe them: Notwithſtanding I preſume ſo farre upon your noble courage, that verily my minde giveth me, that wee ſhall returne at night, and banquet our ſelves with our owne ſtore, and ſo they did, having ſlaine 3000. Iriſhmen.

Morrice Fitz Thomas Earle of Deſmond, Lord Iuſtice during life, whom followed Sir *Thomas Rokesbye* a knight, ſincere and upright of conſcience, who being controlled for ſuffering himſelfe to be ſerved in wooden Cuppes, Anſwered, theſe homely Cuppes and diſhes pay truely for that they containe, I had rather drinke out of wood, and pay gold and ſilver, then drinke out of gold, and make wooden payment. 1356.

Almericus de Sancto Amando, Iames Butler Earle of Ormond, and *Morrice Fitz Thomas* Earle of Kildare, Iuſtices of Ireland by turnes. To this laſt, the Kings letters appointed in yearely fee, for his office 500. pounds, with promiſe that the ſaid gouernour ſhould finde twenty great horſe to the field, and ſhould bee the tvventieth man in going out againſt the enemy, vvhich allovvance and conditions at theſe dayes, I thinke vvere ordinary. 1357. 1359. 1360.

Leonell

1361. Leonell Duke of Clarence.

Leonell the third sonne of *Edward* the third Duke of *Clarence*, and in the right of his wife, Earle of Vlster, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He published an inhibition, to all of Irish birth, that none of them should approach his army, nor be imployed in service of the warres. *Obrene* he vanquished suddainely, but no man wist how, an hundred of his principall Souldiours in garrison were missed, whose dispatch, that seditious decree was thought to have procured, wherefore hee advised himselfe and united the people, shewing alike fatherly care towards them all, and ever after prospered, Knights he created these Gentlemen, the worthiest then in Chivalry, and at this day continuing in great worship, *Preston*, now the house of Gormanstowne, *Holywood*, *Talbot*, *Cusacke*, *Delahide*, *Patricke*, *Robert* and *Iohn de Fraxinis*. The exchequer he removed to Catherlagh, and bestowed in furnishing that towne 500. pounds.

1367. 1369. 1377. *Gerald Fitz Morice* Earle of Desmond, Lord Iustice, untill the comming of *VVilliam de VVindsore*, Lieutenant to the King, then in the last yeare of *Edward* the third ruling the realme, under the name of Lord Governour, and keeper of Ireland.

¶ *At the yeare 1370. all the Notes written by* Flatsbury *doe end, and from hence to this day, nothing is extant orderly gathered, the rest I have collected out of sundry monuments, authorityes, and pamphlets.*

Recordes of th'exchequer sought up by M. Iohn Thomas remembrancer. Iohn Stow. Records of exchequer. 9. Rich. 2. 1385.

During the raigne of *Richard* the second, Lieutenants and Iustices of Ireland, are specially recorded, the two *Mortimers*, *Edmund* and *Roger* Earles of March, *Phillip courtney* the kings cousin, *Iames* Earle of Ormond, and *Robert Vere* Earle of Oxford, Marqueste of Divelin, and Lord Chamberlaine, who was created Duke of Ireland by Parliament, and was credited with the whole Dominion of the Realme by graunt for tearme of life, nothing paying therefore, passing all writs, all offices, as Chancellor, Treasurer, Chiefe Iustice, Admirall, his owne Lieutenant, and other inferiour charges under his own Teste.

1394. The meane while King *Richard* afflicted impatiently with

with the decease of Queene *Anne* his wife, nor able without many teares to behold his pallaces, and chambers of Estate, which represented unto him the solace past, and doubled his sorrow, sought some occasion of businesse and visited Ireland, where diverse Lords and Princes of Vlster renewed their homage, and he placing *Roger Mortimer* his Lieutenant, returned quietly, but within foure yeares after, informed of the trayterous death of *Mortimer*, whom he loved entirely, and being wonderfull eager in hastening the revenge thereof upon the Irish, he journeyed thither the second time, levied infinite subsidies of money, by penall exactions, and with his absence as also with those injuries, fed the hatred and opportunity of conspiratours at home, for *Henry* Duke of Lancaster, intercepted the Kingdome, whose sonne with the Duke of Glocesters sonne, King *Richard* shut up in the Castle of Trim, and then shipped course into England, tooke land at Milford Haven, found his defence so weake and unsure, that to avoide further inconvenience and perill of himselfe and his friends, he condiscended to resigne the Crowne. 1399.

CAP. VII.

The house of Lancaster, Henry the fourth; Henry the fift, Henry the sixt.

1229. Recordes of Rich. *Alexander* Bishop of Meth, Lieutenant of Ireland, under *Thomas Lancaster* the Kings brother, so was also the worshipfull Knight Sir *Stephen Scroope*, whom for his violence and extortion before used, in the same office under King *Richard*, the common voyce and outcry of poore people damned. This report hearing the Lady his wife, she would in no wise assent to live in his company there, but if he sware a solemne oath on the Bible, that wittingly he should wrong no Christian creature in the land, that duely and truely he should see payment made for all expences, and hereof, she said, she had made a vow to Christ so deliberately, that unlesse it were on his part firmely

James Young in precepts of government to the Earle of Ormond cap. 5

promised

promised, she could not without perill of her soule goe with him: her husband assented, and accomplished her boone effectually, recovered a good opinion, schooled his Caters, enriched the country, continued a plentifull house, remissions of great fines, remedyes for persons endamaged to the Prince, pardons of lands and lives he granted so charitably and discreetely, that his name was never uttered among them, without many blessings and prayers, and so cheerefully they served him against the Irish, that in one day he spoyled *Arthur Mac Murrough*, brent his country, restored *O-Carrol* to the towne of Callane, with-held by *Walter Burke*, slew a multitude of Kerneghes, and quieted Leinster. Not long before, the Major of Divelin *Iohn Drake*, with his band out of the Citty, had slaine of the same Irish Outlawes 400.

1402.

Records of Christ-Church in Divelin.

In this Kings raigne the inhabitants of the county & towne of Corke, being tyred with perpetuall oppressions of their Irish borderers, complained themselves in a generall writing, directed to the Lord of Rutheland and Corke, the Kings Deputy, and to the Councell of the Realme, then assembled at Divelin, which Letter because it openeth the decay of those partes, and the state of the Realme in times past, I have thought good to enter here as it was delivered me, by *Francis Agard* Esquire, one of her Majesties privy Councell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke coppied out of an old record bearing no date.

It may please your wisedomes, to have pittie of us the Kings poore subjects, within the county of Corke, or else we be cast away for ever, for where there was in this countie these Lords by name, besides Knights, Esquiers, Gentlemen, and Yeoman, to a great number, that might dispend yearelie 800. pounds, 600. pounds, 400. pounds, 200. pounds, 100. pounds, 100. markes, 20. pounds, 20. markes, 10. pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great number, besides these Lords following.

First the Lord Marquesse *Caro* his yearely revenues was, besides Dorzey Hauen and other Creekes, 2200. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Barnevale* of Bearehaven, his yearely revenues was,

was, beside Bearehaven and other Creekes, 1600. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Vggan* of the great Castle, his yearely revenues was, besides havens and creekes, 1300. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Balram* of Emforte, his yearely revenues was, besides havens and creekes, 1300. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Courcy* of Kilbretton his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1500. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Mandevil* of Barrensteily his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1200. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Arundell* of the strand his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1500. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Baron* of the Guard his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1100. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Sleynie* of Baltimore his yearely revenue, besides havens and creekes, 800 pounds sterling.

The Lord *Roche* of Poole-castle his yearely revenue, besides havens and creekes, 1000. pounds sterling.

The Kings Majesty hath the Lands of the late young *Barry* by forfeiture, the yearely revenue whereof, besides two rivers and creekes, and all other casualties is, 1800. pounds sterling.

And at the end of this Parliament Your Lordship with the Kings most noble Councell may come to Corke, and call before you all these Lords and other Irish men, and binde them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that never any of them doe make warre upon another, without licence or cõmandement of you my Lord Deputy, & the Kings Councell, for the utter destruction of these parts, is that onely cause, and once all the Irish men, and the Kings enemies were driven into a great valley, called Glanehought, betwixt two great mountaines, called Maccorte or the leprous Iland, and their they lived long and many yeares, with their white meat till at the last these English Lords fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part tooke certaine Irish men to take his part, and so vanquished his enemy, and thus fell the English Lords at variance among themselves, till the

Irish

Iriſh men were ſtronger then they , and drave them away and now have the whole country under them, but that the Lord *Roche*, the Lord *Courcy*, and the Lord *Barry* onely remaine, with the leaſt part of their auncestors poſſeſſions, and young *Barry* is there upon the Kings portion , paying his Grace never a penny Rent . Wherefore we the Kings poore ſubjects, of the Citty of Corke, Kinſale, and Yowghall, deſire your Lordſhip to ſend hither two good Iuſtices , to ſee this matter ordered, and ſome Engliſh Captaines , with twenty Engliſh men that may be Captaines over us all, and we will riſe with them to redreſſe theſe enormities , all at our owne coſts. And if you doe not, we be all caſt away, and then farewell Mounſter for ever. And if you will not come nor ſend, we will ſend over to our Liege Lord, the King , and complaine on you all. Thus farre the letter.

And at this day the Citty of Corke is ſo encumbred with unquiet neighbours of great power , that they are forced to watch their gates continually , to keepe them ſhut at ſervice times, at meales, from ſunne ſet, to ſunne ariſing ; nor ſuffer any ſtranger to enter there with his weapon, but to leave the ſame at a lodge appointed. They walke out for recreation at ſeaſons, with ſtrength of men furniſhed, they match in wedlocke among themſelves, ſo that welnigh the whole citty is allyed together. It is to be hoped that the late ſent over Lord Preſident of Mounſter, Sir *Iohn Parrot* , who hath choſen the ſame place to abide in , as having greateſt neede of a Governour reſident, would eaſe the inhabitants of this feare , and ſcourge the Iriſh Outlawes that annoy the whole region of Mounſter.

Ann. 1408. *Henry* the 4. in the 10. yeare of his raigne , gave the Sword to the Citty of Divelin, which Citty was firſt governed , as appeareth by their auncient ſeale, called, *Signum propoſituræ*, by a Provoſt, and in the 14. yeare of H. the 3. by a Major, & two Bayliffes, which Bayliffes were changed into Sheriffes , by Charter of *Edward* the 6. an. 1547. This Majorality both for ſtate and charge of that office, and for the bountifull hoſpitality exceedeth any Citty in England, except London.

Maiſter of Majors.

While

While *Henry* the 5. reigned , I finde lieutenants and deputyes of Ireland ſpecially remembred, *Iohn Talbott* of Hollamſhire Lord of Furnyvall. *Thomas de Lancaſter* , Seniſcha of England, and *Stephen le Scroope* his Deputy, *Iohn* Duke of Bedford then alſo Lord Keeper of England , and the noble Earle of Ormond. Recordes of Exch.

Sir *Iames Butler*, whoſe grandſire was *Iames* ſurnamed the chaſt , for that of all vices hee moſt abhorred the ſinne of the fleſh , and in ſubduing of the ſame gave notable example. In the red Moore of Athye (the ſun almoſt lodged in the Weſt, and miraculouſly ſtanding ſtill in his epicycle the ſpace of three houres till the feat was accompliſhed, and no pit in that bogge annoying either horſe or man on his part) he vanquiſhed *Omore* and his terrible Army with a few of his owne, and with the like number *Arthur Mac Murrough*, at whoſe might and puiſſance, all Leinſter trembled. To the imitation of this mans worthineſſe , the compiler of certaine precepts touching the rule of a Common-wealth , exciteth his Lord the ſaid Earle in diverſe places of that Worke incidently, eftſoones putting him in minde that the Iriſh beene falſe by kinde , that it were expedient , and a worke of Charity to execute upon them (willfull and malicious tranſgreſſours) the Kings Lawes ſomewhat ſharpely , That *Odempſye* being winked at a while, abuſed that ſmall time of ſufferance , to the injury of the Earle of Kildare , intruding unjuſtly upon the Caſtle of Ley , from whence the ſaid Deputy had juſtly expelled him , and put the Earle in poſſeſſion thereof , that notvvithſtanding their oathes and pledges , yet they are no longer true then they feele themſelves the vveaker. 1431. The chaſte Earle of Ormond. Iames Yong. In the tranſlation of Cambrenſis. c. 37. Piece of government. c. 27. 48. 28.

This Deputye tamed the *Obriens* , the *Burckes* , *Macbanons* , *Ogaghnraghte* , *Manus Mac Mahowne* , all the Captaines of Thomond , and all this in three moneths. The Cleargye of Divelin tvvice every vveeke in ſolemne proceſſion praying for his good ſucceſſe againſt theſe diſordered perſons , vvhich novv in every quarter of Ireland , had degenerated to their olde trade c. 41.

of life, and repyned at the Englisth.

Lieutenants & their deputies. Records of exchequer. An. 7. An. 12.

Lieutenants to *Henry* the sixt over the Realme of Ireland were *Edmund* Earle of Marche, and *Iames* Earle of Ormond his Deputy, *Iohn Sutton* Knight, Lord *Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Strange*, his Deputy Sir *Thomas Standley*, and Sir *Christopher Plonket* his Deputy *Lyon* Lord Welles, and the Earle of Ormond his Deputy, *Iames* Earle of Ormond, the Kings Lieutenant by himselfe, *Iohn* Earle of Shrewesbury, and the Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Iustice in his absence.

An. 18. An. 22. An. 26.

An. 27. Richard Duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Yorke, father of *Edward* the fourth, and Earle of Vister, had the office of Lieutenant by letters Patents, during the space of ten yeares, who deputed under him at several times, the Baron of Delvin, *Roland Fitz Eustace* knight, *Iames* Earle of Ormond, and *Thomas Fitz Morrice* Earle of Kildare. To this *Richard* then resciant in Divelin, was borne within the castle there, his second son *George*, Duke of Clarence, afterwards drowned in a butt of Malmsey: his god fathers at the font were the Earles of Ormond and Desmond.

Records of Christ-church.

Whether the commotion of *Iacke Cade* an Irish man borne, naming himselfe *Mortimer*, and so clayming cousinage to diverse noble houses, proceeded from this crew, it is uncertaine: surely the Duke was thereof vehemently mistrusted, & immediatly began his tumults, which becawse our Englisth histories discourse at large, I omit as impertinent.

1450. 10. Ma. l. 6. c. 16.

Those broyles being couched for a time, *Richard* held himselfe in Ireland, being lately by Parliament ordained Protector of the Realme of England, leaving his agent in the Court his brother the Earle of Salisbury Lord Chauncellour, to whom he declared by letters, the trouble then toward in Ireland, which letter exemplified by Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy, a great searcher and preserver of Antiquities, as it came to my hands, I thinke it convenient here to set downe.

1458.

To

To the right worshipfull and with all my heart entirely beloved brother, the Earle of Shrewesbury.

The Letter.

RIght worshipfull and with all my heart entirely beloved Brother, I commend mee unto you as heartily as I can.

And like it you to wit, that sith I wrote last unto the King our soveraigne Lord his Highnes, the Irish enemy, that is to say, *Magoghigan*, and with him three or foure Irish Captaines, associate with a great fellowship of English rebells, notwithstanding, that they were within the King our Soveraigne Lord his power, of great malice, and against all truth, have maligned against their legiance, and vengeably have brent a great towne of mine inheritance, in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and brent both men, women and children, without mercy. The which enemies be yet assembled in woods and forts, wayting to doe the hurt and grievance to the Kings subjects that they can thinke or imagine, for which cause I write at this time unto the Kings Highnes, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according to his letters of warrant, now late directed unto the Treasurer of England, to the intent I may wage men in sufficient number, for to resist the malice of the same enemyes, and punish them in such wyse, that other which would doe the same, for lacke of resistance in time, may take example, for doubtlesse, but if my payment bee had in all haste, for to have men of warre in defence and safeguard of this Land, my power cannot stretch to keepe it in the Kings obeysance. And very necessity will compell mee to come into England to live there, upon my poore livelode, for I had lever bee dead, then any inconvenience should fall thereunto in my default, for it shall never bee chronicled, nor remaine in scripture, by the grace of God, that Ireland was lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you right worshipfull

brother, that you will hold to your hands inſtantly, that my payment may bee had at this time, in eſchuing all inconveniences, for I have example in other places, more pitty it is for to dread ſhame, and for to acquite my truth unto the Kings Highnes, as my dutie is. And this I pray and exhort you good brother, to ſhew unto his good grace, and that you willbe ſo good, that this language may be enacted at this preſent Parliament for my excuſe in time to come, and that you will bee good to my ſervant *Roger Roe* the bearer hereof, and to mine other ſervants in ſuch things as they ſhall purſue unto the kings Highnes: And to give full faith and credence unto the report of the ſaid *Roger*, touching the ſaid maters Right worſhipfull, and with all my heart entirely beloved brother, our bleſſed Lord God preſerve and keepe you in all honour, proſperous eſtate and felicity, and graunt you right good life and long. Written at Divelin the 15. of Iune.

Your faithfull true brother,
Richard Yorke.

Of ſuch power was *Magoghigan* in thoſe dayes, who as he wan and kept it by the ſword, ſo now he liveth but a meane Captaine, yeelding his winnings to the ſtronger. This is the miſery of lawleſſe people, reſembling the wydeneſſe of the rude vvorld, vvherein every man vvas richer or poorer then other, as he vvas in might and violence more or leſſe enabled.

Heere beganne factions of the nobility in Ireland, favouring diverſe ſides that ſtrived for the Crovvne of England, for *Richard* in thoſe tenne yeares of government, exceedingly tyed unto him the hearts of the noblemen and gentlemen in this land, vvhereof diverſe vvere ſcattered and ſlaine
1459. vvith him at Waterford, as the contrary part vvas alſo the next
yeare by *Edward* Earle of Marche, the Dukes brother, at
Mortimers croſſe in Wales, in vvhich meane time the Iriſh
vvaxed hardye, and uſurped the Engliſh Countreyes inſufficiently defended, as they had done by like opportunity in

in the latter end of *Richard* the ſecond. Theſe two ſeaſons did ſet them ſo a-floate, that henceforwards they could never be caſt out from their forcible poſſeſsions, holding by plaine wrong all Vlſter, and by certaine Iriſh Tenures, no little portions of Mounſter and Connaght, left in Meth and Leinſter, where the civill ſubjects of Engliſh bloud did ever moſt prevaile.

CAP. VIII.

Edward the fourth, and Edward his ſonne. Richard the third, & Henry the ſeventh.

Ann Reg 1.

THomas Fitz Morice Earle of Kildare, Lord Iuſtice untill the third yeare of *Edward* the fourth, ſince which time the Duke of Clarence aforeſaid, brother to the King, had the office of Lieutenant, while he lived, and made his Deputies in ſundry courſes, *Thomas* Earle of Deſmond, *Iohn Tiptoft*, Earle of Worceſter the Kings cozen, *Thomas* Earle of Kildare, *Henry* Lord Graye. Great was the credit of the *Geraldines*, ever when the houſe of Yorke proſpered, and likewiſe the *Butlers* thryved under the bloud of Lancaſter, for which cauſe the Earle of Deſmond remained many yeares Deputy to *George* Duke of Clarence his god-brother, but when he had ſpoken certaine diſdainfull words againſt the late marryage of King *Edward* with the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, the ſaid Lady being now Queene, cauſed his trade of life, (after the Iriſh manner, contrary to ſundry old ſtatutes enacted in that behalfe) to be ſifted & examined by *Iohn* Earle of Worceſter his ſucceſſour. Of which treaſons he was attaint and condemned, and for the ſame beheaded at Droghedah. *Iames* the father of this *Thomas* of Deſmond, being ſuffered and not controuled, during the government of *Richard* Duke of Yorke his godſip: and of *Thomas* Earle of Kildare his kinſman put upon the Kings ſubjects within the Countyes of Waterford, Corke, Kerry,

Ann. D 1460.

Duke of Clarence Lieutenant, and his Deputies. 4.

An. Reg. 3.
An. Reg. 7.
An. 10.
An. 18.

1467. Patrick Seinteleger in his collections.

and Limericke, the Iriſh impoſitions of Coyne and Lyverie, Cartings, carriages, loadings, coſherings, bonnaght, and ſuch like, which cuſtomes are the very nurſe and teat of all Iriſh enormities, and extort from the poore tennants everlaſting Seſſe, allowance of meate and money, their bodies and goods in ſervice; ſo that their horſes and their Galloglaſhes lye ſtill upon the Farmers, eate them out, begger the Countrey, foſter a ſort of idle vagabonds, ready to rebell if their Lord commaund them, ever nuſſeled in ſtealth and robberyes. Theſe evill preſidents given by the Father, the ſonne did exercíſe being Lord Deputy, to whome the reformation of that diſorder eſpecially belonged, notwithſtanding the ſame fault being winked at in others, and with ſuch rigour avenged in him, it was manifeſtly taken for a quarrell ſought and picked.

1469. Two yeares after, the ſaid Earle of Worceſter loſt his head, while *Henry* the 6. taken out of the towre, was ſet up againe, and King *Edward* proclaymed Vſurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom being likewiſe attainte, they thought alſo to have ridde, and ſhortly both the Earles of Kildare and Deſmond were reſtored to their bloud by Parliament.

1470. Flatsbury. Sir *Rowland Euſtace*, Knight, ſometimes Treaſurer, and Lord Chauncellour, and laſtly, Lord Deputye of Ireland, founded Saint *Frauncis* Abbey beſides Kilkullen bridge.

1481. *Edward*, a yeare before his death, honoured his yonger ſon *Richard* the infant, Duke of Yorke, with the title of Lieutenant over this Land. But his unnaturall Vnkle *Richard* the Third, when hee had murdered the childe, and the elder brother called *Edward* the 5. He then preferred to that Office his ovvne ſonne *Edward*, vvhoſe Deputy was *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, and bare that office a vvhile in *Henry* the 7. his dayes.

Edw. 5. Rich 3.

Henr. 7. To whom came the vvylie Prieſt, Sir *Richard Symonds*, & preſented a lad his ſcholler, named *Lambert*, vvhom he fained to be the ſon of *George* Duke of Clarence, lately eſcaped the tovvre of Londō. And the child could his pedegree ſo readily, and

and had learned of the Prieſt ſuch princely behaviour, that he lightly moved the ſaid Earle, and many Nobles of Ireland tendering the Seed Royall of *Richard Plantagenet*, and *George* his ſonne, as alſo maligning the advancement of the houſe of Lancaſter, in *Henry* the ſeventh, either to thinke or make the world weene, they thought verily this childe to bee *Edward* Earle of Warwicke, the Duke of Clarences lawfull Sonne.

And although King *Henry* more then halfe marred their ſport, in ſhewing the right Earle through all the ſtreetes of London, yet the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of Burgoine, ſiſter to *Edward* the fourth, *Iohn de la Poole* her Nephew, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton* Knight, and diverſe other Captaines of this conſpiracy deviſed to abuſe the colour of this young Earles name, for preferring their purpoſe, which if it came to good, they agreed to depoſe *Lambert*, and to erect the very Earle indeed now priſoner in the towre, for whoſe quarrell had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likely hee ſhould have beene made away: Wherefore it was blazed in Ireland, that the King to mocke his ſubjects, had ſchooled a Boy to take upon him the Earle of Warwickes name, and had ſhewed him about London to blinde the eyes of ſimple folkes, and to defeate the lawfull Inheritour of the good Duke of Clarence, their countryman and Protectour during his life, to whoſe linage they alſo derived a title of the Crowne. In all haſte they aſſembled at Divelin, and there in Chriſt-Church they Crowned this Idoll, honouring him with titles imperiall, feaſting and triumphing, rearing mighty ſhoutes and cryes, carrying him from thence, to the Kings Caſtle upon tall mens ſhoulders, that he might be ſeene and noted, as he was ſurely an honourable Boy to looke upon. Thereupon enſued the Battle of Stoke, wherein *Lambert* and his Maſter were taken, but never executed, the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Lovel*, *Martine Swarte*, the Almaigne Captaine, and *Morice Fitz Thomas* Captaine of the Iriſh, were ſlaine, and all their power diſcomfited.

1480. *Iaſper* Duke of Bedford and Earle of Penbroke, Lieutenant, and *VValter* Archbiſhop of Divelin his Deputy. In this time

time befell another like illuſion of Ireland, procured from the Dutcheſſe aforeſaid, and certaine Nobles of England, whereby was exalted as rightfull King of England, and undoubted Earle of Vlſter, the counterfeit *Richard* Duke of Yorke preſerved from King *Richards* cruelty, as his adherents faced the matter downe, and with this maygame lord, named indeede *Peter* (in ſcorne *Perkin*) *VVarbecke*, flattered themſelves many yeares.

1494. Then was Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight, ſent over Lord Deputy, with commiſſion to apprehend his principall partners in Ireland, amongſt whom was named *Gerald Fitz Gerald* Earle of Kildare, whoſe purgation the King (notwithſtanding diverſe avouching the contrary) did accept. After much adoe *Perkin* taken, confeſſed under his owne handwriting the courſe of all his proceedings, whereof ſo much an. Hen. 7. 14. as concerneth Ireland, I have heere borrowed out of *Halles* Chronicles.

Perkins confeſſion. I being borne in Flaunders, in the towne of Turney, put my ſelfe in ſervice with a Britton, called *Pregent Meno*, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when wee were there arrived in the towne of Corke, they of the towne (becauſe I was arrayed with ſome cloathes of ſilke of my ſaid Maſters) threeped upon me, that I ſhould be the Duke of Clarences ſonne, that was before time at Divelin, and foraſmuch as I denyed it; there was brought unto me the Holy Evangeliſts and the Croſſe, by the Major of the towne, called *Iohn Lewellin*, and there I tooke my oath that I was not the ſaid Dukes ſonne, nor none of his blood. After this came to me an Engliſh man whoſe name was *Stephen Poytowe*, vvith one *Iohn VValter*, and ſvvare to me, that they knevv well that I vvas King *Richards* Baſtard ſonne, to whom I anſwered vvith like oathes that I vvas not. And then they adviſed me not to be affraide, but that I ſhould take it upon me boldly: And if I vvould ſo doe, they vvould aſſiſt me with all their povver, againſt the King of England, and not onely they, but they vvere aſſured that the Earles of Deſmond and Kildare, ſhould doe the ſame, for they paſſed not vvhat part they tooke,

tooke, ſo they might be avenged upon the King of England. And ſo againſt my will they made me to learne Engliſh, and taught me what I ſhould doe and ſay: and after this, they called me *Richard* Duke of Yorke, ſecond ſonne to *Edward* the fourth, becauſe King *Richards* Baſtard ſonne was in the hands of the King of England: And upon this, the ſaid *Iohn VValter*, and *Stephen Poytowe*, *Iohn Tyler*, *Hubbert Burgh*, with many others, as the foreſaid Earles, entred into this falſe quarrell, and within ſhort time after the French King ſent ambaſſadours into Ireland, whoſe names were *Lyot*, *Lucas*, and *Stephen Frayn*, and thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flanders, and from Flanders againe into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and ſo into England.

Thus was *Perkins* bragge twighted, from a miſpoſt to a pudding pricke, and hanged was he the next yeare after. 1459.

Then in the yeare 1501. King *Henry* made Lieutenant of Ireland, his ſecond ſonne *Henry* as then Duke of Yorke, who afterwards raigned. To him was appointed Deputy, the aforeſaid *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, who accompanied with *Iohn Blacke* Major of Divelin, warred upon *VVilliam de Burgo*, *O-Brien*, and *Mac Nemarra*, *Occarrol*, and the greateſt power of Iriſh men, that had beene ſeene together ſince the conqueſt, under the hill of Knoctoe, in Engliſh the hill of Axes, ſixe miles from Galway, and two miles from Ballinclare, *de Burgoes* mannor towne. *Mac VVilliam* and his Complices were there taken, his Souldiours that eſcaped the ſword were purſued, flying five miles, great ſlaughter done, and many Captaines gotten, not one Engliſh man killed. The Earle at his returne was created knight of the Noble Order, and flouriſhed all his life long, of whom I ſhall bee occaſioned to ſay ſomewhat in the next Chapter. 1501. Records of Chriſt-Church 1504.

CAP. IX.

CAP. IX.

Henry the eight.

1513. From hence-forward I have followed the relation of the wiſeſt and moſt indifferent perſons that I could acquaint my ſelfe withall in Ireland.

GErald Fitz Gerald Earle of Kildare a mighty made man, full of honour and courage, who had beene Lord Deputy and Lord Iuſtice of Ireland thirtie foure yeares, deceaſed the third of September, and lyeth buried in Chriſts Church in Divelin. Betweene him and *Iames Butler* Earle of Ormond, their owne jealouſies fed with envy and ambition, kindled with certaine levyd factions, abbettors of either ſide: ever ſince the ninth yeare of *Henry* the ſeventh, when *Iames* of Ormond with a great army of Iriſh men, camping in S. *Thomas* Court at Divelin, ſeemed to face the countenance and power of the Deputy: theſe occaſions I ſay foſtered a malice betwixt them and their poſterityes, many yeares after incurable, cauſes of much ruffle and unquietnes in the Realme, untill the confuſion of the one houſe, and nonage of the other, diſcontinued their quarrels, which except their Inheritours have the grace to put up, and to love unfainedly, as *Gerald* and *Thomas* doe now, may hap to turne their countryes to little good, and themſelves to leſſe.

Regiſter of Majors.

Ormond was nothing inferiour to the other in ſtomacke, and in reach of pollicy farre beyond him, *Kildare* was in government a milde man, to his enemies intractable, to the Iriſh ſuch a ſcourge, that rather for deſpite of him then for favour of any part, they relyed upon the *Butlers*, came in under his protection, ſerved at his call, performed by ſtatts, as their manner is, the duty of good ſubjects.

Ormond was ſecret and drifty, of much moderation in ſpeech, dangerous of every little wrinkle that touched his reputation. *Kildare* was open and paſſionable, in his moode deſperate, both of word and deede, of the Engliſh welbeloved, a good Iuſticier, a warriour incomparable, towards the Nobles that he favoured not ſomewhat headlong and unruly, being charged before *Henry* the ſeventh, for burning the Church

Church at Caſhell, and many witneſſes prepared to avouch againſt him, the truth of that article, he ſuddainely confeſſed the fact, to the great wondering and deteſtation of the Councell, when it was looked how he would juſtifie the matter, By Ieſus (quoth he) I would never have done it, had it not beene told me that the Archbiſhop was within. And becauſe the Archbiſhop was one of his buſieſt accuſers there preſent, merrily laught the King at the plaineneſſe of the man, to ſee him alleadge that intent for excuſe, which moſt of all did aggravate his fault. The laſt article againſt him they conceived in theſe tearmes, finally all Ireland cannot rule this Earle: No (quoth the King) then in good faith ſhall this Earle rule all Ireland. Thus was the accuſation turned to a jeſt, the Earle returned Lord Deputy, ſhortly after created Knight of the Garter and ſo died. Marvell not if this ſucceſſe were a corroſive to the adverſe party, which the longer it held aloofe and bit the bridle, the more eagerly it followed his courſe, having once the ſway and roome at will, as you may perceive hereafter.

1516. Gerald Earle of Kildare.

Gerald Fitz Gerald ſonne of the aforeſaid Earle of Kildare, and Lord Deputy, who chaſed the nation of the *Tooles*, battered *Ocarrols* Caſtles, awed all the Iriſh of the land more & more. A Gentleman valiant and well ſpoken, yet in his latter time overtaken with vehement ſuſpition of ſundry Treaſons. He of good meaning to unite the families, matched his Siſter *Margaret Fitz Gerald*, with *Pierce Butler* Earle of Oſſory, whom he alſo holpe to recover the Earledome of Ormond, whereinto after the deceaſe of *Iames*, a Baſtard brother had intruded.

Seven yeares together *Kildare* kept in credit and authority, notwithſtanding the puſhes given againſt him by ſecret heavers, enviers of his fortune, and nouriſhers of the old grudge, who fett him up to the Court of England by commiſſion, and cauſed him there to be oppoſed with diverſe interrogatories, touching the Earle of Deſmond his Couſin, a notorious traytor, as they ſaid. He left in his roome *Morice Fitz Thomas* Lord Iuſtice. After whom came over Lord Lieutenant,

1521. Lieutenant, *Thomas Howard* Earle of Surrey, Grandfather to this Duke of Norfolke, accompanied with 200. of the Kings guarde. While he ſate at Dinner in the Caſtle of Divelin, hee heard newes that *Oneale* with a mighty army was even in the mouth of the borders, ready to invade: Immediately men were levyed by the Major, and the next morrow joyning them to his band, the Lieutenant marched as farre as the water of Slane, where having intelligence of *Oneales* recoyle, hee diſmiſſed the footemen, and purſued *Omore* with his horſemen, which *Omore* was ſaid to lurke within certaine miles. That eſpied a Gunner of *Omore*, and watching by a wood ſide diſcharged his peece at the very face of the Deputy, ſtrake the viſard of his helmet, and pierced no further (as God would.) This did he in manner reckleſſe what became of himſelfe, ſo he might amaze them for a time, breake the ſwiftneſſe of their following, and advantage the flight of his Captaine, which thing he wanne with the price of his owne blood, for the Souldiours would no further, till they had ſearched all the corners of that wood, verily ſuſpecting ſome ambuſh thereabout, and in ſeverall knots ferretted out this Gunner, whom *Fitz Williams* and *Bedlowe* of the Roche were faine to maugle and hewe in peeces, becauſe the wretch would never yeeld.

1523. In the meane while defiance proclaimed with Fraunce & Scotland both at once, moved the King to returne *Surrey* out of Ireland, that he might employ him in thoſe ſervices, his proweſſe, integrity, good nature and courſe of governement, the country much commendeth, and honoureth the name and family to this day.

Pierce Butler Earle of Oſſory Lord Deputy, *Kildare* attending the Kings pleaſure for his diſpatch, recovered favour at
15:4. the inſtance of the Duke of Suffolke whoſe daughter, Dame *Elizabeth Graye* he eſpouſed royally, and ſo departed home. Now there was a great partaker of all the Deputies Councell, one *Robert Talbot* of Belgard whom the *Geraldines* hated deadly, him they ſurmized to keepe a Kalender of all their doings and to ſtirre the coales that incenſed brother againſt brother,

brother. In which fury, *Iames Fitz Gerald* meeting the ſaid Gentleman beſides Ballimore, ſlew him even there, journeying to keepe his Chriſtmaſſe with the Deputy. With this deſpiteſull murder both ſides brake out into open rage, and eſpecially the Counteſſe of Oſſory, *Kildares* ſiſter, a rare woman, and able for wiſedome to rule a Realme, had not her ſtomacke over-rul'd her ſelfe. Heere beganne intimation of new Treaſons paſſing to and fro, with complaints and replyes. But *Suffolke* had wrought the canvas ſo faſt in his ſonne in lawes behalfe, that hee was ſuffered to reſt at home, and onely Commiſsioners directed thither with Authority to examine the roote of their griefes, wherein if they found *Kildare* but even tollerably purged, their inſtructions was to depoſe the plaintiffe, and to ſweare the other Lord Deputy. The Commiſsioners were, Sir *Raphe Egerton*, a Cheſhire Knight, *Anthony Fitzherbert*, ſecond Iuſtice of the Common-pleas, and *Iames Denton*, Deane of Lichfield, who huddeled up thoſe accuſations as they thought good, and ſuddenly tooke the ſword from the Earle of Oſſory, ſware the *Geraldine* Lord Deputy, before whom *con Oneale* bare the ſword that day. Concerning the murtherer whom they might have hanged, they brought him priſoner into England, preſented him to Cardinall *Wolſey*, who was ſaid to hate *Kildares* bloud: And the Cardinall intending his execution with more diſhonour to the name, cauſed him to be ledde about London ſtreetes manacled and haltered, which asked ſo long time, that the Deane of Lichfield ſtepped to the King, and got the Gentleman his pardon. Talbot of Belgard ſlaine.

This untimely ſhift inflamed the Cardinall, and ripened the malice hitherto not ſo ranke, and therefore hereafter *Oſſory* brought evident proofes of the Deputies diſorder, that hee wilfully winked at the Earle of Deſmond, whom hee ſhould have attached by the Kings letters, that he curryed acquaintance and friendſhip with meere Iriſh enemyes, that he had armed them againſt him being the Kings Deputy, that he hanged and hewed raſhly good ſubiects, whom hee

miſtruſted to leave to the *Butlers* friendſhip. Yet againe therefore was *Kildare* commaunded to appeare, which he
1527 did, leaving in his roome *Fitz Gerald* of *Leixlip*, whom they ſhortly deprived, and choſe the Baron of Delvin, whom *O-Connor* tooke priſoner, and there the Earle of Oſſory to ſhew his ability of ſervice, brought to Divelin an army of Iriſh-men, having Captaines over them *Oconnor*, *Omore* and *O-Carroll*, and at S. *Mary* Abbey, was choſen Deputie by the Kings Councell.

In which office (being himſelfe, ſave onely in feates of Armes, a ſimple gentleman) he bare out his honour, and the charge of governement, very worthily, through the ſingular
The Counteſſe of Oſſory. wiſedome of his Counteſſe, a Lady of ſuch port, that all Eſtates of the Realme couched unto her, ſo politique, that nothing was thought ſubſtantially debated without her advice, manlike and tall of ſtature, very rich and bountifull, a bitter enemy, the onely meane at thoſe dayes whereby her Huſbands Countrey was reclaymed from the ſluttiſh and uncleane Iriſh cuſtome to the Engliſh habite, bedding, houſekeeping, and civility.

But to thoſe vertues vvas yoked ſuch a ſelfe-liking, and ſuch a Majeſty above the tenure of a ſubiect, that for enſurance thereof ſhee ſticked not to abuſe her husbands honour againſt her brothers follye. Notvvithſtanding I learne not that ſhee practiſed his undoing, (vvhich enſued, and vvas to her undoubtedly, great heavineſſe, as upon vvhom both the blemiſh thereof, and the ſuſtenance of that vvhole family depended after,) but that ſhee by indirect meanes vvrought her Brother out of credite to advance her husband, the common voyce, and the thing it ſelfe ſpeaketh.

All this vvhile abode the Earle of Kildare at the Court, and vvith much adoe found ſhift to bee called before the Lords, to anſvvere ſolemnely. They ſate upon him diverſely affectioned, and eſpecially the Cardinall, Lord Chauncellour, diſliked his cauſe, comforted his accuſers, and enforced the Articles obiected, and vvhat elſe ſoever could

could be gathered thereof in theſe words.

I wot well, my Lord, that I am not the meeteſt man at this Board to charge you with theſe treaſons, becauſe it hath pleaſed ſome of your pew-fellowes to report, that I am a profeſſed enemie to all Nobilitie, and namely to the *Geraldines*, but ſeeing every curſt boy can ſay aſmuch when he is controlled, and ſeeing theſe points are ſo vveightie, that they ſhould not be diſſembled of us, and ſo apparant, that they cannot be denyed of you. I muſt have leave, notwithſtanding your ſtale ſlaunder, to be the mouth of theſe honorable perſons at this time, and to trumpe your Treaſons in your way, howſoever you take me. The Cardinals accuſation againſt the Earle of Kildare.

Firſt, you remember how the lewde Earle your kinſman, who paſſeth not whom he ſerve, might he change his Maſter, ſent his confederates with letters of credence to *Frauncis* the French King, and having but cold comfort there, to *Charles* the Emperour, proffering the helpe of Mounſter and Connaght towards the conqueſt of Ireland, if either of them vvould helpe to vvinne it from our King. Hovv many letters? vvhat precepts? vvhat meſſages? vvhat threats have been ſent you to apprehend him? and yet not done: vvhy ſo? forſooth I could not catch him: Nay nay, Earle, forſooth you vvould not nighly vvatch him. If he be juſtly ſuſpected, vvhy are you partiall in ſo great a charge? If not, vvhy are you fearefull to have him tryed? Yea Sir, it vvil be ſvvorne & depoſed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you have vvinked, vvilfully ſhunned his ſight, altered your courſe, vvarned his friends, ſtopped both eyes and eares againſt his detectors, and vvhenſoever you tooke upon you to hunt him out, then vvas hee ſure before-hand to bee out of your vvalke: ſurely this juggling and falſe-play, little became either an honeſt man, called to ſuch honour, or a Nobleman put in ſuch truſt. Had you loſt but a Covv, or a Garron of your ovvne, tvvo hundred Kyrneghes vvould have come at your vvhiſtle, to reſcue the prey from the uttermoſt edge of Vlſter: All the Iriſh in Ireland muſt have given you the vvay. But in purſuing ſo vveightie Treaſons layde to the Earle.

a mater as this, mercifull God, hovv nice, how dangerous, how wayward have you bin? One while he is from home, another while he keepeth home, ſometimes fled, ſometimes in the borders where you dare not venture: I wiſh, my Lord, there be ſhrevvde bugges in the borders for the Earle of Kildare to feare: The Earle, nay, the King of Kildare, for when you are diſpoſed, you reigne more like then rule in the Land: where you are malicious, the trueſt ſubjects ſtand for Iriſh enemies; where you are pleaſed, the Iriſh enemie ſtands for a dutifull ſubject: hearts and hands, lives and lands are all at your curteſie, who favvneth not thereon, hee cannot reſt within your ſmell, and your ſmell is ſo ranke, that you tracke them out at pleaſure.

Whileſt the Cardinall was ſpeaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour, & ſundry proffers made to anſwer every ſentence as it came, at laſt he broke out, and interrupted him thus.

My Lord Chauncellour, I beſeech you pardon me, I am ſhort witted, and you I perceive intend a long tale. If you proceede in this order, halfe my purgation wilbe loſt for lacke of carryage: I have no ſchoole trickes, nor art of memory, except you heare me while I remember your words, your ſecond proceſſe vvill hammer out the former.

The Lords aſſociate, vvho for the moſt part tenderly loved him, and knevv the Cardinals manner of termes ſo lothſome, as vvhervvith they vvere tyred many yeares agoe, humbly beſought his grace to charge him directly vvith particulars, and to dvvell in ſome one matter, till it vvere examined through. That granted.

Kildares reply to the Cardinals oration.

It is good reaſon (quoth the Earle) that your Grace beare the mouth of this chamber. But my Lord, thoſe mouthes that put this tale into your mouth, are very vvide mouths, ſuch indeed as have gaped long for my vvreck; & novv at length for vvant of better ſtuff, are fain to fill their mouths vvith ſmoak. What my couſin *Deſmond* hath compaſſed, as I knovv not, ſo I beſhrevv his naked heart for holding out ſo long. If hee can bee taken by my agents that preſently wayte for him, then

then have my adverſaryes betrayed their malice, and this heape of haynous wordes ſhall reſemble a man of ſtrawe, that ſeemeth at a bluſh to carry ſome proportion, but vvhen it is felt and poyſed, diſcovereth a vanity, ſerving onely to fray crowes, and I truſt your Honours will ſee the proofe hereof and mine innocencie teſtified in this behalfe by the thing it ſelfe within theſe fevv dayes. But goe to, ſuppoſe hee never bee had, what is *Kildare* to blame for it, more then my good brother of Oſſory, who notwithſtanding his high promiſes, having alſo the Kings power, is glad to take egges for his money, and bring him in at leyſure. Cannot the Earle of Deſmond ſhift, but I muſt be of counſell? cannot hee bee hid, except I winke? If hee bee cloſe, am I his mate? If he be friended, am I a Traytour? This is a doughty kinde of accuſation, which they urge againſt mee, vvherein they are ſtabled and myred at my firſt denyall; You vvould not ſee him, ſay they, vvho made them ſo familiar vvith mine eye ſight? or vvhen vvas the Earle vvithin my *Equinas*? or vvho ſtood by vvhen I let him ſlip, or vvhere are the tokens of my vvilfull hood-vvinking? Oh, but you ſent him vvord to bevvare of you; Who vvas the meſſenger? vvhere are the letters? convince my negative: See hovv looſely this idle reaſon hangeth, *Deſmond* is not taken, vvell, vvee are in fault: vvhy? becauſe you are: vvho proves it? no body. What conjectures? ſo it ſeemeth. To vvhom? to your enemies vvho tolde it them? What other ground? none. Will they ſvveare it? they vvill ſvveare it. My Lords, then belike they knovv it, if they knovv it, either they have my hand to ſhevv, or can bring forth the meſſenger, or vvere preſent at a conference, or privy to *Deſmond*, or ſome body bevvrayed it to them, or themſelves vvere my carryers or vice-gerents therein, vvhich of theſe parts vvill they chooſe, I knovv them too vvell to reckon my ſelfe convict by their bare vvords or headleſſe heare-ſayes, or frantick oathes, my letter vvere ſoone read, vvere any ſuch vvryting extant, my ſervaunts and friends are ready to bee ſifted.

Of my couſin *Deſmond* they may lye lewdly, ſince no man can heere well tell the contrary. Touching my ſelfe, I never noted in them either ſo much wit, or ſo much faith, that I could have gaged upon their ſilence the life of a good hound, much leſſe mine owne, I doubt not may it pleaſe your Honours to oppoſe them, how they came to knowledge of theſe matters which they are ſo ready to depoſe, but you ſhall finde their tongues chayned to another mans trencher, and as it were, Knights of the Poſt, ſuborned to ſay, ſweare and ſtare the uttermoſt they can, as thoſe that paſſe not what they ſay, nor with what face they ſay it, ſo they ſay no truth. But of another thing it grieveth me, that your good grace, whom I take to bee wiſe and ſharpe, and who of your owne bleſſed diſpoſition wiſh me well, ſhould bee ſo farre gone in crediting thoſe corrupt informers, that abuſe the ignorance of their ſtate and countrey to my perill. Little knovv you my Lord, hovv neceſſary it is not onely for the governour, but alſo for every Nobleman in Ireland, to hamper his vincible neighbors at diſcretion, vvherein if they vvayted for proceſſe of Law, and had not theſe lives and lands you ſpeake of vvithin their reach, they might hap to looſe their ovvne lives and lands vvithout Lavv. You heare of a caſe as it vvere in a dreame, and feele not the ſmart that vexeth us. In England there is not a meane ſubject that dare extend his hand to fillip a Peere of the Realme. In Ireland, except the Lord have cunning to his ſtrength, and ſtrength to ſave his ovvne, and ſufficient authoritie to racke theeves and varletts vvhen they ſtirre, hee ſhall finde them ſvvarme ſo faſt, that it vvill bee too late to call for Iuſtice. If you vvill have our ſervice take effect, you muſt not tye us alvvayes to the Iudiciall proceedings, vvherevvith your Realme, thanked bee God, is inured.

As touching my Kingdome (my Lord) I vvould you and I had exchanged Kingdomes but for one moneth, I vvould truſt to gather up more crummes in that ſpace, then tvvice the revenues of my poore Earledome; but you are vvell and vvarme, and ſo hold you, and upbraide not me vvith

with ſuch an odious ſtorme. I ſleepe on a cabbin, when you lye ſoft in your bed of downe, I ſerve under the cope of heaven, when you are ſerved under a Canopy, I drinke water out of a skull, when you drinke wine out of golden Cuppes; my courſer is trained to the field, when your Iennet is taught to amble, when you are begraced and belorded, and crowched and kneeled unto, then I finde ſmall grace with our Iriſh borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.

At theſe girds the Councell would have ſmiled if they durſt, but each man bitt his lippe, and held his countenance, for howſoever ſome of them inclined to the *Butler*, they all hated the Cardinall: A man undoubtedly borne to honour, I thinke ſome Princes Baſtard, no Butchers ſonne, exceeding wiſe, faire ſpoken, high minded, full of revenge, vicious of his body, lofty to his enemies, were they never ſo bigge, to thoſe that accepted and ſought his friendſhip wonderfull courteous, a ripe Schooleman, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flattery, inſatiable to get, & more princelike in beſtowing: as appeareth by his two Colledges at Ipſwich, and at Oxenford, th'one ſuppreſſed with his fall, th'other unfiniſhed and yet as it lieth an houſe of Students (conſidering all appurtenances) incomparable, through Chriſtendome, whereof *Henry* the eight is now called Founder, becauſe hee let it ſtand. He held and enjoyed at once the Biſhopricks of Yorke, Durham, and Wincheſter, the dignities of Lord Cardinall, Legate, and Chancellour: The Abbey of S. *Albans*, diverſe Priories, ſundry fat Benefices in *Commendam*: A great preferrer of his ſervants, advauncer of learning, ſtoute in every quarrell, never happy till his overthrow. Therein he ſhewed ſuch moderation, and ended ſo patiently, that the houre of his death did him more honour then all the pompe of life paſſed.

Cardinall Woolſey.

The Cardinall perceived that *Kildare* was no Babe, and roſe in a fume from the Councell table, committed the Earle, deferred the matter till more direct probations came out of Ireland.

After many meetinges and objections wittily refelled, they

they preſſed him ſore with a trayterous errant, ſent by his daughter th. Lady of Slane, to all his brethren, to *Oneale*, *Oconnor*, and their adherents, wherein he exhorted them to warre upon the Earle of Oſſory then Deputy, which they accompliſhed, making a wretched conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh of Ireland, and many a bloody ſkirmiſh.

Of this Treaſon he was found guilty, and reprived in the Towre a long time, the Gentleman betooke himſelfe to God and the King, was heartily loved of the Lieutenant, pitied in all the Court, and ſtanding in ſo hard a caſe altered little his accuſtomed hue, comforted other Noblemen, priſoners with him, diſſembling his owne ſorrow. One night when the Lieutenant and he, for diſport were playing at ſlide-groat, ſuddainely commeth from the Cardinall a mandat to execute *Kildare* on the morrow. The Earle marking the Lieutenants deepe ſigh, in reading the bill, By Saint *Bride*, quoth he, there is ſome mad game in that ſcrolle, but fall how it will, this throw is for a huddle, when the worſt was told him, now I pray thee, quoth he, doe no more but learne aſſuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his Grace be witting thereto or not. Sore doubted the Lieutenant to diſpleaſe the Cardinall, yet of very pure devotion to his friend, he poſteth to the King at midnight, and ſaid his errant, (for all houres of the day or night, the Lieutenant hath acceſſe to the Prince upon occaſions.) King *Henry* controwling the ſawcyneſſe of the Prieſt, thoſe were his tearmes, gave him his Signet in token of countermand, which when the Cardinall had ſeene, he begun to breake into unſeaſonable words with the Lieutenant, which he was loath to heare, and ſo he left him fretting: Thus broke up the ſtorme for a time, and the next yeare 1528. 1530. *VVolſey* was caſt out of favour, & within few yeares Sir *VVilliam Skevington* ſent over Deputy, who brought vvith him the Earle pardoned, and rid from all his troubles. Who vvould not thinke but theſe leſſons ſhould have ſchooled ſo vviſe a man, and vvarned him rather by experience of adverſities paſt, to cure old ſores, then for joy of this preſent fortune, to minde ſeditious drifts to come. The ſecond yeare of *Skevingtons*

vingtons governement, there chaunced an uproare among the Merchants and their Apprentices, in Divelin, which hard and ſcant the Deputy and Major both, could appeaſe. Then was 1532. alſo great ſtirre about the Kings divorce, who hearing the frowardnes of Ireland under *Skevington*, and thinking it expedient in ſo fickle a world to have a ſure poſte there, made *Kildare* his Deputy, the Primate of Ardmagh Lord Chancellor, and Sir *James Butler* Lord Treaſurer. But *Kildare* revi- 1533 ving the old quarrels, fell to proſecute the Earle of Oſſory, excited *Oneale* to invade his country, his Brother *Iohn Fitz Gerald* to ſpoyle the country of Vriell and Kilkenny, being himſelfe at the doing of part, namely in robbing the towne, and killing the Kings ſubjects. The next yeare going againſt *O-* 1534. *Carrol* he was pittifull hurt with a Gun in the thigh, ſo that he never after enjoyed his limmes, nor delivered his vvordes in good plight, otherwiſe like enough to have beene longer forborne, in conſideration of his many noble qualities, great good ſervice, and the ſtate of thoſe times. Straight wayes complaints were addreſſed to the King of theſe enormities, & that in the moſt haynous manner could be deviſed, whereupon he was againe commaunded by ſharpe letters to repaire 1535. into Englād, & to leave ſuch a ſubſtitute, for whoſe governet he would undertake at his perill to anſwere: He left his heire the Lord *Thomas Fitz Gerald*, and ere he went, furniſhed his owne pyles, forts, and caſtles, with the Kings artillery & munition, taken forth of Divelin. Being examined before the Counſell, he ſtaggered in his anſwere, either for conſcience of the fact, or for the infirmity of his late mayme: Wherefore a falſe muttering flevv abroad that his execution was intended. That rumour helped forvvard *Skevingtons* friends and ſervants, who ſticked not to write into Ireland ſecret letters, that the Earle their Maſters enemy (ſo they tooke him, becauſe he got the governement over his head,) vvas cut ſhorter, and nowy they truſted to ſee their Maſter againe in his Lordſhip, whereafter they ſore longed as crowes doe for carryon. Such a letter came to the hands of a ſimple Prieſt, no perfect Engliſh man, who for haſte hurled it among other papers in

the

the Chimneyes end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it better at more leisure: The same very night a Gentleman retaining to Lord *Thomas* (then Lord Deputy under his father) tooke up his lodging, with the Priest, and raught in the morning for some paper to drawe on his straite hosen, and as the devill would he hit upon the letter, bare it away in the heele of his his hose, no earthly thing misdeeming, at night againe he found the paper unfretted, and musing thereof began to pore on the writing, which notified the Earles death. To horsbacke got he in all haste, and spreading about the country these unthrifty tydings, Lord *Thomas* the Deputy rash and youthfull, immediately confedered himselfe with *Oneale*, and *O-Connor*, with his Vnkles and Fathers friends, namely, *Iohn*, *Oliver*, *Edward Fitz Gerald*, *Iames* and *Iohn Delahide*, *VVelch* parson of Loughseudy, *Burnel* of Balgriffen, *Rorcks* a pirat of the seas, *Bath* of Dullardston, *Feild* of Buske, with others, and their adherents guarded, he rideth on S. *Barnabyes* day to S. *Mary* Abbey where the Councell sate, and when they looked he should take his place, and rose to give it him, hee charged them to sit still, and stood before them and then spake.

The words of Lord Thomas.

Howsoever injuriously we be handled and forced to defend our selves in armes, when neither our service nor our good meaning towards our Princes crowne availeth, yet say not hereafter but in this open hostility, which wee professe heere and proclaime, we have shewed our selves no villaines nor churles, but warriours and Gentlemen. This Sword of estate is yours and not mine, I received it with an oath, and have used it to your benefit, I should offend mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoyance, now have I neede of mine owne sword, which I dare trust, as for this common sword, it flattereth me with a golden scabberd, but hath in it a pestilent edge, already bathed in the *Geraldines* blood, and whetted it selfe in hope of a destruction: save your selves from us, as from your open enemies. I am none of *Henryes* Deputy, I am his foe, I have more minde to conquere, then to governe, to meete him in the field, then to serve him in office, If all the hearts of England and Ireland that have cause thereto, would joyne

joyne in this quarrell (as I trust they will) then should he be a by-word (as I trust he shall) for his heresie, lechery, and tyranny, wherein the age to come may skore him among the auncient Princes, of most abhominable and hatefull memorie. With that he rendred up the sword, and flang away like a Bedlam, adding to his shamefull Oration many other slanderous and foule termes, which for regard of the Kings posteritue, I have no minde to utter.

They concluded, first to murther all of the English birth in Ireland, and sent an ambassador to *Paulus* the 3, called *Mac Granell*, archdeacon of Kelles, and rejected thence to *Charles* the fift, whose Aunt Queene *Katherine* the King had lately cast off, with much indignation of all the Spaniards, him hee thought eith to be kindled, and craved assistance to conquer the land, which he promised to hold under him, & his heires for ever. The meane while he forced an oath upon Gentlemen of every shire to ayde him, camped within the pale, reared a great army of English, Irish, and Scots, invaded the Earle of Ossory, and *Iames* his sonne Lord *Butler*, who having intelligence thereof, prevented his fury and kept those parts in order.

When the *Butlers* had stopped his rage in Mounster, he fell to parlyes and treatyes with them, sent them diverse messengers and letters, whereby he covenanted to devide with them halfe the Kingdome, would they assist his enterprise, *Iames* Lord Treasurer, in whom for their youth and acquaintance he most affied, and often accumbred with such temptations, finally returned his brokers with letters.

The letter of Iames Lord Butler, and Lo. Treasurer: to Lord Thomas.

Taking pen in hand to write you my resolute answere, I muse in the very first line, by what name to call you, my Lord, or my Cousin, seeing your notorious treason hath distayned your honour, and your desperate lewdnes shamed your kindred, your are so liberall in parting stakes with mee, that a man would weene you had no right to the game, so importunate in craving my company, as if you would perswade me to hang with you for good fellowship. And thinke you that *Iames* is so mad to gape for gudgens, or so ungratious

gratious to ſell his truth for a peece of Ireland, were it ſo, (as it cannot be) that the Chickens you reckon were both hatched and feathered, yet be thou ſure I had rather in this quarrell die thine enemy, then live thy partner : for the kindnes you proffer mee, and good love in the end of your letter, the beſt way I can I purpoſe to requite, that is, in adviſing you though you have fetched your feaze, yet to looke well ere you leape over. Ignorance and error, and a certaine opinion of duty hath carried you unawares to this folly, not yet ſo ranke, but it may be cured. The King is a veſſell of bounty and mercy, your words againſt his Majeſty ſhall not bee counted malicious, but rather balked out for heat and impotency, except your ſelfe by heaping offences, diſcover a miſchievous and willfull meaning. Farewell.

Nettled with this round anſwere, forth he paſſed to increaſe his power, offered violence to very few, except that one deſpitous murther at Tartaine, the twenty five of July, where in a morning earely he cauſed to be brought before him, the honourable Prelate Doctour *Allen*, Archbiſhop of Divelin, and Lord Chancellor, who being a reverent perſonage, feeble for age and ſickneſſe, kneeling at his feete in his ſhirte and mantle, bequeathing his ſoule to God, his body to the Traytors mercy, the wretched young man commaunded there to be brained like an oxe. The place is ever ſince hedged in, overgrowne and unfrequented, in deteſtation of the fact. The people have obſerved that all the acceſſaries thereof, being after pardoned for rebellion, ended miſerably. *Allen* had beene in ſervice with Cardinall *Wolſey*, of deepe judgement, in the Cannon law, the onely match of *Stephen Gardener* another of *Wolſeyes* Chaplaines, for avoyding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in Iuſtice, hated of the *Geraldines* for his Maſters ſake, & his owne, as he that croſſed them diverſe times, and much troubled both the father and ſonne in their governements, nor unlike to have promoted their accuſations.

Doctour Allen Archbiſhop of Divelin and L. Chancellor murdered.

All this while the Kings army was looked for, and no ſuccour came to the rebels, which greatly quayled them, being of themſelves,

themſelves, though ſtored with ſouldiours, yet unfurniſhed with any ſufficient munition to ſtand in a maine battell. Moreover the number of wiſe Gentlemen did not greatly incline to his purpoſe. And therefore when he beſieged the City of Divelin, the moſt part of thoſe arrowes which were ſhot over the walles, were unheaded, and little or nothing affrayed them. That eſpied the cirizens, and gathering the faintnes of his ſouldiours thereby, blazed abroad upon the walles triumphant newes, that the Kings Army was arryved, and as it had beene ſo indeed, ſuddenly ruſhed out of their gates upon the Rebels, who at the firſt ſight of armed men, weening no leſſe but the truth was ſo, otherwiſe aſſured that the Citty would never dare to incounter them, gave ground, forſooke their Captaines, diſperſed and ſcattered into diverſe corners, and never after met together.

A little before this time dyed the Earle of Kildare in the towre of London for thought and paine. Sir *William Skevington* (whom the Iriſh men call the gunner, becauſe hee was preferred from that office of the Kings Maſter-gunner to governe them, and that they can full evill brooke to be ruled of any that is but meanely borne) brought over an Army, and with him *Leonard Gray*, a younger ſonne to the Marqueſſe Dorſet, Lord Marſhall. To whom *Fitz Gerald* yeelded, and was ſent into England, where hee with his Vncles, and other principalls of the conſpiracy, were afterwards drawne, hanged and quartered at Tiburne. Soone after was the houſe of the *Geraldines* attaynted by Parliament, and all of the name buſily trayned out for feare of newe commotions. But *Thomas Leuris*, late Biſhop of Kildare, ſchoole-maſter to a younger brother, *Girald Fitz Gerald*, the Earle that now liveth, ſecretly ſtale away with the childe, firſt into Scotland, then into France, and miſdoubting the French, into Italy, where Cardinall *Pole* his neere kinſman preſerved him, till the raigne of *Edward* the ſixt, with whom hee entred into high favour, and obtayned of him his olde Inheritance of Meinothe.

John Stow.

Yong Fitz Gerald preſerved.

Laſtly, by meanes of the ſaid Cardinall, and Sir *Anthony Browne*, Lord Mountague, whoſe ſiſter hee marryed (a woman worthy of ſuch a brother) Queene *Mary* (Founder and reſtorer of many Noble houſes) repealed his attainder, and ſet him in his fathers Earledome, wherein ſince that time he hath ſhewed himſelfe ſundry wayes officious and ſerviceable towards his Commonwealth, and the Crowne of England, beſide other good qualities of honour and curteſie, they repute him heere for the beſt horſeman in theſe parts of Chriſtendome. With this eſcape of yong *Fitz Gerald*, the Lord *Leonard Gray* his Vncle on the mothers ſide was held ſuſpect, & the ſame was one ſpeciall article urged againſt him when hee loſt his head, Anno 1542.

1542. Hall. An H. 8. 32. & 34.

Sir *William Skewington*, a worthy Governour, and among all vertues very juſt of his word, deceaſed Lord Deputy at Kilmaynam, & the Lord *Leonard Gray* ſucceeded him. *Oneale* and *Odonill* colourably required a parley with the Deputy, but in the way as they rode, they burned the Navan, and the towne of Ardee. Wherefore the Deputy with the helpe of the Maior of Divelin *Iames Fitz Symonds*, and the Maior of Droghedagh, and the Engliſh pale met them, flighted them, ſlew 400. of their traine, and there the Maior of Divelin for notable ſervice in that journey, was knighted.

1537.

Sir Iames Fitz-Simons Maior of Divelin.

Sir *Anthony Seintleger* Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy. He ſummoned a Parliament, wherein the *Geraldines* were attainted, Abbeyes ſuppreſſed, the King named ſupreme head and King of Ireland, becauſe he recognized no longer to hold it of the Pope. At this Parliament appeared Iriſh Lords *Mac Gilpatricke*, Lord *Barry*, *Mac Cartimore*, *O-Brene*, and diverſe more, whom followed *con Oneale*, ſubmitting himſelfe to the Kings Deputy, and after to the King himſelfe, who returned him richly plated, created him Earle of Tyrone, his baſe ſonne *Matthew Oneale* Baron of Donganon. As for *Shane Oneale* the onely ſonne of his body *mulier* begotten, hee was then little eſteemed and of no proofe. The ſame time *Iames* Earle of Deſmond came to the King, and was of him both Princely entertained and rewarded.

1542.

Con Oneale Earle of Tyrone.

CAP. X.

CAP. X.

Edward the 6. Mary, and Elizabeth.

BEfore the deceaſe of *Henry* the 8. *Seintleger* was twice in England, leaving at both times Sir *William Brabaſon* Lord Iuſtice. In his ſecond returne An. 1546. Sir *Edward Bellingham*, Captaine generall, landed at Waterford, and skowred the coaſt, where *Omore* and *Ocomore* uſed to prey.

This yeare the city of Divelin obtained a Charter for two Sheriffes in ſtead of Bayliffes.

1546.

The *Geraldines* Out-lawes were taken and executed; *Bellingham* appointed Lord Deputye, erected a Mint within the Caſtle of Divelin, which quickely wearyed them for want of fuell. *Andrew Brereton* with 300. horſemen, and 40. footemen, inhabited the North as farre as Lecale, where hee with 55. horſemen gave the charge upon 240. Scotts, that from the out Iſlandes came to ſuccour the Iriſh, and waſted the Countrey. In one yeare hee cleered thoſe quarters, that the Kings ſubiects might paſſe in peace.

Sir *Frauncis Bryan* the Kings Mynion was left Lord Iuſtice, while *Bellingham* repayred into England, where he dyed a man made up by ſervice in the warres, by continuall toyle therein diſeaſed and feebled, but of courage a lyon to his dying day, true as ſteele, as farre from flattery as from hearing flatterers, an exceeding fervent Proteſtant, very zealous and carefull in tendring the wealth of Ireland, wherein the countrey giveth him the praiſe over all his predeceſſours and ſucceſſours within memory, he ſpent his whole allowance in hoſpitality, calling the ſame, his deare Maſters meate, none of his owne coſt. Letters commendatory offered him by the Councell, when *Brian* had wrought his trouble before the

Sir Edward Bellingham.

nobility of England hee rejected as vaine and ſuperfluous, profeſsing, that if of his owne innocencie he could not uphold him, hee would never ſeeke other ſhift, then *Credo reſurrectionem mortuorum*, for (quoth he) well they may kill mee, but they ſhall never conquer mee. Sowre he was, and thundering in words, indeed very temperate, applyed himſelfe altogether to ſeverity, Lordlineſſe, and terrour, *Brian* dyed within ſixe weekes, and *Brabaſon* became Lord Iuſtice, till *Saintleger* the fourth time was ſent over Deputye. To him crept *Mac Cartye*, that had lately roved and denyed his obedience, with an halter about his necke, and got his pardon.

Vpon *Saintleger* came Sir *Iames Croftes*, of whoſe bounty and honourable dealing towards them, they yeeld at this day a generall good report. *Crofts* tarryed in office two yeares, and left Sir *Thomas Cuſack* (who dyed five houres before the writing hereof, and *Gerald Ailmer*, while they both were courſing *Oneale* from Dundalke.

Queene Mary. Queene *Mary* eſtabliſhed in her Crowne, committed her government once more to *Saintleger*, whom ſundry Noblemen pelted and lifted at, till they ſhouldered him quite out of all credite. He to be counted forward and plyable to the taſte of King *Edward* the ſixt his raigne, rymed againſt the Reall Preſence for his paſtime, and let the papers fall where Courtiers might light thereon, vvho greatly magnified the pith and conveyance of that noble ſonnet. But the originall of his own hand-vvriting, had the ſame firmely (though contrary to his ovvne iudgement) vvandering in ſo many hands, that his adverſary caught it, and tripped it in his vvay: the ſpot vvhereof he could never vvipe out. Thus vvas he removed, a diſcreete Gentleman, very ſtudious of the State of Ireland, enriched, ſtout enough, vvithout gall.

1553. Sir Anthony Seintleger.

While the Deputy ſtaggered uncertaine of continuance, the *Tooles*, and the *Cavenaghes* vvaxed cockiſh in the Countie of Divelin, rangeing in flockes of ſeven or eight ſcore, on vvhom ſet forth the Marſhall and the Sheriffes of Divelin, *Buckley* and *Gygen*, vvith the citties helpe, and over-layde them

them in ſudden skirmiſhes, of which, threeſcore were executed for example.

1554. Earle of Suſſex. *Thomas* Earle of Suſſex, Lord Deputy, with whom came his Brother in law Sir *Henry Sidney*, Treaſurer. This Deputy, to the ineſtimable benefite of the Realme, brought under obedience the diſordered countreyes of Leix, Slewmarge, Oſalie, Irrye, and Glinmalire, then late poſſeſſed by the *Oconnore*, *Omores*, *Odempſyes*, and other Iriſh rebels. Hee moleſted *Iames Mac Conell* the Scottiſh Iſlander, that in thoſe dayes joyned with the Iriſh, and diſquieted Vlſter. In which voyage Divelin aſſiſted the Governour with a faire company, conducted by *Iohn Vſher*, Sheriffe, and *Patrick Buckley*. He held a Parliament, wherein it was made high Treaſon to retaine Scots for ſouldiours, and fellony to contract with them matrimony. At his returne from England (in which time Sir *Henry Sidney* vvas Lord Iuſtice) hee purſued the Scots to their Iſlands, and there entred, did them much skathe, vvanne himſelfe full great commendation of hardineſſe, ſayled backe vvith the glory of that adventure, vvherein (I trovv) tvvo more of his matches are not remembred, nor read. With the nevves of *Maryes* death, hee croſſed the ſeas againe into England, leaving Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Iuſtice, and yet againe the next yeare leaving Sir *VVilliam Fitzwilliams* Lord Iuſtice, then returned he Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by Proclamation reformed and abated their baſe Coyne, being as yet perfect in all the proportions, meaſures, allayes and values thereof, as by mintanor, tooke vvith him ſouldiours out of Divelin, victualled for ſixe vveekes at that citties charge, under the leading of *Petaboghe* Sheriffe, and joyning him to his povver, vvent upon *Shane Oneale*, the Iriſh enemy of greateſt force then living. Thereupon *Shane* hyed him into England, the Lieutenant after him, *FitzVVilliams* Lord Iuſtice, till *Suſſex* ſped his buſineſſe, and came backe the next and laſt time of his departure. Sir *Nicholas Arnold* directed thither vvith Commiſsion, tarryed behinde him Lord Iuſtice, and too ſhort a vvhile as the country ſpeaketh, vvho teſtifieth

1557.

Queene Elizabeth.

1560.

Sir Nic. Arnold

upright and reasonable provision of household cates, the abuses whereof with sesse and souldiours, doe so impoverish and alienate the needie Farmors from us, that they say they might as easily beare the Irish oppressions of Coines & Cuddies, from which we pretend to deliver them.

Arnold for his better succesſe in government, linked himselfe entirely with *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, who likewise endeavoured to support the same with all diligence, being authorized to straine the rebells at his discretion, wherefore hee disposed himselfe to serve, and presented the Governour many times with a number of principall Out-lawes heades.

The Earle of Sussex

In the meane while *Sussex* became Lord President of the North of England, a spare man of body, but sound & healthfull, brought up with *Stephen Gardiner*, passing valiant, a deep reacher, very zealous in friendship, quicke in resolution of exercises in the field, wonderfull patient, able to tyre ten souldiours, learned and languaged, ever doing with his penne, of utterance sharpe and sententious, wary, busie, painefull, and speedie, meeter to rule, then to be over-ruled.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, Knight of the Garter, Lord President of Wales, and Lord Deputie of Ireland. Hee found the Realme distempered with *Oneales* rebellion, and the same did extinguish, whereof before I speake, I must looke backe a little into certaine yeares past, and lay together the circumstance of this lamentable tumult.

Of all the Irish Princes, though none was then comparable to *Oneale* for antiquity and nobleneſse of bloud, yet had the same endured sundry varieties and vexations, untill the division began in England of the two royall families, Yorke and Lancaster, at which time the English Lords of Ireland, either for zeale, or for kinred and affection transporting their force thither to vphold a side, the meere Irish waxed insolent, and chiefly *Oneale* incroched upon the full possession of Vlster, abiding so uncontrolled, till *Shane Oneale* fearing the puissance of *Henry* 8. exhibited to him a voluntary submissiō, surrendred all titles of honour, received at his hands the Earledome of Ter-owen,

Oneales rebellion.

Ter-owen, commonly called Tirone, to be held of the King of English forme and tenure. Armes he gave the bloody hand a terrible cognizance. This *Oneale* had two sonnes, *Matthew* a bastard, and *Shane* legitimate, but because *Matthew* was a lusty horseman, well beloved, and a tryed Souldiour, *Shane* but a Boy, and not of much hope, the father obtained the Barony of Donganon, and the remainder of his Earledome to *Matthew*. When *Shane* and his foster brethren grew to yeares, they considered of the injury and tyranny, done by policie of the base *Oneale*, & with rearing hue and cry at the side of a Castle where he lay that night, when the Gentleman ran suddainely forth to answere the cry, as the custome is, they betrayed and murdered him. The father not utterly discontent with his dispatch, when he saw the proofe of his lawfull sonne and heire, thenceforward fancied *Shane Oneale*, put him in trust with all, himselfe being but a Cripple, notwithstanding that *Matthew* left issue male which liveth, to whom the inheritance appertained, yet after his fathers deceaſe, *Shane* was reputed for the rightfull *Oneale*, tooke it, kept it, challenged superiority over the Irish Lords of Vlster, warred also upon the English part, subdued *Oreyly*, imprisoned *Odonil*, his wife, and his sonne, enriched himselfe with all *Odonils* forts, castles, and plate, by way of ransome, detained pledges of obedience, the wife (whom he carnally abused) and the Childe, fortified a strong Iland in Tyrone, which he named spitefully, *Fooght-ni-Gall*, that is, the hate of English men, whom he so detested, that he hanged a Souldiour for eating English biſket, another by the feete mistrusted for a spy, another Captaine of the Galloglaghes he slew with torture. After this usurpation and tyranny, hee was yet perswaded by *Melchior Hußé* sent unto him from *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, to reconcile himselfe to good order, and to remember the honourable estate wherein King *Henry* placed his father, which monition he accepted, besought his protection, and made a voyage into England, where the Courtiers noting his haughtines and barbarity, deviſed his stile thus: *Oneale* the great, Cousin to S. *Patricke*, friend to the Queene of England, enemy to all the world

world beſides. Thence he ſped home againe, gratiouſly dealt with, uſed Civility, expelled the Scots out of all Vlſter, where they intended a conqueſt, wounded and tooke priſoner, Captaine *Iames Mac Conill* their Chieftaine, whereof the ſaid *Iames* deceaſed: ordered the North ſo properly, that if any ſubject could approve the loſſe of money or goods within his precinct, he would aſſuredly either force the robber to reſtitution, or of his owne coſt redeeme the harme to the looſers contentation. Sitting at meate, before he put one morſell into his mouth, he uſed to ſlice a portion above the dayly almes, and ſend it namely to ſome begger at his gate, ſaying, it was meete to ſerve Chriſt firſt: But the Lords of Vlſter, and elſewhere, whom he yoked and ſpoiled at pleaſure, abhorring his pride and extortion, craved aſſiſtance of the Deputy, for redreſſe thereof: *Oneale* advertiſed, increaſeth his rage, diſturbeth and driveth out *Mac Guire*, the plantiffe, burneth the Metropolitane Church of Ardmagh, becauſe no Engliſh army might lodge therein, for which ſacriledge the Primate accurſed him, beſiegeth Dundalke, practiſeth to call ſtrangers into the land for ayde, as appeareth by thoſe letters which Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy intercepted, occupieth all the North of Ireland, being 100. myles broad, 120. long. Then addreſſed he plauſible letters to the Potentates of Mounſter, exhorting them to rebell, that the force of England at once might bee diſmembred. This meſſage the Deputy prevented, ſtayed the country, abridged him of that hope, and then proclaimed him Traytor. An Iriſh leſter ſtanding by, and hearing *Oneale* denounced with addition of a new name, traytor: Except (quoth he) traytor be a more honourable title then *Oneale*, he ſhall never take it upon him, by my conſent.

While the Deputy was abſent in England, the towne of Droghedagh was in hazard to be taken by the Rebels, which
1568. to preſerve, at the motion of the Lady *Sidney*, then abiding in Droghedagh, came Maſter *Sarſfield* then Major of Divelin, with a choſen band of goodly young men Citizens, and brake the rage of the enemies. The Deputy returning made him Knight, and finding it now high time utterly to weede and

and roote out the Traytor, he furniſhed a ſubſtantiall army, and with the readines thereof hartened the Iriſh, whom *Oneale* had impoveriſhed, cut off his adherents, and all acceſſe of ſuccour, chaſed him and his into corners, ſpent him, caſt him into ſuch deſpaire, that he conſulted with his Secretary *Neale Mac Connor*, to preſent himſelfe unknowne and diſguiſed to the Deputy, with an halter about his necke, begging his pardon. Ere you doe ſo (quoth his Clarke) let us prove an extreame ſhift, and there he perſwaded him to joyne with the Scots, whom he had lately baniſhed: of whom, ſhould he be refuſed or finde inconvenience, at any time, ſubmiſſion to the Deputy might then be uſed, when all faileth. *Shane* knew himſelfe odious to the Scots, eſpecially to them whom he thought to lincke with the brother and kindred of *Iames Mac Conill*, yet in thoſe hard oddes hee deviſed rather to aſſay their friendſhip, then to grate upon mercy, which ſo oft and ſo intollerably he had abuſed.

Oneale vanquiſhed.

Mac Conil the Iſlander.

Mac Conill whom *Shane* overthrew left two brethren, and a Siſter, whereof one *Swarly Torwy* remained with *Oneale*, entertayned after his brothers death. The other was *Alexander Oge*, who with 600. Scots incamped now in Claneboy. The woman was *Agnes Ilye*, whoſe huſband *Shane* ſlew in the ſaid diſcomfiture, *Agnes* had a ſonne *Mac Gillye Aſpucke*, who betrayed *Oneale* to avenge his Fathers and Vncles quarrell. At the firſt meeting, (for thither he came accompanied with *Torwy* and his Secretary, and 50. horſemen) the Captaines made him great cheere, and fell to quaffing, but *Aſpucke* minding to enter into his purpoſe, there openly challenged his Secretary, as the Author of a diſhonourable report, that *Mac Conils* wife did offer to forſake her country and friends, and to marry with *Shane Oneale* her huſbands deſtruction; Mary (quoth the Secretary) if thine Aunt were Queen of Scotland, it might beſeeme her full well, to ſeeke ſuch a marriage. To this brawle *Oneale* gave eare, upheld his man, advaunced his owne degree: The compariſon bred a fray betweene their Souldiours, Out ſprang *Aſpucke*, and beat *Oneales* man, and then ſuddainely brought his band upon them in the tent, where

Oneale murdered.

where the Souldiours with their slaughter-knives, killed the Secretary and *Shane Oneale*, mangled him cruelly, lapped him in an old Irish sheete, and tumbled him into a pit, within an old Chappell hard by: whose head foure dayes after, Captaine *Pierce* cut off and met therewith the Deputy, who sent it before him staked on a pole, to the Castle of Divelin, where it now standeth. It is thought that *Tirlagh* who now usurpeth the name of *Oneale*, practised this devise with *Agnes*, *Alexander*, and *Torny*, when he perceived *Shane* discouraged, and not able to hold out.

Thus the wretched man ended, who might have lived like a Prince, had he not quenched the sparkes of grace that appeared in him, with arrogancy and contempt against his Prince.

The Butlers rebellion.

The next Tumult in Ireland proceeded of the folly, especially of Sir *Edmund Butler*, *Pierce* and *Edward* his Brethren, who being unable in law, to maintaine his title to certaine landes, whereof he held possession, whereunto Sir *Peter Carew* laide very direct and manifest claime, (for *Carew* is an ancient Barons house in Ireland) confedered with *Iames Fitz Morice* of the south, and others, began commotion, more dangerous to the Realme then the late stirre of *Oneale*; such was their opportunity of place, the rebels so friended, their number so furnished, that the Deputy passing forth against them in haste, requisite with such shift as the suddaine mischiefe asked, was thought to have put his person in great adventure, but in conclusion he wanne by that journey, great martiall honour, started them from hole to hole, and ransackt every veine of the land, so as the *Butlers* craving protection, shortly recoyled, and stand now at the Queenes mercy. To appease the country, & reforme the lewdnes of his Brethren, *Thomas* Earle of Ormond came from the Court of England home, and in quieting the said broyles, shewed also for his part, a right good peece of service, worthy to be remembred. After this ensued a Parliament, the particulars whereof, are expressed in the acts lately drawne, to be published in Print, somewhat before the last session, a seditious libell intituled, *Tom*

Tom Troth, (let fall in the streetes of Divelin) nipped by name diverse honourable and worshipfull of the Realme, & certaine officers of the Deputyes houshold, for greeving the land with impositions of Cesse, whereupon followed a proclamation, bearing date the twenty eight of Ianuary, which if it may be executed in all points, would cut off many such murmurs, and leave a blessed memory of the Governour that devised it. The day of prorogation when the Knights and Burgesses of the Cominalty resorted to the Lordes of the upper house, much good matter was there uttered betweene the Deputy and the Speaker, whereof comming home to my lodging I tooke notes, and here I will deliver them, as neere as I can call them to minde, in the same words and sentences, that I heard them. First the Speaker *Iames Stanihurst* an Esquire of worship, Recorder of Divelin, and for the Citty Burgesse at that present, began thus.

12. December 1570.

The oration of Iames Stanihurst Speaker of the Parliament.

Rather of custome and dutyfull humility, then for doubt of your honourable disposition, (so well knowne to us all, and to every of us in private, that it little needeth my praise) we are to request your Lordship in the behalfe of our selves, and our countryes, whom we represent in this Parliament, to accept our service and endeavour in driving these conclusions, where by to the uttermost of our skill we have intended without injury, the Crowne to enrich, treasons to chastise, to better the state, traffique to further, learning to cherish, and in briefe, to maintaine with our best advice those benefits, which the Prince hath inferred upon this Realme by you, and you with your sword and wisedome have performed. An ordinary sute it is, in the end of such assemblies to crave executions of law, for it sufficeth not, to keepe a statute *tanquam inclusum in tabulis*, as a thing shut up in parchment rolles, but law must speake and walke abroad, to the comfort and behoofe of good subjects: Otherwise, vve shall resemble the folly of him, that once in every houre saluted his gold, never using it, but onely bad it lye still and couch. Of the necessity thereof, I cannot say so much as your Lordship conceiveth,

and

and I deſire not to diſcourſe a matter generally felt and confeſſed. In particular the zeale which I have to the reformation of this Realme, and to breede in the rudeſt of our people, reſolute Engliſh hearts, moveth me to pray your Lordſhips helping hand for the practiſe, namely of one ſtatute which is for the erecting of Grammer Schooles, within every dioceſſe, the ſtipends to be levied in ſuch proportion, as in the late act hath beene deviſed, whereunto the royall aſſent is already granted, and yet the point in no forwardnes, nor in none is like to be, except by ſome good meanes, the onſet be given & freſhly followed, ſurely might one generation ſippe a little of this liquor, and ſo bee induced to long for more, both our countrymen that live obeyſant, would enſue with a courage the fruites of peace, whereby good learning is ſupported, and our unquiet neighbours would finde ſuch ſweeteneſſe in the taſte thereof, as it ſhould bee a ready way to reclaime them. In mine experience, who have not yet ſeene much more then forty yeares, I am able to ſay that our Realme is at this day an halfe deale more civill then it was, ſince noble men and worſhipfull, with others of ability, have uſed to ſend their ſonnes into England to the Law, to Vniverſities, or to Schooles. Now when the ſame Schooles ſhall bee brought home to their doores, that all that will may repaire unto them, I doubt not, conſidering the numbers brought up beyond the Seas, and the good already done in thoſe few places, where learning is profeſſed, but this addition diſcreetly made, will foſter a young frye, likely to prove good members of this common wealth, and deſirous to traine their children the ſame way. Neither were it a ſmall helpe to the aſſurance of the Crowne of England, when Babes from their Cradles ſhould be inured under learned Schoole-maſters, with a pure Engliſh tongue, habite, faſhion, diſcipline, and in time utterly forget the affinity of their unbroken borderers, who poſſibly might be won ore by this example, or at the leaſt wiſe looſe the opportunity, which now they have, to infect others. And ſeeing our hap is not yet, to plant an Vniverſity here at home, which attempt can never bee remembred without many thankes

thankes to your good Lordſhip for your bountifull offer, me ſeemeth it is the more expedient to enter ſo farre forth as our commiſſion reacheth, and to hope for the reſt: I have ſaid enough, eſpecially to a learned governour, to whom an inckling were ſufficient in ſuch a plauſible and needfull motion. It reſteth that wee pray your Lordſhip to folde up whatſoever ſquarings or diverſities of Iudgements, wiſe men have heere uttered in our often meetings, and by the ſequele of all our doings to meaſure the good meaning of every ſeverall perſon.

When the Speaker had done, the Deputy having a rich and plentifull kinde of utterance, meere naturall, but not without judgement, anſwered at length, as he that knew no end of his good, the points whereof, as I can remember, were theſe.

The Lord Deputies anſwer.

In good faith, M. Speaker, I cannot leſſe doe, but recorde and teſtifie the readines, travaile and good ſervice of you all, and namely of your ſelfe, who in the whole courſe of this Parliament, & now laſtly in this charitable requeſt for trayning your youth, have confirmed the opinion which my ſelfe and the generall voyce long ſince retained of your rare vertues, devotion, wiſedome, learning, and modeſtie, ſo as the caſe cannot be miſdoubted that is preferred by ſuch a Proctor, the ſubſtance whereof toucheth you my Lords ſpirituall and temporall, & you the knights and worſhipfull of every Shire, to you belongeth the quickening of this godly ſtatute, which heere againe I recommend unto you, & will not let to enquire after your diligence therein from time to time, & the moſt effectuall order that may be for this purpoſe, ſhall aſſuredly be taken in place convenient. Shew your ſelves forvvard and franke in advancing the honour, wealth, eaſe and credit of your countryes, envy not to your poſterity the ſame path that your ſelves have troden, and namely you that flouriſh at this day in the light & eye of your cõmon-wealth. Had your opinions matched with mine, concerning the Vniverſity which M. Speaker remembreth, no doubt the name and reputation thereof would have bin a ſpurre to theſe erections, as nurſes

for babes to ſuck in, till they might repaire thither to be wained: But I truſt your conſents therein are only ſuſpended for a time, and that ſo much good labour ſhall not be utterly loſt and fruſtrate: What though certaine imperfections cannot as yet be ſalved? What though the ſumme ariſe not to make a muſter of Colledges at the firſt day? What though the place be not alſo commodious? What though other circumſtances inferre a feeble and rawe foundation? Theſe are indeede objections of the multitude, whoſe backewardneſſe breedeth an unneceſſary ſtoppe in this our purpoſe. But your wiſedomes can eaſily conſider that time muſt ripen a weake beginning; that other Vniverſities began with leſſe, that all experience telleth us ſo, ſhall wee be ſo curious or ſo reſty that nothing will pleaſe us, but all in all, all abſolute, all excellent, all furniſhed, all beautified, all fortified in the prime and infancie thereof. I remember a tale of *Apuleius* aſſe, who being indifferently placed betweene two bottles of haye, becauſe he could not reach them both at once, forbare them both. Let us not ſo doe, but content our ſelves by little and little to bee fedde as the caſe requireth. The reſt of your Bills debated and paſſed by your wiſedomes in this Parliament, I muſt confeſſe, they are as you ſay, beneficiall to the Queene my Miſtris, and to her Crowne, but how? Verily as the Husband-man ſoweth his ſeede, and reapeth much more then he layde downe, ſo whatſoever this benefite amounteth unto, it returneth to your ſelves in a circle, heere it groweth, heere it is eaten, heere it multiplyeth, heere it is ſpent, they have their due, the Prince is bettered, you are quieted, Iuſtice executed, malefactours terrifyed. Were they never ſo deare collopps of your owne fleſh and bloud, I ſee not how you could either have coloured their offence, or qualifyed their puniſhment, the one ſo notorious, that it cannot be diſſembled, the other ſo ordinary, that courſe of law preſcribeth it. Therefore as you have well done, ſo you have done but your duties; allowed an inch to receive an ell, abridged your owne foes, avenged your own injuryes,

Injuryes, condemned your owne oppreſſors. And yet this duty being on your parts, ſo cheerefully and painfully, ſo lovingly and advisedly performed, deſerveth great thankes, and ſhall finde it too, If I bee the man, either in office able to conſider you, or out of office in place to friend you. I am to depart into England ſhortly, lay your heads together, and article the points, whereby this Realme may be furthered, vſe mee either as a mouth to ſpeake for you, or an eye to direct you, or as a hand to under-prop you, *aut conſilio, aut auxilio*. Beſides, the generall care vvhich I ought to have for you all, as your governour, and yoked together under one obedience, Engliſh blouds, and Engliſh hearts, I am linked to you as to my continuall acquaintance theſe many yeares, hither I came in my ſpring, heere I have ſpent my ſummer, I returne in the fall of the leafe, now is the time, intimate your defects in demaunds, or what elſe ſoever may content you, and ſee whether I will tender your common-wealth. I meane not the pretended common-wealth, ſeditiouſly promoted in *Tom Loodles* ryme, but ſome good and ſubſtantiall matter worth the hearing, which upright and equall men will indeede eſteeme. As for his complaint of Ceſſe and Impoſition, it ſavoureth either hatefull malice, or childiſh folly; malice if he would decay the garriſon that preſerveth the Realme, folly if he thinke the Realme can be preſerved vvithout a garriſon, vvherin I will ſhew you my fancie by the vvay, perhaps out of all order, but I pray beare vvith mee, I take matters as they come next to hand, I can not skill of vvritten tales. Many a good-fellovv talkes of *Robin Hoode*, that never drevv in his Bovv, and many an idle head is full of Proclamations, and conceiveth certaine farre fetches, able in his vveening to vvield a Realme. But let me ſee vvhich of them all can juſtifie, that Ireland may ſpare the Army they kicke ſo much againſt. Are your enemyes more tractable then they have beene? Are they fevver? Are you by your ſelves of force to match them? If you bee, then vvere England ſtarke madde, to diſburſe tvventie or thirtie thouſand pounds a yeare, for none other purpoſe but to vexe and grieve you:

that were like the husband who gelded himſelfe to anger his wife. You muſt not thinke wee love you ſo evill, nay rather thinke truely wee tender yo ur quietneſſe and preſervation, as a nation derived from our aunceſtours, ingraffed and incorporate into one body with us, diſturbed with a ſort of barbarous people, odious to God and man, that lappe your bloud as greedily as ours. The abuſe of ſouldiours, their horſe, boyes, and harlots, the Legerdemaine of Captaines, chequerelles, the purloyning of Ceſſors & Conſtables, the number of freedomes holding onely by *concordatum*, the annoyance and hurt which the poore farmer endureth, as I know them to be intollerable, ſo I know them to be redreſſed with the firſt detection, whoſe complaint hath not been heard? whoſe enormity vvinked at? What can you aske more? would you have ſouldiours nothing inſolent, nothing ſenſuall, nothing greedy, no quarrellers? ſo wiſh I, but ſcarce hope for it, vvould you hazard a miſery certaine, extreame, and incurable, to avoyde a trouble caſuall, tranſitory, and remedileſſe? ſo vvould not I, if you can prove a garriſon needleſſe, I undertake to eaſe you thereof, If you neede it, they muſt bee fedde, finde another vvay then this, to provide for them victuall, that carryeth aſmuch readineſſe to ſervice, and more contentation to your ſelves, and I aſſure you mine aſſiſtance to ſet it forvvard. But the Brokers of this libell are vvont to reaſon, Why ſhould not vvee live vvithout an Army as vvell as in England? Why cannot our Noble-men of might in every border, our tenants and ſervaunts vvithſtand the Iriſh next them, as vvell as the Northerne Lordes and Inhabitants of Riddeſdale and Tiddeſdale, and thoſe about the Scottiſh banke reſiſt the Scotts, facing and pilfering as faſt as our enemyes. Very good, vvhat ſaye they then to Fraunce, vvhich is no vvorſer governed then England, and hath an Armye. Italy notvvithſtanding as vvell ordered as Fraunce vvithout an Army? Spaine aſvvell as either of them both, and continually keepes an Armye? I tell you, theſe are daungerous and hollovve kindes of Argumentes, vvhich

which are deduced *ab exemplo*, by example of other Realmes. Many ſubtile diverſities, many varieties of circumſtance, many exceptions alter the caſe, and make it utterly deſperate. Touching Scotland it is well knowne, they were never the men whom England neede to feare: They are but a corner cut out, and eaſily tamed when they waxe outragious. Your forts lie in the boſome of your Countryes; more in number, richer of ground, deſperate theeves, ever at an inch, unpoſſible to be ſevered from you without any fence, beſide your owne valiantnes, and the helpe of our Souldiours. England is quiet within it ſelfe, thoroughly peopled on that ſide of Scotland, which moſt requireth it, guarded with an army, otherwiſe the Lords and Gentlemen, and luſty Yeoman, that dwell on a row are ready to maiſter their private vagaries. From all forraine invaſions walled with the wide Ocean. Were there ſuch a Sea betwixt you and the Iriſh, or were they ſhut up in an odde end of the land, or had they no ſuch opportunityes of bogges and woods as they have, or were they Lords of the leſſer part of Ireland, or were they ſevered into handfuls, not able to annoy whole townes hips and Baronies as they doe, the compariſon were ſomewhat like, but alacke it fareth not ſo with you, you are beſet round, your townes be feeble, the land empty, the commons bare, every county by it ſelfe cannot ſave it ſelfe. Take away the terrour and feare of our Bande, which increaſeth your ſtrength, many an Iriſh Lord would be ſet agog that novv is full lovvly, and holdeth in his hornes, and the open enemy vvould ſcovvre your quarters that novv dares not venture leſt he pay for his paſſage. Conſider me the effect of an Army vvrought in theſe fevv yeares, for doubt vvhereof you are nothing ſo oft nor ſo lamentably pelted at, as your aunceſtors vvere, vvhich of them durſt be ſtored vvith coyne, knovving the rebells teeth vvatered thereat, and himſelfe not able to hold him out? vvhich of them had leiſure to build, to lye ſoft and vvarme, to take his eaſe in his ovvne home? vvhich of them vvere plated, or jevvelled, or attyred themſelves, their vivves and children ſumptuouſly, after their calling as you doe now? If your bagges bee full

vvhere

vvhere theirs were lancke, if you dwell neatly where they dwelled homely, if you ſleep on featherbeds where they ſlept on couches, if you be ſumptuous where they vvere skant, you have the more cauſe to honour that Scepter, that ſo directeth you, and to love the warrant that procureth you this quietnes, the mother of all your wealth and proſperity.

Therefore to conclude where I began, weigh well the ſicke and wounded parts of your common wealth, cure the roote, regard the foundation, the principall pillars, the ſummer poſts, the ſtone walles, as for the roofe and the tyles, if yee repaire them onely, and ſuffer the ground worke to periſh, a tempeſt of weather, a flovve will ſhake your building. Of ſome ſuch good and ſubſtantiall reformation I would adviſe you friendly to conſult, and you ſhall finde me as willing to preferre the generall welfare of you all, as I have beene deſirous to benefit every ſingular perſon of you, that hath in any lawfull ſuite attempted me.

¶ Theſe laſt words gave *Sidney* to the Realme, as it were for a farewell, and thencefotvvards looked for Sir *VVilliam Fitz VVilliams* his brother in law, a politicke and ſtout gentleman, now Lord Iuſtice, and for Sir *Iohn Perrot* Lord preſident of Mounſter, to be ſettled there, before his departure. He was honored at the point of his going, with ſuch recourſe, pompe, muſicke, ſhewes & enterludes, as no man remẽbreth the like. He tooke ſhip towards England at the key of Divelin, in Lent followving, accõpanied to ſea with the Eſtates & Worſhipfull of Ireland, vvith innumerable hartyprayers, & vvith that vviſh of his returne, vvhereof but fevv Governours in theſe laſt 60. yeares, have held poſſeſſion. The man vvas ſurely much loved of them, from his firſt office of Treaſurer in the 2. yeare of Queen *Mary*, ſtately vvithout diſdaine, familiar vvithout contempt, very continent & chaſt of body, no more then enough liberall, learned in many languages, & a great lover of learning perfect in blazoning of armes, skilfull of antiquities, of vvit freſh and lively, in conſultations very Temperate, in utterance happy, vvhich his experience and vviſedome hath made artificiall, a preferrer of many, a father to his ſervants, both in warre and peace of commendable courage.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy faileth into England. 25. Mar. 1571.

FINIS.

Faults eſcaped.

PAge 2. *Line* 19. countie p. 6. l. 24 Inchequin. l. 26. *de Burgo*. l. 28 *Vlick*. 29. Thomond. & 34. Clancar. p. 9. l. 27 Killeene. l. 2. Donlany. & 35. Beare haven p. 8. l. 4. Brunc. l. 19 Deceter or D'exeter, l. 22. Inchequin & l. 29. Thomaſtowne. p. 12. l. 12 Hiberus p. 21. *in the margent for* Dem-reade, *mundi* p. 22. l. 17 monarchy. p. 30. l. 25. *after purpoſe, reade*, our. p. 38 l. 26. *for Mounſter r.* Vlſter. p. 46. l. 33. *after Clerke, adde*, aſtoniſhed. p. 61. l. 12 extreamely. p. 65. l. 7. coadiutors l. 10. *Aideim*. p. 77. l. 13. *after Knight, adde*, to. p. 82 l. 15. *Birmingbames*. p. 84 l. 2 *for Mounſter r. Leinſter*. l. 3. *O-Tooles. O Byrnes*, l. 37. *Maupas*. p. 85 l. 11. *Bignore*. p. 87. *in the margent*, 1329 p. 90. l. 9. *after Archer, adde*, Prior. l. 12 *Kenwrick*. p. 93. *in marg.* l. 2. 1399. p. 96. l. 32. *prepoſitura*. p. 101. l. 5. leaſt. p. 105. l. 21 *croſſe out the firſt* and p. 118. l. 15. *Rowke*. p. 123. l. 8. *O Connor*. p. 136. l. 9. cheque-rolles. *The leſſer faults are as eaſily amended as foundeus by the Reader.*

THE CHRONICLE OF IRELAND:

COLLECTED BY MEREDITH HANMER, Doctor of Diuinity.

The ſecond part.

THree hundred yeeres after the flood, one *Bartholanus* the ſonne of *Sera*, with his three ſonnes, *Languinus*, *Salanus*, and *Ruthurugus*, and their wives of the poſterity of *Iaphet*, are ſaid to have arrived in this Iſland. This opinion followeth *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, and him followeth *Polychronicon*; and my ſelfe, not meaning to ſwarve from the common opinion, thought good to acquaint the poſterity therewith. With this *Bartholanus*, as their Captaine, came many of that line, and multiplied exceedingly for the ſpace of 300 yeeres, to the number of 9000 fighting men. Little is remembred of *Bartholanus*, ſaving that with many hands he rid and made plaine a great part of the Country, making paces thorow woods and thickets; and that his ſonnes left doubtfull remembrances of their names; the firſt to *Languinus* Poole, the ſecond to mount *Salanga* (ſince named Saint *Dominicks* hill) and the third to *Ruthurugus* his Poole. *Bartholanus* in Ireland.

At the ſame time, according to the common ſaying, Where God hath

Oceanus invadeth Ireland.

hath his Church, the Devill hath his Chappell, many of the curſed ſeed of *Cham* arrived alſo in this Iſland, with their Captaine *Oceanus*, the ſonne of *Cham*, called of ſome *Mena*, of *Moſes*, *Mitzraim*. Firſt he was in the yeere of the world 1802, the ſecond Commander of Ægypt, planted Colonies along the river Nilus, and after hee had reigned there 7 yeeres, he endevoured by navigation to ſubdue unto his Empire many parts of the world. Thus waxing ſtrong and mighty upon the ſeas, hee prevailed much, and travelled farre; hee came to theſe North parts of the world, landed many of his followers, and in remembrance of his voyage, left his name upon the ſeas which waſh theſe lands, which of him is yet called the *Ocean* ſea.

After his departure hence his curſed line multiplied not ſo much in number as in all miſchiefe and rebellion, they ſet up a King of their owne, they oppoſed themſelves againſt the poſterity of *Iaphet*; they were great in ſtrength, and huge of ſtature, and attempted great matters after the example of *Cham* or *Zoroaſtres* the Magician, and *Nimrod* grandfather to *Ninus*: they repined at the bleſſings beſtowed upon *Sem* and *Iaphet*, thinking it neceſſary to withſtand and prevent all lawfull rule and dominion, leſt the curſe of ſlavery prophecied by *Noah* ſhould light upon them, as at length it did. Many bickerings and skirmiſhes were amongſt them, the ſucceſſe was variable on both ſides, betweene the lawfull governours and theſe uſurpers, ſo much to the griefe of them that coveted to live in peace under their rightfull Princes, that they determined with the chance of one generall battell either wholly to ſubdue thoſe rebellious miſcreants and tyrannous Giants, or elſe to end their lives in freedome, and ſo to be rid of farther miſery. They aſſemble together, they gather their forces out of all parts of the land, and comming to joyne battell with the Giants, after they had fought fiercely together for the ſpace of certaine houres, the victory inclined to the rightfull part, ſo that the lawfull Kings prevailing againſt this curſed brood, great ſlaughter was made upon the whole ſort of that peſtiferous generation, and the Kings meaning to deliver themſelues of all dangers in time to come, uſed their happy victory with great cruelty, which turned to their owne confuſion. For they ſpared neither man, woman, nor child that came in their way, for more deſpite and fuller ſatisfaction of their determinate revenge, neither vouchſafed they to bury the carkaſſes of their ſlaine enemies, but caſt them out like a ſort of dead dogs, whereof (through ſtinke of the ſame) ſuch an infective peſtilence inſued in all places throughout the Iſland by corruption of the ayre, that few eſcaped with life, except thoſe that got them away by ſea; yea the infection was ſo great of thoſe curſed carkaſſes of *Cham* his poſterity, that the dogs and wolves died thereof. And here ended the whole race of *Bartholanus* and his of-ſpring, and the Country (excepting a few ſilly ſoules ſcattered in remote places) was unpeopled.

Victory with cruelty turneth to the hurt of the conquerors

A grievous infection.

And

And here commeth in a tale yet in great requeſt among the *Iriſh*, how that one *Ruanus* a Giant, fearing this mortality, fled into a cave, and continued there till nature forced him to come forth for food and nouriſhment, ſo hungry was hee that every thing was meat that came to his mouth: hee covering his face with moſſe and graſſe, fled to the fartheſt parts of the land into the winde to avoid the infection, and ſo for a long time hauing taking the advantage of the ayre, eſcaped death. He is ſaid to have lived two thouſand and one and forty yeeres (which is more then twice the age of *Methuſhelah*) vnto the time (forſooth) of Saint *Patrick*, to whom hee diſcourſed at large (ſay they) of all the accidents of former times. In the end he was of Saint *Patrick* baptized, and died after the birth of our Saviour, in the yeere 432, and lyeth buried at Loghry in Ormund, where there is a Church dedicated to his name, and he is numbred among the Confeſſors of Ireland.

Of *Ruanus*.

And to ſecond this fable with two precedent lies, the which I ſhould haue begun withall in the front of this Hiſtory (as all Iriſh Antiquaries doe) but that I would not abuſe the reader, being purpoſed beginning and ending to deliuer the truth, I read as followeth:

Whereas in the yeere of the world 1525, *Noah* began to admoniſh the people of vengeance to come by a generall deluge for the wickedneſſe and deteſtable ſinne of man, and continued his admonition 120 yeeres, building an Arke for the ſafegard of himſelfe and his family; one *Ceſara* (ſay they) according vnto others *Ceſarea*, a Neece of *Noah*, (when others ſeemed to neglect this forewarning) rigging a navy, committed her ſelfe with her adherents to the ſeas to ſeeke adventures, and to avoid the plagues that were to fall; there arrived in Ireland, with her three men, *Bithi*, *Laigria*, and *Fintan*, and fifty women; within forty dayes after her arrivall the univerſall flood came upon them and thoſe parts, as well as upon the reſt of the world, and drowned them all, in which perplexity of minde and imminent danger beholding the waves overwhelming all things before their eyes, *Fintan* is ſaid to have beene transformed into a Salmon, and to have ſwoome all the time of the deluge about Vlſter, and after the fall of the water recovering his former ſhape, to have lived longer then *Adam*, and to have delivered ſtrange things to the poſterity, ſo that of him the common ſpeech riſeth; *If I had lived Fintans yeeres I could ſay much.*

Of *Ceſara* and *Fintan*.

But to let theſe fables paſſe: The next plantation after *Bartholanus* (as it is recorded amongſt the collections of Iriſh antiquities) *is* this in effect, that *Magog* the ſonne of *Iaphet* planted Colonies in *Scythia* neere the river of *Tanais*, from whence about the yeere of the world two thouſand three hundred and ſeventeene, one *Nemedus* with his foure ſonnes *Starius*, *Garbaneles*, *Auvinus*, and *Ferguſius*, Captains over great companies of armed men, were ſent into this Iſland now

Anno mundi 2317 *Nemedus* and his foure ſonnes arrive.

called *Ireland*. And passing by *Græcia* tooke with them such voluntaries as were willing to adventure with them, they landed, inhabited the Country, and multiplied exceedingly, although not without continuall warres which they held with the Giants of *Chams* posterity for the space of two hundred yeeres and odde. In the end the Giants prevailing, chased them out of the land, so that they retired into Scythia, and some to Greece. This was about the yeere after the creation 2333, from which time the Giants kept possession of the land without forraigne invasion for many yeeres, but yet in all that space their mindes not being set upon any goodnesse, but altogether upon mischiefe, they made no good lawes, framed no commonwealth, they obeyed no Magistrate, but fell at variance amongst themselues, measuring all things by might, and seditiously vexed each other.

Arrivall of *Gathelus* the Greek.

In the yeere of the world 2416, and after the universall flood 750 yeeres (as the Scottish Historie declareth) one *Gathelus* the sonne of *Nealus* a Grecian, upon displeasure for sundry rodes made into Macedonia and Achaia, being exiled and banished his countrey, with a great number of his adherents and complices, went into Ægypt in the dayes of *Moses*, where he found favour in the sight of King *Pharaoh*, insomuch that he married with *Scota* his daughter, continued there about 93 yeeres, and multiplied exceedingly. *Iohannes Major Scotus* calleth the verity of this Historie in question, *de hac prima profectione de Græcia & Ægypto figmentum reor: I am of opinion* (saith hee) *that this first going out of Greece and Ægypt is but fayned*: yet let us goe forward. When *Gathelus* understood that the land was shortly for the wickednesse of the people to suffer great plagues, he prepared a fleet, shipped Grecians and Ægyptians, hoised up saile, and came upon the coast of Numidia, now called Barbary, thence they were put back, to sea they went, and came to the coast of Spaine now called Portingall (as they say) since that time of him called Port-gathell. The inhabitants of the place resisted them, gave them a sore battell, and in the end after parlie, *Gathelus* was intreated, and by them directed to take his voyage into Galitia, which eftsoones he did. There in a short time they waxed so populous, that the countrey could not sustaine them: whereupon *Gathelus* called a Councell, and being resolved what to doe, tooke a great number of them with him to sea, and arrived in Ireland, and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for knowledge especially in all languages (having travelled many Countreys, as is afore mentioned) he was highly honoured. For he not only enriched and beautified the Irish tongue, but also, as is said, taught them letters, sought up their antiquities, and trained their youth in warlike exercises, after the manner of the Grecians and Ægyptians from whence he descended. Note here (gentle reader) before I wade further into this Historie three contrary opinions of this *Gathelus* the sonne of *Nealus*:

The

The Scottish Historiographers say, it was 750 yeeres after the flood. *Thomas Walsingham* Monke of S. Albons, writeth it was 1000 yeeres and odde after the delivery of the children of Israel out of Ægypt (which must be *anno mundi* 3455, to wit, one 1000 yeeres after the former computation) calling him a noble man of Scythia whom the Ægyptians banished out of Ægypt. *Iohn Harding*, a great Antiquary (that knew best in his time the state of Scotland) delivereth, that *Gathelus* and *Scota* came to these parts after the birth of Christ, *in anno* 75. This I give as a caveat, referring unto the discreet reader the dissonance that I finde in the observation of times, to bee considered of, promising to lay downe faithfully euery thing as I finde the same, as shall appeare in that which followeth. And now to the history where we left. It is said that this *Gathelus* of his wife *Scota* commanded that his followers Grecians and Ægyptians should be called *Scoti*, that is, *Scottishmen*. And *Hector Boëtius* in the Historie of Scotland sticketh not to write, that upon his marriage with *Scota*, the foresaid commandement was published, and that his followers in Ægypt, Barbary, Portingall, Galitia, and over Spaine, were called *Scoti*. But how true that is, it may appeare by the Roman Historics (which haue noted the accidents of those times) in all which there is no mention of the Scots before the time of *Constantius* the Emperour (which was about the yeere of Christ 310 who lyeth buried at York, and was father to *Constantine* the great.

Paulus Iouius writeth, Scotland tooke that name upon the comming of a forraine and no great ancient nation. No Latine writer before Marcellinus in Iulian the Emperours time (*which was about the yeere* 362) *remembreth the Scots: neither doth it well appeare out of what Country the Scots first came into Albion, when as by the Annals not only of English, but of Scottish Antiquities varying among themselues, great obscurity is brought among doubtfull things. Some bring their originall from Ireland, others from Dania, Cimbrica, Chersonesus, and the Ilands of Gothland and Norwey; neither wanted there some which were of opinion, they came from Spaine, deriving the name of Scottishmen from Moses himselfe, and the Ægyptians, as Hector Boëtius the Scottish Chronicler*; yet *Hector* himselfe preventing as it were the like objection, confesseth that in the third yeere of *Adrian* the Emperor (which was after the birth of Christ about 122 yeeres) the name of *Scots* was not knowne unto the Romans. *Scot. Hist. lib. 4.*

In short time after the retinue of *Gathelus* searched the North-east and North-west Ilands, and entred the Land which now is called Scotland, so also called (as the Scotish will have it) of *Scota*. But many grave writers have stumbled at the certainty of this story, yet I finde for certaine, that Ireland was called *Scotia maior*, and the other *Scotia minor*, and oftentimes confusedly the one taken for the other, and the words to be of no great antiquity. *Capgrave* in the life *Hector Boet. in descript. regni Scotiæ. Et lib. 8 histor. Scot.*

Iohannes Capgrave in vita Sancti Colum. Idem in vita Sancti Fiacrij.

of Saint *Columbanus* saith; *Ireland of old was called Scotland, from whence the Scottish nation inhabiting Albania (next vnto great Britaine) now called Scotland tooke their originall.* *Fiacrius* an Hermite being asked of a Bishop in France what hee was, among other things answered; *Ireland the Iland of Scots is the native soile of mee and my parents.* It also appeareth by *Orosius, Claudian, Isidore, Hubaldus, Beda,* the English Legend, the Martyrologe *secundum usum Sarum, Marianus, Ionas in vita Sancti Columbani, Aimoinus, Cæsarius,* &c. that Ireland and Scotland were usually taken one for the other.

But before I goe any further, I thinke it not amisse to say somwhat to this word *Scotus* or *Scottus*, the which *Hector Boëtius* carrieth away as derived of *Scota*, and as thing granted. There came to this Countrey of Ireland at three severall times, before *Gathelus*, great Commanders of Scythia (as I have said before) of the posterity of *Iaphet*, planted themselues, divided the land with great troubles, and when they were at the worst, alwayes they left a remnant of their nation behinde them. *Beda* every where calleth them not *Scotos*, but *Scottos*; so that I finde in the word a double alteration, *y* turned into *o*, and *th* into *tt*. Also in low Germany they call the Scythians and Scottish, Schotten. *Nennius* the Britain writeth, *Scythæ Hiberniam obtinuerunt, the Scythians gat Ireland.* King *Alfredus* translating the history of *Orosius* into the Saxon tongue, termeth the Scots, *Scyttan:* The borderers upon Scotland, cal them to this day, *Skyttes* and *Skets.* *Walsingham* writeth, *Of the country called Sicia (alias Scythia) wee haue Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus and Scotia.* *Ranulphus* Monke of Chester, writeth, as Sir *Iohn Trevisa* the Priest in old English laid it downe; *Scotts bene called as it were Scytes, for they came out of Scytia.* *Matthew* Monk of Westminster, saith, *Ex Pictis & Hibernensibus, Scoti originem habuerunt, quasi ex diversis nationibus compacti; Scot enim illud dicitur quòd ex diversis rebus in unum acervum congregatur, deinde verò terra illa quæ prius Albania dicebatur à Scotis Scotia nuncupatur,* (anno gratiæ 77.) *Of Pictes and Irish the Scots had their originall, as it were compacted of divers nations; for that is called Scot which of divers things is gathered into one heap, afterwards that Land which was first called Albania of the Scots is called Scotia.*

Beda Ang. hist. lib. 1. cap. 1.

And *Beda* writeth that the Country now called Scotland was inhabited by Pictes that were Scythians; againe, *In processe of time* (saith he) *Britaine besides Britaines and Pictes receiued a third nation that is of Scots upon the side of the Pictes.*

Volat. geograph. lib. 3. Io. Maior de gest. Scot. l. 1. c. 4. De rebus Hiber. lib. 1.

Of the same opinion is *Volateran* and *Iohannes Major Scotus*, although *Hector Boëtius* dissemble it. *Richard Stanihurst* the great Philosopher and Antiquary of Ireland, writeth, *A quo primam initio Scotiæ nomen sit tractum, nondum plane perspectum video,* &c. *Of what first originall the word Scotia is drawne, I haue not yet found out.*

And

And touching the truth of the History of *Gathelus* and *Scota*, hee saith; *To the end the worthinesse of so great a mariage delivered unto the posterity should florish, all these Grecians call themselues Scots; and Ireland where they first seated themselues, Scotiam. But all this as a vaine fable George Buchanan, and before him Humfrey Lloide have quite reiected, and if Hector Boëtius bee not the chiefe forger of this history, or rather vaine fable, yet he hath besprinckled (after his manner) the whole discourse with lies. With great ambition hath that silly writer labored to advance the glory of his nation, in the which endeauour, hee hath little regarded the honour of his Country and his owne credit. For he hath purchased this amongst the learned, that where as he would seeme to write all for the loue of the truth, they will beleeue in a manner nothing to be true which he wrote: For to what purpose should he commend to the posterity the acts of his ancestors with such maiesty of words, that they have quailed the Spaniard; vanquished the Irish with their only austere countenance, triumphed as often as pleased themselves over the bordering Britaines; where they pitched foot, subiected all as furious victors; that thou maist think the Scottish not so much to have invaded forraigne Countryes, as to have removed to their proper possessions. These fabulous dreames happely may move admiration to some old wives, applause to some Abderas, and laughter to the discreete reader. The Scotish had as other nations tofore (though now famous) base beginning, dusked and obscured with some barbarous rudenesse, and this had beene more discretion to confesse, then to vaunt or crake among the ignorant, with boast of their fained doings.* Thus farre *Stanihurst.*

And now (with *Hector Boëtius* his leave) as the followers of *Gathelus* and his wife *Scota* in Egypt, Greece, Barbary, Portugall, Galitia, and over all Spaine, were not called *Scoti* (as before is remembred) no more were they termed in Ireland and Scotland, but corruptly of *Scytæ, Scoti*, comming originlly out of Scythia. And it were more honour in mine opinion for these nations, to derive their originall from Scythia then from Egypt, for two causes; first for that the Scythians are more ancient then the Egyptians, as *Trogus, Volateran*, and *Marianus Scotus* do write; secondly for that the Scythians come of *Iaphet* that was blessed, and the Egyptians of *Cham* that was accursed, but in this case leaving every man to his owne choice; I will returne the History.

In the antiquities of Ireland it is generally receiued that *Gathelus* (of whom I spake before) gave the Irishmen the language, which of him they call *Gaodhealgh* in British *Gwidhealaec*, that is, a language compounded of many tongues, and so it may well be; for by reason of his great trauell he had skill in many tongues. Although, as they say, he were a Grecian borne, yet I finde no Greek in the Irish tongue; yet for their comming from Spaine, which they so much urge, *Io-*

hannes

Io. Maior. hist. Scot. lib. 1. c. 9.

Ioannes Major Scotus forsooth hath found one Spanish word, *bona dies*, in Irish *vennoka die*; to which I answere, *una hirundo non facit ver*; but indifferently to examine the matter, wee finde that diversity of times, alteration of government, invasion of strangers, planting of new Colonies, and conversing with forraigne nations doe alter languages. The Hebrewes by reason of their peregrination and captivities do smach of the Chaldees, Syriack, and Arabick tongues. The Slavonian tongue, as *Surius* and others record, without exception, at this day is the most dispersed language upon the earth; for the Muscovites, Ruthenes, Russians, Dalmatians, Bosnenses, Croatians, Istrians, Carnians, Carniolanians, Carinthians, Stirians, Mæsians, Servians, Bulgarians, with other nations reaching to Constantinople, as Bohemians, Lusatians, Silesians, Moravians, Polonians, Circassians, Quinquemontanians, even unto Pontus, and the remnant of Vandals, beyond the river Albis, through Germany, into the North, have the language, and yet we have neither their characters, nor ancient Annals extant. Saint *Ierome* borne in Strido in the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia, is said to have translated the Bible into the Slavon tongue, but whether it be in that language extant, let him report that knoweth it. *Gothi, Hypogothi, Gepidi, Vandali, Hunni, Alani*, though they vary in name, yet they vse one language, saith *Paulus Diaconus*. The Italian, Spanish, and French tongues are compounded of the Latine. The German (high and low country) Saxon, Scottish and English have great affinity. Northwales, Southwales, Cornwall, and little Britaine in France, as *Cambrensis* and Sir *Io. Price* have learnedly discourst; but the Irish (excepting the Redshanks and the Scottish of the haye londe) have affinity with no tongue (as I can learne) more then with the British language.

Laur. Surius rer. in orbe gest. nō. augustum. 1501

Many reasons there are (gentle reader) to induce thee to bee of that opinion; first of all according unto the first command, the Celticke tongue was of force in all these Northerne parts. *Bodinus* writeth, that the British and Celtick language was all one. *Pausanias* the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horse *Marc*, and three horses *Trimarc*, the which the Welshman useth to this day with a gutturall alteration, *Margh* and *Treemargh*. Also *Camden* the learned Antiquary of this our age, is of this opinion (remembring the story of *Gurguntius*, and the infinite number of British words in ure among the Irish, the which he termeth, *infinitam vim Britannicarum dictionum*) that the Britaines first peopled this land. And although of a long time (by reason of troubles and alterations) the speech grew wholly out of vse; yet afterwards in successe of time it was revived. Secondly the British and Irish oft matched together, so that there grew among them great alliance and affinity, to the furtherance of the language. *Mare* King of Cornwall *anno* 459 married with *Label Isode* that built Isodes Chappell (or Chappell Isode)

Bodinus. Pausanias.

sode) and Isodes Tower in Dublin, shee was the King of Irelands daughter. *Edwal ap Meiric* Prince of Wales in the time of *Edelred*, *anno* 992 married in Ireland. *Iago ap Edwal* Prince of Wales in the time of *Cnute*, *anno* 1031 married in Ireland. In the time of *Edward* the Confessor, *Conan* the sonne of *Iago* Prince of Wales married with *Ranulph* daughter of *Alfred* King of Dublin, *anno* 1041. In the time of *William Rufus*, *Arnulph* Earle of Pembroke married with the daughter of *Marogh* King of Ireland *anno* 1101; at the same time *Magnus* the sonne of *Herald* married with another daughter of the said King. In the time of *Henry* the first and King *Steuen* lived *Griffith ap Conan* Prince of Wales, that was wont to brag of three things, that his mother was an Irishwoman, his grandmother an Irishwoman, and that hee himselfe was borne, and of a child brought vp in Ireland. In the time of *Henry* the second, *Biryd* the sonne of *Owen Gwyneth* Prince of Wales, being Lord of Cloghran in Ireland, begat his sonne *Howel* upon an Irish Gentlewoman. In the same Kings raigne *Richard Strangbow* Earle of Pembroke, married with *Eva* the daughter of *Dermotte Mac Morrogh* King of Leinster. Thirdly, when there was any trouble in Ireland, they fled to Wales; when they had any warres or rebellion there, they came for refuge and aide into Ireland: hereof came the shaking of hands, *Brother Brannagh*, *Brother Erinagh*. In the life of *Henry* the third, it is written, that when *Othobon* the Popes Legate came to Oxford, and soiourned at Osney Abbey, among other schollers, some for one cause, some for another, that were there, a poore Irish scholler (*Matthew Paris* calleth him *Capellanum Hibernensem*) drew neere unto the kitchin dresser, and praid for some releefe; the cook took a ladell full of hot liquor and threw it in his face; a Welch scholler standing by tooke his bow, and shot the cook through with an arrow (*Stow* writeth that the cook was the Legates brother) the hurly burly was great, the schollers came together in armes (and as it is said, one *Odo* of Kilkenny was their ensigne bearer) the Cardinals men were well beaten, the Cardinall himselfe to save his life fled secretly at a posterne gate to the King, made a grievous complaint, and craved the aide of armed men to fetch off his men, and thereof arose great troubles; but to proceed. *Dermotte Mac Morogh* King of Leinster, being banished out of his country, had aide out of Wales. *Conan* the sonne of *Iago*, *Griffith ap Conan*, *Rees ap Tewder*, *Owen* the sonne of *Cadogan*, *Kadwalader* the sonne of *Griffith ap Conan*, *Marlgon ap David*, Princes of Wales; *Algar* Earle of Chester, *Arnulph* Earle of Pembroke, *Magnus* the sonne of *Herald*, *William de Bruse* Lord of Breknock, with his wife and children, in extremity, tooke Ireland for their refuge, where they found favor and kindnesse to their own hearts desire, as in the British Chronicles published by *Caradoc* of Sancarban, *Cambrensis*, *Humfrey Lloid*, and Doctor *Powel*, doth more plainly appeare. These two nations

nations converſed much one with another; Sir *Triſtram* one of the Knights of the round Table, came to Ireland. *Morogh* brother to the King of Ireland (whom *Caxton* calleth *Morhaus*) was one of King *Arthurs* Knights. *Merlin* the Welch Prophet came twice to Ireland, and in Ofaby there is a Chappell bearing his name: the occaſion of his firſt comming was this. There was a noble man of Ireland which had a ſuit unto the King of England, with whom *Merlin* was great, to whom he ſaid, *Merlin*, if thou wilt effect my ſute, come to Ireland, and I will give thee as much land as thou ſhalt ſee round about thee: it was done; after his arrivall, *Merlin* demanded his promiſe, the noble man put him into a cellar, where was a grate, and without a bawne, with an high wall, looke out (ſaith the Iriſh man) the Welch Prophet could not ſee a quoits caſt from him, and thus was he deceived, having left his ſpirit of prophecy at home. But to our purpoſe.

Fourthly, the firſt conquerors in *Henry* the ſeconds times, that brake the ice into this land, were Welch men, whoſe names and ſeates to this day are freſh in memory. *Rees ap Tewder* Prince of Southwales had a daughter called *Neſta*, who by King *Henry* the firſt had iſſue, *Henry*, and he had iſſue *Meiler Fitz Henry* and *Robart*; ſhe was afterwards married to *Stephan*, and he had iſſue, *Robart Fitz Stephan*, and his iſſue were *Radulph* and *Meredak*; ſhee had a third husband, *Giraldus* Steward of Pembroke, whoſe mother was *Gladys* the daughter of *Rywall ap Conyn*, this *Girald* had iſſue by her, *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, *William Fitz Gerald*, and *David* Biſhop of Menevia, now called Saint Davids: *Maurice Fitz Gerald* had iſſue, *William*, *Girald*, *Alexander*, and *Neſta* a daughter, wife to *Harvey de Monte Mariſco*; *William Fitz Gerald* had iſſue (by *Ellen* ſiſter to Earle *Richard Strongbow*) *Reimund* and *Griffin*, of theſe deſcend all the *Geraldins* in Ireland. A neece (a ſiſter ſay others) of *Robart Fitz Stephans* and *Maurice Fitz Gerald* married with one *Barry*, and hee by her had iſſue, *Robart Barry*, *Philip Barry*, *Walter Barry*, and *Girald Barry* (otherwiſe called *Giraldus Cambrenſis* the great Antiquary) of theſe deſcend all the *Barries* in Ireland. There came with them and after them out of Wales, the *Prendergaſtes*, *Welches*, *Whites*, *Goughes*, and *Williams*, now called *Mac William* of the North.

The Iriſh Chroniclers, as *David Curren*, *Nicolas Maguize* (both ſometimes Biſhop of Leighlin) and others, call them Brittones, Wallones, and Wallenſes. It is a name the Saxons gave them; though they were the true natives of Britaine, yet they called them Welſhmen, that is, ſtrangers, as more at large is to bee ſeen in *Cambrenſis*. Theſe gave Welſh names to places, which continue to this day; in the Dioces of Leighlin there is a town called *villa Wallicorũ*, the town of Welſhmen. *Carreg* & *Craig* in the Britiſh or Welſh tongue is a ſtone, or rock, and of the Britaines, *Carregfergus*, *Carreggmont-Griffin*, *Carregg in Shurie*,

Camb. deſcrip. Brit. cap. 7.

Shurie, *Carriggwaſpani*, and *Craigwading* have their names. Likewiſe *Llis* in Britiſh is a Court or Palace, of that in Ireland you have *Liſmore*, *Liſſenyn*, *Liſſofin*, *Liſmakery*. *Glan* and *Glyn* are Britiſh words, of them have you *Glangibbon*, *Glandeboy*, *Glan Reynald*, *Glynburry*, *Glyndelory*, *Glynmolowra*, &c. *Inis* an Iland, is Britiſh and Iriſh, of which kind are *Iniſbircan*, *Iniſhoven*, *Inisdiok*, *Iniſwag*, *Iniſcorthie*, and the like. *Rath* a moat or round trench (whereof there are many in Ireland made by the Danes) if *Beda* had not ſaid that it was a Saxon word, I would have ſaid it had been Britiſh, and how many names of places are compounded with it in Ireland, were too long to rehearſe. I will here give *Stanihurſt* leave to conclude, *Omnes inſulæ locos et lucos Wallici nominis gloria implevit; the renowne of the Welſh name* (ſaith he) *hath filled all the wayes and woods of the Iland.*

The Britiſh words among them are infinite, the which, as I think, the Iriſh have taken hold of, and have cauſed to vary little from their ſpeech, for example.

Britiſh,	*Bara*	Bread.
Iriſh,	*Ran*	
Br.	*Diod*	Drink.
Ir.	*Diogh*	
Br.	*Tan*	Fire.
Ir.	*Tine*	
Br.	*Drus*	a Doore.
Ir.	*Dyrrus*	
Br.	*Ithyn*	Firres.
Ir.	*Ityn*	
Br.	*Mawn*	Turfe.
Ir.	*Mon*	
Br.	*Gaver*	a Goat.
Ir.	*Gawr*	
Br.	*Mawr*	Great.
Ir.	*More*	
Br.	*Myn*	a Kydde.
Ir.	*Mynan*	
Br.		a Houſe in both.
Ir.	*Ty*	
Br.	*Scadan*	a Herring.
Ir.	*Scadân*	
Br.		in both a Rock.
Ir.	*Carregg*	
Br.	*Teer*	land or ground.
Ir.	*Tyr*	
Br.		in both Silke.
Ir.	*Sidan*	

Br.

Br. Ir.	*Kos*	in both a leg or foot.
Br. Ir.	*Sane* *Feſſane*	a paire of hoſe or ſtockins.
Br. Ir.	*Losky*	in both burning or burnt.
Br. Ir.	*Berw* and *Berwy*	in both ſod.
Br. Ir.	*Glan* *Glyn*	in both a like.
	Duffrey *Duffrin*	in both alike.
Br. Ir.	*Mab* *Mac*	a ſonne.
Br. Ir.	*Cuanid* *Cunnegh*	wood.
Br. Ir.	*Knaie* *Knoe*	nuts
Br. Ir.	*Kwyr* *Kwyragh*	wax
Br. Ir. Eng.	*Cantref* *Cantrud* *Cantred*	an hundred townes
Br. Ir.	*Avon* *Owen*	a river.
	Moil	in both bald.
	Mantagh	in both toothleſſe.

And thus much of the Iriſh language occaſioned by the hiſtory of *Gathelus* and *Scota*; now to the hiſtory, from whence I feare mee I have too long digreſſed. The hard ſucceſſe of *Nemedus* before ſpoken of, and the departure of *Gathelus* (as hath beene ſaid) to the North-eaſt Ilands, and North parts of Britaine, now called Scotland, moved five brethren, the ſonnes of one *Dela* of the poſterity of *Nemedus*, being valiant men, and skilfull in the Art of Navigation, to make ready a great fleet, and to attempt the conqueſt of this Iland. Theſe were, as I preſently ſaid, of the poſterity of *Nemedus*, and were named, *Gandius*, *Genuadius*, *Sagandus*, *Rutheranius* or *Rutheragus*, and *Slanius*, of whom *Slane* hath the denomination; when they had made preparation, aſſembled forces, and ſet all in a readineſſe, they hoiſed up ſaile, and in ſhort time arrived in Ireland, about the yeere of the world 2535.

Five ſonnes of *Dela* arrive in Ireland, *anno mundi* 2535.

After their arrivall, and view had of the land; they found the puiſſance of the Chameſite Giants ſore weakned through their owne civill diſſention, ſo that with more eaſe then they looked for, they atchieved

chieved their purpoſe, wanne the whole country, utterly deſtroyed and rooted out that wicked generation (enemies to God and man) but ſpared as many as they found of *Iaphets* line, divided the Iland into five parts, and in each of them they ſeverally reigned. This was the firſt diviſion of Ireland, the diſcourſe whereof I will referre to another place. Furthermore for the ſatisfaction of all parties, and perfect league to be had among theſe brethren, and their poſterity, they concluded to fix a meare ſtone in the middle point of Ireland, to the which each of their kingdomes ſhould reach, ſo as they might in equality partake of the commodities found in that Iland. Of theſe alſo it is ſaid, that they invented the diſtribution of Shires into Cantreds, every Cantred or Barony to containe one hundred townſhips: but of this in another place. When they had for a certaine ſpace ſeated themſelves (ſay the Iriſh Antiquaries) and found warmth and wealth about them, every one began to looke big, and grow ambitious, ſo that in proceſſe of time, deſire of Soverainty ſet the five brethren at variance, which in the end tended to their deſtruction. In this civill diſſention it is written, that *Slanius* the yongeſt through the aid of ſome old inhabitants, got the upper hand, brought his foure brethren to a low eſtate, attributed unto himſelfe the title of ſupreme honour over them, and encroched round about the middle ſtone and fixed meare aforeſaid, for the ſpace of certaine miles; which plot in time, obtained the priviledge and name of one entire plot, or part, and maketh up the number of five parts, into the which Ireland is commonly divided, and is called *Meth*, in Latine *Media*, and of ſome *Media*, taking that name (as ſome haue gueſſed) for that in reſpect of the other parts, it contained but the moity of Cantreds, that is, ſixteene, where each of the other contained thirty and two; or elſe for that it lieth in the midſt of the land.

First diviſion of Ireland.

Meth why ſo called.

Theſe encrochments *Slanius* annexed to his inheritance and Monarchy, which Monarchy continued thus, the ſpace of thirty yeeres, and then *Slanius* departed this life, and was buried in a mountaine of *Meth*, that beareth hitherto the name after him. After his deceaſe the Princes that before were ſubiect unto him, began to gather heart, ſtomached the matter, and denied their obedience to his ſucceſſour: whereupon enſued continuall warre amongſt them, and eſpecially about the land of *Meth*, which ſtriſe of long time could not bee appeaſed, yet in the ſpace of thirty yeeres aforeſaid, of theſe brethren and their ſucceſſors there were nine Kings. In the neck of all theſe miſchiefes and hurlyburlies (ſay the Iriſh antiquities) there came a fleet of Scythians upon the coaſt, landed their men in Ireland, made claime to the land, by a title of right which they pretended from their forefather *Nemedus* (of whom mention is made before) ſo that by partaking with the one ſide and the other, all was in an uproare, havock was made on each ſide with fire and ſword in moſt miſerable

Invaſion of Scythians.

manner. They ſpent themſelves in purſuing one another with ſuch outrage, that they cared not what nation, or what ſouldier they received to their aid, to hold up, or beat downe a ſide. Both the one and the other ſent for aid into the Ilands now called England and Scotland, Orchades, Hebrides, &c. and acquainted forrainers with their ſtate ſo farre, that they could never after be rid of them, to wit, the Britaines, till in the end they yeelded unto them the upper hand, as by conqueſts, in proceſſe of the hiſtory, ſhall appeare. Note (gentle reader) how that hitherto, that is, the yeere of the world 2828, and before the birth of Chriſt 1142, theſe North parts of the world, as England, Scotland, Ireland, with other Iles, were poſſeſſed, commanded, and inhabited by the poſterity of *Iaphet* and *Cham*, the ſonnes of *Noah*, without any ſpeciall name given to the lands, or to the Commanders of them, otherwiſe then *Samothei*, *Celtæ*, *Oceanes*, *Neptuniſts*, and *Albions*, although I have hitherto uſed the names now in ure (for the plainer delivery of the hiſtory) as if they had beene knowne before; neither were any called Scots as *Hector Boëtius* would have it.

Anno mundi 2828

After the times of the former troubles which happened in Ireland upon the landing of the Scythians, I finde nothing of Ireland till the dayes of *Gurguntius* (the ſonne of *Belinus*) who began his raine, according to the ordinary account *anno mundi* 3580, and reigned 19 yeeres over Britaine. This King after his victory atchieved in Denmark (for his tribute which they there had refuſed to pay him) returning back toward Britaine, met by the Iles of Orkeney, with a navy of thirthy ſhips (*Stanyhurſt* ſaith 60) with men and women, whoſe Generall was called *Bartholin* or *Partholin*; in *Ponticus Virunnius Partolom*; in *Flores Hiſtoriarum*, *Partholaim*; in *Gualter Oxonienſis*, *Bartholome*; in *Fabian*, *Harding*, *Graſton*, and *Caxton*, *Irlamal*; of whom they thinke the country to be called Ireland. *Gurguntius* demanded of them what they were, and the occaſion of their travell, their anſwer was, they were Spaniards, and had long beene on the ſeas, ſeeking to finde ſome favourable Prince, to aſſigne them a place of habitation, for that their country was ſo populous, that it could not containe them, (others write that for ſome diſordered parts they were baniſhed their country) and where they found favour, they would become ſubiects, and hold of him as their ſoveraigne Lord. In this fleet with the Governor of Baion, their Generall (before named) there were foure brethren of noble birth, the ſonnes of *Mileſius* (others ſay, *Miletus*, and others *Milo*) the two chiefe of which were called *Hiberus* and *Hermon*. And beſide the former differences in the parents name, *Dowling* writeth in his Iriſh collections, that they were the ſonnes of *Iubal*; *Hector Boëtius* avoucheth they were the ſonnes of *Gathelus* and *Scota*; *Staniburſt* affirmeth that *Scota* was great or old grand-dame to *Hiber* and *Hermon*, others write they were of the poſterity

Anno mundi 3580

Gurguntius meeteth with *Bartholin*, *Hiber* and *Hermon*.

poſteritie of *Gathelus* and *Scota*, whereas *Gathelus* (if there were any ſuch) was a Grecian, and *Scota* an Egyptian, *Hiber* and *Hermon*, Spaniards: ſee (gentle Reader) how theſe reports hang together.

Gurguntius being aduiſed by his Councell, pittying their neceſſitie and wandring eſtate, granted them the Iland now called Ireland, to inhabite, and that they ſhould become tributaries to him and his ſucceſſors, the Kings of Britaine for ever. For hee called to minde that the inhabitants were an unruly people, and thought by this meanes to ſubdue them, and quietly to enioy his tribute; for it ſeemeth that the Britaines made claime to Ireland, to which effect I reade in the Booke of *Houth*, that *Gurguntius* came into Ireland, and that the land many a yeare paid him truage, and to other Kings of Britaine after him; but as oft as they put foote in the land, they got more knocks then pence, ſaith an Iriſh Chronicler. The King of Britaine haſtening homeward, gave them Pilots, and ſafe conductors for their arivall and poſſeſſion of the land.

Gurguntius giveth Ireland to them.

Booke of *Houth*.

Hiberus and *Hermon* after their arivall, by the aſſent of all their aſſociates, divided the land betweene them; the North to *Hiber*, and the South to *Hermon*. But ambition, the mother of miſchiefe, would not long ſuffer them to enioy peace, but rent their hearts with fierie diſſention, inflamed their mindes to deſire one Soueraigne and abſolute commander over the whole land; they gather forces, they muſter their men, they put on Armes, and to battaile they goe, in which field *Hiberus* was ſlaine, (though *Hector Boetius* write, that he went into Spaine to ſucceed his father) and *Hermon* became Monarch of all Ireland. *Hermon* being thus ſole ruler and governour, to avoid the murmure of his people, and the euill opinion (in a manner) of all men conceiued againſt him, and peaceably to governe the land, fell to purge himſelfe, and cauſed the occaſion of the warres to be proclaimed, that he bore armes againſt his naturall brother, not of malice or deſire of ſoveraigntie, but in defence of his owne perſon, and ſafety of his people; and for proofe, that his heart was farre from deſire to rule alone, he appointed certaine Captaines, as Kings, to command under him certaine Countries, reſerving unto himſelfe, one fourth part, and the Country of Meth annexed to the Monarchie, for the better maintenance of his princely eſtate.

Hiber and *Hermon* davide Ireland into two parts.

One brother killeth another. The ſecond Monarch of Ireland.

By this meanes, this Realme of Ireland in proceſſe of time, grew to five kingdomes; the firſt Leinſter, on the Eaſt ſide or quarter, called in Latine *Lagenia*, and in Iriſh, *Cuige-Laghen*. The ſecond, Conaght, on the weſt ſide of the kingdome, called in Latine *Connacia*, and in Iriſh, *Cuige-Chonoght*. The third, Vlſter, which is the North part of Ireland, named in Latine, *Vltonia*, and in Iriſh, *Cuigh-Vladh*. The fourth, Mounſter, South and South-weſt, in Latine, *Momonia*, and in the country ſpeech, *Cuige Mughan*. The fift and laſt, a plotte defalked from theſe parts, called Meth, compriſing (as they are now

Ireland divided into five kingdomes.

Divers diuiſions in Ireland.

called) as well East-Meth as Weſt-Meth, in Latine, *Midia*, or *Media*, in Iriſh, *Mhidhe*. And here muſt not bee forgotten, that there hath beene in theſe kingdomes great change and alteration by uſurping and compounding among themſelves, and by dividing of Countries, as we finde Mounſter was into two parts, and ſince have beene there great Earles, deriving their names of Mounſter, *Ormond* in Iriſh, *Oirther Mughane*, *Deſmond*, in Iriſh, *Deaſmughain*, and *Thomond* in Iriſh, *Tuathmughain*, the which an Italian comming into Ireland, meruailed at, when he inquired what great men dwelled in the land, for he underſtood *Ormond*, to bee *orbis mundi*, the round world; *Deſmond*, *decem mundi*, ten worlds; *Thomond*, *duo mundi*, two worlds, *profecto*, ſaid he, *Valdè glorioſi tituli*, aſſuredly theſe are very glorious titles. So were there alſo in proceſſe of time, diuers other leſſer kingdomes, as by the proceſſe of the hiſtorie will very well appeare. And here for this time leaving to diſcourſe farther of the Iriſh kingdomes, I conclude with this one remembrance, that

A Monarch alwaies in Ireland.

from time to time there was one choſen to be chiefe ſoueraigne Monarch ouer them all; and the number of Monarchs from *Hermon* to *Laogirius*, the ſonne of *Nealus Magnus*, that is, great *Neale*) in whoſe time S. *Patricke* converted them to Chriſtianitie, amounteth to an hundred thirty and one.

Ireland called Hibernia.

And now backe againe to the hiſtorie where we left. It is ſaid that of *Hiber* or *Hiberus*, (who was ſlaine, as hath aboue beene recorded) Ireland was called *Hiberuia*; certaine it is with the concordance of moſt and the beſt antiquaries, that the land was not called *Hibernia*, neither right Spaniard arived here before the daies of *Gurguntius*.

Divers names of Ireland.

Divers writers haue diuerſly delivered the originall name of the land, ſome corruptly, ſome poetically, ſome etymologically. Ierna, Iuvernia, Ibernia, Overnia, Vernia, Iris; of the Britaines, Ywerdhon, of the Iriſh themſelues Erin, and tooke that name of *Fin Erin*, (of whom at large in the booke of *Houth*) of the Saxons and Engliſh it is called Ireland, that is, the land of *Erin*. All theſe names originally grew of *Hiberus* the Spaniard, or in remembrance of *Iberus* the ſecond King of Spaine; who was the ſonne of *Tubal*, the firſt ſonne of *Iaphet*. *Annius Viterbienſis* writeth, that of this King, the river is called *Iberus amnis*, *Spaine Iberia*, and the inhabitants about the river, *Iberi*. This land of Ireland hath alſo beene called *Scotia Major*, (Scotland the greater) after the birth of Chriſt, but that came of corrupting the word Scytha, as I ſaid before. Laſtly, it hath beene called Banno of the Poets or Bardes of the land: *Stanihurſt* thinketh it was ſo called of the Banne, a river in the County of Weixford, the place is now called Bagganbun, where the Britaines vpon the conqueſt arived, and thereof is the rime,

Stainhurſt de rcb. Hib. pa. 17.

At the creeke of Bagganbun,
Ireland was yloſt and wonne.

But

Camden in Hebernia.

But for this ancient name Banno, and other the like which the Poets of Ireland haue in uſe, I referre the courteous reader to learned *Camden*, in his treatiſe of Ireland, about the beginning.

Lanquet ad Annum 3652.

Lanquet in his collections of antiquities, noteth that the Scottiſh hiſtoriographers about the yeere of the world, 3652. beginne their hiſtories at *Fergus*, the ſonne of *Ferquhard*, King of *Ireland*, that he ſhould come with great power out of *Ireland*, to their aide againſt the Pictes, and that they fauoured him ſo much, that they choſe him King, and that hee raigned ouer them in Scotland 25. yeeres, and how that in his raigne he ſlue *Coile*, King of Britaine, at what time by generall conſent, there was no Scottiſh man then commanding in Albania, no Pict at that time ſeene in Britaine or *Ireland*, nor *Coile* King of Britaine in many yeares after. *I* am of *Lanquets* opinion, thus he writeth, *Theſe hiſtories of the Scots, as they ſet them forth, bee full of errors, and agree with none other hiſtorians*. Notwithſtanding this *Item* may not ſtoppe the courſe of the hiſtorie, and therefore whether he carheout of *Ireland*, (as we here take it) or out of Denmarke, (as ſome haue thought) well he might be King of Albania, for ſo was it then called, and not Scotland, and ſo from him *I* will terme them Kings of Albania, untill *I* finde the name *Scoti* knowne amongſt forraigne writers.

Anno mundi, 3652.

Fergus.

This *Fergus* (ſaith *Buchanan*) hauing orderly diſpoſed of his affaires in Albania, went into *Ireland* to pacifie and quiet troubles there riſen, and hoiſing ſaile for his returne into Albania, he and all his company were caſt away in a tempeſt vpon the rockes at a place of him now called in the Britiſh and *Iriſh* tongues Karregfergus, or Craigfregus (corruptly in Engliſh, Knockfergus.) *It* is written that he advanced in his banner, a red Lyon Rampant, with his taile folden toward his backe, as it were moued with anger, the which his ſucceſſors ſince have uſed. After this his infortunate deceaſe, there roſe great ſtrife about the ſucceſſion, his two ſonnes, *Ferlegus* and *Mainus* were young, and many exceptions were made againſt them, in the end, the two ſonnes were put beſide, and the eldeſt of the ſept (after the *Iriſh* Taniſtrie) tooke place, which fell upon *Feritharis* an *Iriſh* man, brother to *Fergus*. And this Taniſtrie continued (ſaith *Buchanan*) unto *Kenathus* 3. during the raigne of foureſcore Kings. But *I* muſt leave them, and follow onely what concerneth *Iriſh* buſineſſe.

Buchanan.

Armes of Fergusius.

Taniſtrie of Ireland uſed in Scotland.

About the yeere of the world, ſaith *Lanquet*, 3750. and odde (not allowing as he proteſted before, but following the Scottiſh hiſtories, oue *Reuthar*, commander of the invaders in Albania, (now called Scotland) was vexed with civill warres, and by the Britaines, baniſhed into *Ireland*, where he lived twelve yeeres: See more of him in *Hector Boetius*, and *Buchanan*. The 9. King *Albanienſium Scotorum*, (ſo *Stanihurſt* calleth them) was *Ioſina Thereus*, and is the next that ſeemeth to haue any right or intereſt in the *Iriſh* hiſtorie. This man

Anno mundi, 3750.

Reuthar.

Ioſina Thereus.

was bred and brought up in Ireland, and favoured the nation (saith *Bale*) above all others; he sought peace of all men, honoured Chirurgions, Physitians and Druyides of Ireland; raigned 24. yeeres, and so ended his dayes.

Io. Bale cent. 14.

Gillus.

The next that concerneth our purpose, is *Gillus* the usurper, who through much treason, and many murthers, aspiring to the Crowne of Albania, and deservedly falling into the hatred and mislike of all his subjects, was at length forced by his Nobles, (who rose in Armes against him) to take a fisher-boate and flee into Ireland, where hee was promised aide; but to prevent further mischiefe, one *Cadall* is appointed generall of an Armie, to pursue the tyrant into Ireland, and meeting him in the field, drove *Gillus* to flee. When the Irish men had forsaken him, he hid himselfe in a denne, invironed with woods and bogs, where shortly after, an Irish Kerne, for reward, found him out, cut off his head, and brought it to *Cadall*, after he had tyrannized three yeeres. He was the thirteenth King of Albania.

Fridelenus the Dane taketh Dublin.

In the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, a little before the birth of our Saviour, *Fridelenus* King of Denmarke, puffed vp with pride, through some fortunate successes, arrived in Ireland, laid siege to the Citie of Dublin, and finding it not so easie a matter to atchieue, fell to policie; he caught certaine Swallowes that bred in the Citie, tyed fire to their wings, who flying to their nests, fired the houses; while the Citizens endevoured to quence the fire, the Danes entred the Citie, and wanne it.

Frotho King of Denmarke. *Alb. Krant. Dan. lib. 1. cap. 52. Saxo Gr. hist. Dan. lib. 5.*

The King of Leinster after this, gathered forces, and gave the Danes battaile, in which, many fell on both sides; *Fredelnus* seeing the enemy increase, and his armie decrease, fled the land, and retired into his country. His sonne *Frotho*, the third of that name, King of Danes (so *Albertus Krantzius*, and *Saxo Grammaticus* record) wantonly assailed the Britaines, (*lustrans magis insulam quam subigens*) rather taking a view of the Iland, then subduing it, afterward relinquishing that course, put foot in Ireland. The historiographers of that side, report hardly of the land, and the inhabitants thereof, and in fine they write, when *Cepo* the Irish King was overthrowne and put to flight, his brother *Kervill* (saith *Saxo*, I take it to be *O Carroll*) offered tribute, wherewith the Danes being pacified, returned to their Country. This *Frotho* peopled the Orchades with Danes, and appointed *Revillus* their commander.

IESVS CHRIST is borne.

Whilst this *Frotho* King of Danes was Monarch of Ireland, the light of the world, the comfort of all Christians, IESVS CHRIST the sonne of GOD was borne in the flesh.

Claudius. Arviragus. Flor. histor.

About the 44. yeere after the incarnation of our Lord, (*Claudius* the Emperour having appeased the troubles of Britaine by the aide of *Arviragus*, (as *Mathew Westmonasterienſis* saith) subdued Orchades, Hebrides, Thule, and all the Ocean Ilands, among the which,

which, Ireland is reckoned, the which *Beda* and *Eutropius* haue likewise remembred. But *Fabian*, *Grafton*, *Holinshed*, and *Ponticus Virunius* say further, that he sent certaine legions of Knights into Ireland to subdue the same; what successe they had, is not recorded, a legion consisting of *6666.* (as ancient Writers record) no doubt they performed some great exploit. Learned *Camden* writeth of the Brigantes (the inhabitants of Yorkeshire, Lancashire, the Bishopricke of Durham, Westmerland and Cumberland were so called) how that in the time of *Claudius* (as I take it) many of them went to end their dayes in Ireland, and of old were called the Brigantes of Ireland. His words are these, *Quod verò Florianus Del-Campo Hispanus, nostros Brigantes, &c. Whereas* Florianus Del-Campo *the Spaniard, hath somewhat arrogantly derived our Brigantes from Spaine into Ireland, and thence into Britaine, being aided by no other conjecture, but that he found in his Country of Spaine, the Citie Brigantia; I feare mee hee hath fouly deceived himselfe. For if the like cause have not given ours and the Brigantes of Ireland the same name, I had rather be of opinion with my most learned friend* Thomas Savill, *namely, that certaine Brigantes and other nations of Britaine also, even from the comming of the Romans into Britaine, departed into Ireland, some for quietnesse sake, and to live at ease, some for that their eyes should not be infected with the sight of the Roman dominion, and last of all others, lest in their later age they should willingly seeme to lose the libertie which from nature they had received in their youth. And that Claudius the Emperour, first of any Romane tooke the Brigantes in hand, and subjected them to his Empire and command:* Seneca *sheweth in these his verses.*

Beda eccles. hist. Angl. lib. 1. c. 3. Eutropius rerum Rom. lib. 8.

Camden pa. 557 Brigantes.

Florianus del Campo.

. . . . . Ille Britannos
Vltra noti littora ponti, & cæruleos
Scuta Brigantes, dare Romulæis colla catenis
Iussit, ...

Seneca.

The Britaines farre from knowne seas,
and Brigantes Bucklers blue,
The Roman *Claude* to Roman becke
did bring, and rebels slue.

Claudius hauing effected all his affaires, (as formerly hath been delivered) returned to Rome: then saith *Gualter Oxon. Omnia regna Arvirago tradidit, he delivered all these kingdomes to Arviragus.* He committed them al to his charge, saith *Ponticus Virunius*. In *Mathew Westmonsterienſis* I reade, *regimen insulare Arvirago cessit, the command of the Ilands fell to Arviragus. Harding* hath delivered it in verse.

Arviragus.

Orchades

Orchades Iſles in the meane time be conquered,
In which he infeoffed the King, and him preferred.

Saxo Gram. hiſt. Dan. lib. 6. Albertus Krantz. Dan. lib. 1. Frotho 4.

About this time, *Frotho* the fourth of that name, King of Danes, (ſome 30. yeeres after the former invaſion, ſaith mine Author) ſent great power of Giants out of Denmarke, under the leading of bloudy *Haco*, and the great challenger and huge monſter *Starcuterus*, to invade Ireland. The occaſion was as followeth: *Starcuterus* (before mentioned) being borne farre in the Eaſt by reaſon of ſhipwracke, having loſt both his ſhip and fellowes, was caſt upon the coaſt of Denmarke, and hearing of the fame of *Frotho*, came to his Court. This Giant was greatly admired for ſtature and ſtrength of body. *Frotho* commanded a great navie to be in a readineſſe, with all manner of neceſſary proviſion, made him an arch-pirate, and turned him to the Sea to ſeeke adventures. They touched many lands, and fought with many Giants, at length (ſaith mine Author) that no Country, though never ſo remote, ſhould bee freed from the ſmart of Daniſh forces, they arived in Ireland. *Huglet*, King of Ireland, gave them battaile, in the which, *Huglet* was ſlaine, and all the Iriſh put to flight. And yet mine Author, though a Dane, highly commendeth two Iriſh Lords, *Segathus* and *Suibdanus*, the one wounded *Haco*, the other gave *Starcuterus* ſuch a blow, that he ſtood a great while amazed, and had beene ſlaine, had he not beene reſcued. The battaile being ended, the Danes tooke (Dufflinian) Dublin, ranſacked it, and found great ſtore of treaſure, and ſome of them remained in the land, the reſt returned to Denmarke, *Starcuterus* went into forraigne countries to combat with Giants.

Haco and Starcuterus in Ireland.

Dufflania or Dublin ranſacked by them

Of the comming of the Pictes or Scythians into theſe parts.

In the time of *Arviragus* before mentioned, I finde the greateſt probability of the firſt comming of the Pictes out of Scythia, firſt into Ireland, ſecondly, into Albania, now called Scotland, and laſtly, into the North of England. And whereas before (page 3.) *I* made mention of the arivall of Scythians, *Nemedus* and his foure ſonnes, and after them of five brethren of their poſteritie, and the third time of another fleete of Scythians that arived in *I*reland; and that alſo by many antiquities it appeareth that the Scots be Scythians, and came out of thoſe parts whence theſe Pictes brake forth; *I* purpoſe now to make a more full diſcourſe of that buſineſſe.

Camden modeſtly confeſſeth he knoweth not when they came firſt into theſe parts, neither doe *I* miſlike with his conjecture, that they ſhould be old Britaines, who painted themſelves, to ſhew more terrible againſt the Romanes: yet we muſt confeſſe, that there are many nations of ſeverall names in Scythia, and *Polychronicon*, together with *Raſtall*, ſaith, that the Gothes and Pictes be one nation. The etymologie *I* finde in the ſtorie of the Gothes: *Scythia in the Gothicke tongue,*

tongue, ſignifieth a skilfull archer. And theſe Pictes brought with them the uſe of darts, which the *I*riſh retaine to this day. But *I* come to *Beda*, who goeth plaine to worke. *When the Britaines (ſaith hee) had poſſeſſed the greateſt part of the Iſle, beginning at the South, it happened that a nation of Pictes out of Scythia, with long ſhippes, (yet not many) entred the Ocean, the winde driving them about, beyond all the coaſt of Brittaine, they came into Ireland, and arived in the North, and finding there the nation of Scots, deſired of them to grant them a dwelling place amongſt them, but they could not obtaine it, &c. The Scots made anſwere that the Iland could not hold them both, but wee can give you (ſaid they) good counſaile what you may doe. We know another Iſland not farre from ours, reaching to the Eaſt, the which we are wont oft to diſcerne in cleare dayes; if you will goe thither, you may make it your dwelling place, or if any withſtand you, take vs for your aide. And ſo the Pictes ſayling into Britaine, began to inhabite the North parts of the Iland, for the Britaines held the South. And when the Pictes had no wives, and ſought them of the Scots, they were granted them, onely upon this condition, that when the title of Soveraigntie became doubtfull, they ſhould chooſe them a King rather of the Femi-nine bloud royall, then of the Maſculine, the which unto this day is obſerved amongſt the Pictes. And in proceſſe of time, Britaine after the Britaines and Picts, received that third nation of the Scots upon that part, where the Pictes had their habitation, who iſſuing out of Ireland with their Captaine Reuda, either by loue or by the ſword, have wonne peculiarly unto themſelves thoſe ſeats which they hold unto this day, and of this their captaine they are called* Dalreudin, *for in their language,* (Dal) *ſignifieth apart.*

Io. Magnus Goth. Hiſt. lib. 1 cap. 27. Beda eccleſ. hiſt. gentis Aug. lib. 1 cap. 1.

Pictes ſaile into Britaine.

They obtaine wives of the Scots.

Scots under *Reuda* faile out of Ireland into Britaine.

And here *I* cannot but meruaile at *Hector Boetius* and *Buchanan*, what confuſion they bring into the hiſtorie, without regard of the truth, they name *Beda*, they call *Reuda*, *Reuther*, and ſay that he was the ſixt King of Albania, and that the Britaines made him flee into *I*reland, and that in the end he was reſtored to his kingdome againe; which can no way agree with the words of reverend *Beda*, whoſe credit we may not impeach, for he ſaith, they were Scythians, and wanted a dwelling place, and beganne to inhabit the North parts of the *I*land. If *Reuda* were King of Albania, no thanke to the *I*riſh men to direct him thither. But let us goe on with the Pictes.

Hect. Boet. Scot. hiſt. lib. 4.

I finde in *Lanquet* that the Pictes were rebellious, *an.* 9: of *Arviragus*, *Anno. Domini* 53. And *Polycronicon* affirmeth, as *Beda* wrote before, that they came to the North of *I*reland in *Veſpaſians* time. *Stow* ſaith it was in *Anno* 73. *Matthew* the Monke of Weſtminſter, in *Anno* 75. and 76. *Leſleus* and *Bozius* write that *Reuda* came about the yeere 360. which is very doubtfull, and that then the Pictes wanting wives, deſired of the Britaines that they might match with their nation, their ſuit being denied, they went to the *I*riſh, who granted them

Anno Dom. 53.

them wives upon the condition in *Beda* before rehearſed And farther, *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, *Polycronicon* and *Grafton* concurring, doe ſay, that Scotland was firſt called Albania of *Albanactus*, ſecondly, Pictlandia, of the Pictes; thirdly, Hibernia, Ireland, becauſe of the alliance or affinitie in marriage betweene the Pictes and Iriſh; laſt of all, Scotland or Scythians land. And hereof it commeth to paſſe, that Ireland is called Scotland, and Scotland Ireland, the Iriſh Scots, and the Scots Iriſh, as one hath largely collected; and the diſtinction of *Scotia Major*, and *Scotia Minor*.

Polycron. lib 1. cap. 1. cap. 37.

Io. Harding Chronig. Mewinus.

Harding hath an hiſtorie out of *Mewinus* a Britiſh Chronicler, (*Harding* lived in the time of *Henry* the fift and ſixt, and in the daies of *Edward* the fourth,) which if it be true, all that is formerly ſpoken of *Gathelus* and *Scota* his wife, by the Scottiſh and Iriſh Chroniclers, is of ſmall credit; namely, How that *Gathelus* and *Scota* came into theſe North parts, together with the Pictes, *Anno Domini* 75. his words are theſe, ſpeaking of the King of Britaine.

Then to the Peights left alive, he gave Cateneſſe
To dwell upon, and have in heritage;
Which wedded were with Iriſh as I geſſe,
Of which after Scots came on that linage,
For Scots be to ſay their language
A collection of many into one,
Of which the Scots were called ſo anone.

Flor. hiſt. Mewinus was alſo called Melkinus. Io. Bale cent. 1: cap. 57. wrote his life. The ſtone Regall of Scotland.

But Mewinus *the Bryton Chronicler*
Saith in his Chronicle otherwiſe,
That Gadelus *and* Scota *in the yeere*
Of Chriſt, ſeventie and five by aſſiſe,
At Stone inhabite as might ſuffice:
And of her name, the country round about,
Scotland ſhe cald that time without doubt.

This Scota *was, as* Mewin *ſaith the ſage,*
Daughter and baſtard of King Pharao *that day,*
Whom Gadele *wedded, and in his old age*
Vnto a land he went, where he inhabited ay,
Which yet of his name is called Gadelway;
And with the Peights he came into Albanie
The yeere of Chriſt aforeſaid openlie, &c.

Pol. lib. 1. cap. 58 *Ponticus Virunius.*

Polycronicon and *Cambrenſis* accord with *Harding* in this point, that the King gave the Pictes a place to dwell in, which is now called Galleway. And ſaith *Ponticus Virunius*, it was deſert and waſte, where none dwelled in many dayes before. The credit of *Harding* is great,

great, and he that liſt to know farther of him, let him reade *Bale*, Biſhop of Oſſorie, who wrote his life.

Io. Bale. Script. Britan. centur. 8

I will now neither confirme nor confute, but acquainte the reader with ſuch antiquities as I finde, and in a word, to adde ſomething unto that which went before, of the time of the Pictes comming into theſe North, and North-weſt parts: *Florilegus* writeth it was *Anno Domini* 77. *Functius* and *Polydore*, *Anno Dom.* 87. To reconcile the diſſonance, what every one ſaith may ſtand for truth, for they came in ſeverall companies, and at ſeverall times, ſome into Ireland, ſome into Albania, and ſome into England. I will from henceforward leave writing the kingdome of Albania, and write the kingdome of Scotland.

Scotland for Albania from hence forward

Anno Dom. 73. began *Marius* the ſonne of *Arviragus* to raigne in Britaine, (*Humfrey Lloide* calleth him *Meurig*) who after his troubleſome warres, for nine yeeres ſpace againſt the Picts and Scots, ended with the helpe of *Iulius Agricola*, is ſaid to have aſpired towards Ireland, and to have placed garriſons on the coaſt; and to the end he might performe ſome exploite there, entertained an Iriſh Prince that was driven out of his country by civill diſſention for his conductor. I finde no iſſue recorded of this buſineſſe.

Anno Dom. 73.

In the 15. yeeres civill warres which enſued vpon the death of *Lucius*, the ſonne of *Coile*, King of Britaine, it is reported, that *Fulgenius* called the Ilanders, Albanians, Pictes, and Iriſh men to his aide, againſt whom, *Severus* the Emperonr comming from Rome, gave them battaile neere unto Yorke, where *Severus* and a Prince of Ireland were ſlaine, and *Fulgenius* deadly wounded; the Emperour *Severus* and the Iriſh Prince, lye buried at Yorke.

Galf. Mon.

In the antiquities of Ireland, I finde that about the dayes of *Conſtantine* the great, who beganne his raigne *anno Dom.* 310.) one *Realmond* King of Vlſter, fell in love with a Lady of Leinſter, who had beene wife to the King of Connaught, a woman (they ſay) of meane ſtature, but of ſingular beautie; when many Princes and Lords of Ireland laboured to winne her fauour, her anſwer was, that none ſhould enjoy her loue, but a Champion that by Marſhall proweſſe had prevailed in forraigne countries, quitted himſelfe like a man, wonne the Garland, and brought tribute with him to his native ſoile. *Realmond* being overcome with the love of this Lady, hoiſed up ſaile and went for France, where he encounrted with a Champion, and wonne a Garland called Civica. Afterward comming to great Britain, hee challenged the Duke of Cornewall, and got of him a tribute, thence he went into Scotland, and encountred with Gyant *Caſtreus*, and prevailed; (ſuch was the manner of winning honour and dignity by marſhall feates in thoſe daies, ſaith *Saxo Grammaticus*) laſt of all he came backe to Ireland, and acquainted his love, the Lady he formerly ſought for, with his travaile, his dangerous adventures, and his

Booke of *Houth.* *Anno Dom.* 310. The hiſtory of *Realmond*, King of Vlſter.

Duke of Cornewall. *Caſtreus* the Gyant

Sax. Gram. hiſt. Dan. lib. 7.

his good ſucceſſe, and now having prevailed abroad, hee doubted not at home in regard of his kingdome, his kindred and valour, but to obtaine her fauour. Shee being made throughly acquainted with his affaires abroad and at home, gave many a ſigh in his abſence, fearing ſome miſchance might come to him, and wiſhing ſhe had not ſo peremptorily anſwered him; but he no ſooner came in place, but ſhe relented from her former hardneſſe, and with all ſpeed the ſolemnity of marriage was performed. But the match was diſdained by others, inſomuch that he was hated of the Princes and Nobilitie of Ireland, who had formerly affected the Lady, whereof grew mutinies, contentions, and at laſt open warre, and hee finding himſelfe weake, in compariſon of his enemies, was forced to flee into Denmarke, where hee found favour and great aide of worthy Souldiers which came with him into Ireland, where he and his generation, together with the Danes and their poſteritie, effected many notable acts, and continued many yeeres.

The Danes come to Ireland.

The genealogie of *Fin Erin*, or *Fin Mac Coyll*.

The Danes of the lyne of *Fin Eryn*, that came out of Denmarke, were theſe, *David* the Kings ſonne who had to his ſonne borne in Ireland, *Deure Dove*, who had foure ſonnes, *Covrry*, *Boyskene*, *Fyagh*, and *Oghe*; *Boyskene* had a ſonne called *Garreneſlo*, and *Con-Caghmore* was his ſonne; *Con* had a ſonne named *Ferrelogh*, and he had a ſonne called *Trenmore*, this *Trenmore* had to his ſonne, *Coylle Negoe*, and he had a ſonne called *Fin-Ea*, alias *Fin Mac Coylle*, and he had a ſonne caled *Oſhen*, and he had a ſonne called *Osker*. This *Oſhen* lived in *Anno Dom.* 432. in the dayes of Saint *Patricke*, unto whom he made relation of many things before going, and was by him baptized, being of the age of ſeven ſcore yeeres. For proofe of this hiſtorie, I finde in *Saxo Grammaticus* that wrote the hiſtorie of the Danes, that *Fin* and *Finni* were a great ſept there, hardy, ſtalworth men, given to preying, and burning of towne and country, and happly the Iriſh converſing with them, did learne thoſe parts of them) and that the name of *Eric* was of the royall bloud among them; ſo *Fin Erin* turning *c.* into *n.* was a great commander there, and conducted into Ireland many Danes. And happly, Ireland of old, becauſe of his great command, and his poſteritie, might after him be called *Erin*: this is but my conceit, happly others can ſay more thereof. Theſe Danes increaſed and multiplied exceedingly, and became great Commanders and Captaines over the whole land, and tooke vpon them the defence thereof againſt all forraigne invaſion. In proceſſe of time fell out the battaile of Feutra in Mounſter, valiantly fought by the Iriſh and Danes, whereof the Iriſh Chroniclers make great accompt; it was fought chiefly in Mounſter, by the Princes and power of Ireland, with the aide of the Danes, and generation of *Fin Mac Coylle*, and *Fin Eryn*, in which field, they ſay, all the forraigne enemies that came out of Scotland, Cornewall, Normandie, Germany, Spaine and

Eric or *Erin* what it ſignifieth.

Erin or Ireland of whom ſo called.

and Denmarke it ſelfe, were overthrowne. The occaſion was as followeth.

Occaſions of the battaile of Fentra.

Many Gyants and worthy Champions there were in thoſe daies in Ireland, of Iriſh and Daniſh birth, hired by them for their defence; theſe trauelling into forraine countries, fought many combats, and got yeerely tribute unto their country, as the manner then was among ſuch challengers. For this they were generally envied, and a day was appointed by the invaders to arrive together in Ireland to ouer-runne the country, and roote out the whole nation. The firſt company to the number of thirtie thouſand, landed at the Derrie, where *Conkedagh* one of the Princes of the North, being prepared for them, by a ſleight, ſet their ſhipping on fire, and met with them in a place where they were all overthrowne, ſo that with their Armes, thoſe among the Iriſh that formerly wanted, were furniſhed and made fit for the warres. The ſecond company of this combination came to Lambay, landed their men at the Folleſſe of Skerries, ſet their men in battaile array, and marched to a place now called Cnoc-nagean, that is the hill of dead mens heads, where *Dermotte Lamhdhearg* King of Leinſter met them, fought a cruell battaile with equall fortune for the ſpace of foure daies; the Iriſh by reaſon of the ſpoile and victory got at the former battaile, were mightily encouraged, and alſo the milke and freſh meate which the country yeelded them, and the ſtrangers wanted, made them the more able to fight; to be ſhort, the ſtrangers were overthrowne, and thirty ſixe thouſand of them ſlaine, whoſe Armes furniſhed Ireland throughly to encounter with the reſt of the combination.

Strangers intend the utter ſubverſion of the Iriſh nation.

A ſtrange battaile if it be true.

The third company came to Fentra in Mounſter, where the forces of Ireland being gathered together, kept them from landing the ſpace of ſeven dayes, with the ſlaughter of many on both ſides, ſo that the ſea-ſhore at ſundry times was died redde with the bloud of the ſlaine karkaſſes, untill that one *Gillemore*, ſonne to the King of Thomond, (being male-content for that he was remoued from the voward of the battaile to the rere) revolted, and by night ſtole to the enemie, and directed them where they ſhould ſafely land their men, which accordingly came to paſſe, ſo that the Iriſh knew it not untill the ſtrangers had ſet their owne ſhippes on fire: hee withall brought the invaders to ſuch advantage of ground, that they refreſhed themſelues for ten dayes without any annoyance from the Iriſh, and afterward when they came to skirmiſh, did himſelfe divers times fight valiantly, imbruing his hands in the bloud of his owne naturall countrimen. At laſt it fell out after ſome bickering, that hee called for water to waſh his hands that were all full of the bloud of his countrymen, which was left ſtand after he had therein waſhed, and ſoone after calling for a cup of wine, was anſwered that there ſtood a bowle of wine upon the table; he forgetting that he had formerly waſhed therein, dranke

Gillemore of Thomond revolteth.

it up, insomuch, that the standers by said; *What fellow is this, more like a brute beast then a man, that drinketh his owne bloud, and eateth his owne flesh? Gillemore* hearing this, tooke it to heart, notwithstanding dissembling his griefe and anger, the next night conveyed himselfe away, and submitting himselfe to his father, delivered unto him the state of the strangers, which turned to their great disadvantage and hinderance.

Gillemore returneth.

The battaile of Fentra.

Shortly after, the day of battaile was appointed, where the strangers were overthrowne, and (as they say) seven score thousand men slaine. The Irish had supplies and extraordinary meanes at home, the strangers could not come by it; the Irish plaid with them at all advantages, the woods and the bogs defended them as occasion served. This battaile with the preambles and circumstances, continued one whole yeere, the strangers had no shipping to flee unto for succour, the ground was unknowne unto them, their lodging and fare was cold, hard, and scant, so as their hardinesse could not hold out, their end was lamentable, and the honour was bequeathed to the Irish nation. The Princes of Ireland having thus with great successe foiled their enemies, delivered their people from utter overthrow, and quieted the land, rested themselves a while. Afterward, partly for recompence of good service, and partly for safegard of the land, appointed the Danes (whom they had formerly hired, who also unto that time had served them truely) over the whole land to prevent forraigne invasion, forewarned by the field of Fentra and the former attempts; these Commanders with their particular places of command, I thought good to impart to the courteous reader.

The severall garrisons of the Danes.

Osker Mac Oshen Mac Fin with his Souldiers kept the haven of Dublin.
Fian Mac Fenrasse kept the Winde-gates.
Wony Etagh Mac Cas Foale kept Wicklo.
Creyon Mac Wony kept Arcklow.
Eye Onagh Mac Kellenkas kept Weixford.
Dono Mac Kayder kept Rosse.
Fellum Mac Eye Keyge kept Dungarvan.
Bresell Mac Eydow kept O Keylle.
Gaero Mac Doheyere kept Corke.
Ollen Aye Nyarg Mac Bressell kept Kynsale.
Collo Mac Keils kept Dingle Koysse.
Con Keor Mac Bren Mac Foyll kept Fentra.
Osker Mac Cromkeyn kept Trallie.
Don Dowe Mac Reymowre being a King over the sept of Fin Mac Koyle kept Lymnagh, that is, Limericke.
Eye Boge Mac Fin kept Inyskagh.
Coll Kroytt kept Corke Vayskem.

Eye

Eye Mac Sroy kept Canborne.
Eye clone Drylinge kept Donrys Oveyragh.
Bressell Mac Eye Begge kept Galloway.
Deyre Dovenagh Magher Morne, kept Inysbresyn.
Eye O row Mac Fin kept Kleere.
Collow Daver kept small Iland.
Enos Dayrk kept Koymaghtbe.
Enos Maygh Ercoipie kept Galley.
Feartagh Mac Ferolagh kept Moyc.
Low Magh Mac Karbren kept Sligo.
Smerger Drought kept Bondroys.
Keyll Croagh Kede Gonagh O Navnyd, Assero!
Brasell Mac Doyer kept Donagall.
Mogh Small Mac Smoyll kept Fanyd.
Eey Mac Kehow kept Loughfoyle.
Darawryd Rowrer kept Bonban.
Sperenagh Claw kept Knockfergus.
Maghlove kept Ardolloe.
Donogh Mac Dermotte Evne, kept Ardglas.
Art Oge Mac Morne kept Dondorme.
Eye Mac Carra Meyke Morne kept Carlingford.
Flaas Fere Leyfroke Greffey Fin Mac Koyll, kept Dondalke.
Rey ne Roysklaygh Mac Fin Mac Koyll kept Drogheda.
Shealvagh Mac Dermotte Doyn kept Gormanston.
Covulve Mac Wowdyrge kept Irelands eye.
Derlleys Mac Dougar kept Howth.

Beacons appointed in Ireland by Fin Mac Koill.

These were the chiefe Commanders by direction from *Fin Mac Koyll*, who tooke farther order that Beacons should be set up in sundry places of the land, where in time of danger they might have direction for reliefe, and draw to a head for their defence; which order continued unto the field of Kaghcaro, otherwise called Ardkagh or Ardkath, the occasion whereof was as followeth.

Karbre Lifeacher Monarch of Ireland.

In the time of *Karbre Lifeacher*, Monarch of Ireland, the Danish Captaines with their bands and garrisons, waxed insolent and outragious, they weighed not what Prince or people said, they grew strong and rich, not caring what they did: they brought vp fond customes of their owne devising, oppressing the people, and disdaining the gentle admonitions of the Kings and Nobilitie of the land. Among themselves they decreed, that no Maid should marry without their license, that none should hunt the Hare, Otter, Foxe, Wolfe, Marterne or Deare, but should pay them what they pleased to rate it at, and that none should use any other passime without their privitie. The Kings and Nobilitie of the land called a Parliament, endevouring to reforme these abuses, charging them to surcease from their

The insolent devices of the Danes.

outrages, or to leave the land. The Danes answered, that they came in with the sword, held by the sword, and with the sword they would be driven away. The day of battaile was appointed to be fought at Amaghery Ongallin, now called Margallin in Westmeath, though the field be called Ardkagh, which is by interpretation, a set field.

The Danes sent to Denmarke, intimating their griefe and lamentable estate, craving aide of the King, and that he would be pleased to send his sonne to be their Generall, who (according to their request) shortly after landed with tenne thousand stalworth souldiers (so the old phrase runneth) and they comming together, made up twenty and eight thousand, and seven hundred. The Kings of Ireland with their forces were threescore and five thousand. The Danes or Norwegians being valiant and venterous, hastened to the battaile at the day appointed. The Kings in like sort with their forces hearing that their enemies approched, set themselves in battaile array, and came to a place where they all kissed the ground, readie to dye one with another, and gave (after their manner) such a crie, as if heauen and earth met together, and therewith somewhat amazed their enemies, so that the place to this day is called Balle-Nangartha, in English, Garrestowne.

Forces of the Irish and Danes.

Garrestowne. The marshalling of the Danes at the battaile of Ardkath.

The strangers placed themselves on the South-west side of the hill, that the forces of the Kings being on the other side, somewhat beneath them, might not easilie discrie their Armie; they appointed their worst men for their Rereward, that seeing the Voward valiantly encountring and prevailing, they might thereby be the more encouraged. They placed their rascals on their jades, nagges and labouring garrons, on the top of an hill, where at this day is a little Mote in remembrance thereof, giuing them in charge, that when the forces of the land espied them, and drew neere, they should retire to the maine battaile for refuge and succour; they hoped by these meanes, that the Kings when they saw so great a company flee, would breake their order and array to pursue them, and so lay themselves open to utter ouerthrow; and then was their intent to have made the King of Denmarkes sonne, King of the land, and to have enioyed the Realme to them and their posteritie for euer.

Hol-trase. Order of the Kings of Ireland at the field of Ardkath.

The Kings of Ireland being seven in number, tracing a while on the top of an hill (which therefore was called after that, the hill of Trase, now Hol-trase) divided themselves into two battailes. *Gillemore, O Connor Dunnes*, sonne of *Connaght* (one that had stood out in rebellion against the Kings untill that time) had in the Voward the leading of the light footmen, whereof they made least account, he thereby to winne their favours, and they to hazard him first. *Dermotte Lambdhearg*, King of Leinster had the charge of the horsemen; their bonnys were double armed, well appointed, active and venturous souldiers. *Dermot* being well mounted, got him to an advantage of ground,

Dermot Lambdhearg King of Leinster.

ground, and turned him to the armie with this speech.

The King of Leinsters speech.

My friends and fellowes in Armes, whose great valour hath been oft tryed; understand (I beseech you) the cause of this battaile. Whereas heretofore we have fought our these, and hired them in our warres for our defence and good of our country, against our forraine enemies, to be at our service and command, they have committed all manner of outrage against vs, and extortion upon the people of this land; they abused our wives, raviſhed our widowes, defloured our daughters and maidens; their meat, their drinke, their bedding, will not content them, but they must have money for eating, drinking and sleeping. Where they should have beene our true and dutifull seruitors, they disdained the Princes of the land, and made the people their villaines. By maintaining of them, wee made our country men idle and unapt for the warres, by inriching of them we have beggered our selves, and now see the villany of these verlates, our provision, our furniture, our Armes, and forces of our native soile, they bend against us, and not onely this, but they have drawn to their present aide, afresh, both Danes and Norwegians. Wherefore plucke up your hearts, quitte your selues like men, our cause is good, wee fight for our selves, our wives and children, and the libertie of our country; if we lose, we are lost for euer, and our children become bondslaues, and our country subiect to these bloudy rascall strangers.

He had no sooner ended his speech, but they all kissed the ground, and gave a terrible shout, that the woods about them rang thereat. On the other side, one *Osker Mac Oshen*, experienced in the warres, and bold of speech, craved of the Danes and Norweyes libertie to speake, and began as followeth.

Osker Mac Oshen his speech.

My masters and fellowes, the cause of this our assemblie is knowne unto you; it is to maintaine that which we honourably wonne in the field, and was granted our ancestors and their posteritie, the which we have in writing to shew, under the hands and seales of the ancestors of these faithlesse Kings and Princes that be in Armes against us. There is no haven, creeke or port in Ireland, but that our predecessors and we tooke the charge of them, since our first arrivall here out of Denmarke, and valiantly defended them maugre the beards of all forraigne enemies. We fought many a battaile for them, wee wanne them tributes, and procured them discharge of tributes, the which forraigne champions in combats had obtained of them, and now for recompence, they endevour eyther to banish us the land, or put us to the sword. Will yee understand what they are, surely a people that keepe no promise with us, therefore we doubt not but the better to speed: and excepting a few of their Princes and Gentlemen that are valiant men indeed, and daily exercised in feats of Armes, the rest are but pesants, poore and needy slaues, bare arst, bare legd, and bare footed, and of small strength. For Armes, they weare a skull, a

ſword by their ſide hanging in a Wyth that compaſſeth their middle, and a Target; otherſome have darts; the beſt thing in them is, they are ſwift of foot, & I hope we ſhal ſpeedily have the experience of that when we ſee them run away. Their good meate & beſt drink we took, and made them faſt, their treaſure we tooke to furniſh us in apparell and Armes, and left them unfurniſhed and bare, their bedding wee had, and made them lye on the ground, their wives, widdowes and maides were at our command to keepe us warme in the night, and we gave them leave to lye among their ſwine. The beſt ſoile we tooke to our ſelves, and gave them mountaines and bogges: alas poore fillie fellowes, theſe be they that now take Armes againſt us. Wherefore faint not, be of good courage, and we ſhall prevaile; let us winne vantage of ground, and get the ſide of the hill, and bogge againſt them, that their horſes prevaile not, and once maſter them, we ſhall quickly over-runne the peſants; now laſt, kiſſe one another, in token that you will live and die one with another.

Fabian part 6. cap. 198. writeth that the Danes did the like in England.

The battaile of Ardkath.

His words being ended, they marched forward with Pipes, Cornets, and Trumpets ſounding. Their chiefe armes were Skeynes, Speares, Darts, Slings, and Sparthes, (which we call Galloglas Axes:) they ſent their boyes and varlets, as they had formerly determined, to the top of the hill. The King of Leinſter that had the leading of the horſemen, no ſooner eſpied them, but (contrary to the plot laid downe upon the hill of Traſe) put ſpurres to his horſe, and with a loud voyce ſaid, follow me, they were ſtraight upon their backes that fled, ſo that the Danes had no leiſure to receive them for their ſafegard, but were driven to kill their owne before, as the Iriſh did behinde. Immediately came the light foot under the leading of *Gillemore*, and together with the horſe, charged the voward of the Danes, ſo that the raſcals of the Danes, and the light footmen of the Iriſh were ſlaine, with the death and hurt of many a Dane. Then came the great battaile of the Kings of Ireland in reſcue of the horſe, with a great and terrible noiſe, and gave a ſtout charge upon the enemie (that kept the ground, I meane the ſide of the hill) and fiercely bare them downe to the bottome, where they fought a cruell battell with equall fortune, almoſt the whole day, untill the King of Denmarkes ſonne was ſlaine by the King of Leinſter, whereupon the Danes fled, the Iriſh followed, and had the killing of them without reſiſtance, till horſe and man were weary, and the Danes in a manner all deſtroyed. Of the Iriſh were ſlaine (as I finde in the antiquities of the land) foure Kings, twenty five Kings ſonnes, and of others, nineteene thouſand, ſeven hundred and threeſcore, though others extenuate the matter. They ſay the horſes went to their bellies in bloud, alſo the ayre with the ſtinke was infected, and thereof ſhortly after roſe a grievous plague, which cut off the wives, children, and ſervants of the Danes, and of many of the Iriſh that were ſlaine.

The King of Leinſter ſlaieth the King of Denmarke his ſonne.

The Danes overcome.

There

There was at this field, one *Ferreis* a Dane, a valiant ſouldier in the fight, but eſcaping with life, for very ſorrow of the overthrow, and loſſe of his friends, fell madde, and kept company with wilde beaſts to his dying day. *Fin Mac Coile*, one of the principall Captaines of the Daniſh ſept, was in Rome at the time of this field; many things are reported of him worthy remembrance. His chiefe houſe was called Baragh-llys in Vlſter; he was a man in his proſperitie of great command in Ireland, ſo that the Danes and Norweyans had through him great dealing and entercourſe with Ireland, and Ireland with them. But yet (as it ſometime falleth out among the deereſt friends) many jarres and broiles and factions fell betweene them, and eſpecially betweene the ſept of *Klan ne Morne*, and *Klan ne Boisken*, both which ſides ſtill relieved themſelves out of Denmarke. The King of Denmarke at laſt hearing of the fame of *Fin Mac Coile*, ſent for him, and tooke ſuch a liking to him, that he concluded to marry him unto his daughter. *Fin* went thither with three thouſand ſouldiers: the King one day as they converſed together, asked after the manner of the death of his three ſonnes, *Comen*, *Law-ne-Meyd*, and *Feagh*, who formerly went into Ireland to maintaine one of the factions; *Dermot O Doyne*, (one of *Fins* company) anſwered, trouble not thy ſelfe, O King, this is the hand that killed thy ſonne *Comen*; one *Osker* ſaid, this is the hand that killed thy ſonne *Law-ne-Meyd*; *Keyn Mac Fin* alſo ſaid, this is the hand that killed thy ſonne *Feagh*. Herewith the King was wroth and ſaid, *Fin Mac Coile*, thou and thy men are my priſoners; forthwith they drew their Skeynes, the Kings guard for feare fled, they tooke him priſoner, carried him aboord their ſhippes, hoiſed up ſaile, and brought him to Ireland, ſo as the marriage was daſht, and the King driven to pay a ranſome for his libertie, before he could get from them. This *Fin Mac Coile* alſo fought with a Gyant that landed at Houth, and came to challenge combats for tribute, and by policie, not by ſtrength, overcame him: his policie was this; he cauſed him in the night, (for the ſpace of three nights) to be kept waking, and in the day time to be fought withall, and thereby weakened his ſtrength, and foiled the Gyant. Toward his end, one *Gorre* an old man, after theſe former warres and troubles, came to his houſe (before ſpoken of) and boaſted unto the Gentlewomen then preſent, of his feates in warre, and the combats he had fought, whereat they laughed; he being offended with them, ſware in his anger that hee would burne them all, got old timber and ſtraw, put it in the houſe, fired it, made faſt the doores, and compaſſed about the houſe with men that none might eſcape. They cryed unto him out of their windowes to ſave their lives, but he was inexorable, and could not bee drawne to any compaſſion, and when the houſe was readie to fall, he fled into Mounſter, and there hid himſelfe in a Cave. *Fin Mac Coile* came home from hunting, and beheld this wofull deſolation, how

Ferreis a Dane fell madde.

Fin Mac Coile.

The Danes diſagree in Ireland.

Fin Mac Coile taketh the King of Denmarke priſoner.

Overcommeth a Gyant.

Gorre burneth *Fin Mac Coiles* houſe.

how his Wife, his Maides, his old Souldiers, his Horſes, his Greyhounds, his Plate and houſhold ſtuffe, his Shields, Iackes, and Shirts of maile, and his inſtruments of Muſicke, were conſumed to aſhes, made after *Gorre* into Mounſter, where he found him, and after ſome skirmiſh of both ſides, tooke him, and brought him to the place where he had committed this villany. *Gorre* when hee beheld the bones of them that were burned, laughed, and being asked why, his anſwer was, that hee laughed at them that formerly laughed at him. This wilie *Gorre* being kept that night from execution, in the dead of the night ſtole away, and was found in a Cave, where by commandment of *Fin Mac Coill*, *Hugh Gorre* his owne ſonne killed his father, and after became madde himſelfe. And the end of *Fin Mac Coill* was, that he dyed a beggar and in great miſerie. So farre out of the booke of *Houth*. Now to continue the ſtorie.

He is killed by his own ſonne. The end of *Fin Mac Coill.*

It is written of *Maximus*, who beganne his raigne in Britaine, *Anno Dom.* 387, that he tooke great diſpleaſure againſt the Scots and Iriſh, for partaking with *Conan*, and upholding the faction betweene him and *Carodoch*: thus it is written; *Maximus* drave the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finally divided their region betweene the Britaines and the Pictes. He denounced warre alſo againſt the Iriſh men, for receiving them into their land; but they craving peace, yeelded to ſubſcribe, that from thenceforth they would not receive any Scot into their dominions.

W. Harriſon in the deſcription of Brit. *Georg. Buchan. reg. Scot. lib. 4.*

Hector Boetius penneth this matter at large, that all the Scots were baniſhed, and deſperſed themſelves into the Hebrydes, Orchades, Norwey, Denmarke, and ſome into France and Italie. And where *Maximus* ſomewhat tendred their utter ruine and overthrow; and referred them to the Pictes for favour, the Pictes moſt cruelly gave ſentence, that the Scots which fled not, ſhould eate the Pictes ſword, &c. And of Ireland he writeth, *Vpon the firſt comming of this newes, all Ireland mourned and made great lamentations; and when they had deliberately examined the exiles, and underſtood all the accidents that befell them in Albion, they appointed certaine dayes for a parley, ſummoned from Eaſt to Weſt, all the Princes of the land to meete their Monarch at the certaine day and place prefixed, to conſult how and by what meanes the Roman forces might be reſiſted, and the kingdome of Albion reſtored to their allies and couſins the Scots. When they could deviſe no remedie (for they feared the power of the Romanes) they thought good to put up all iniuries, and to intreate for peace. To this purpoſe they ſent Ambaſſadors to Maximus the Romane Captaine, who at the firſt ſharpely rebuked them, for that they had ſent aide into Albion againſt the Romanes their confederates and favourites, and in eſpeciall, ſeeing that unto that day, Ireland of all the kingdomes of the world, felt little ſmart of the Romane ſword. In the end he received them into favour,*

H. Boet. Scot. hiſt. lib. 6.

Iriſh conſult how to helpe the Scots againſt the Romans.

favour, and granted them peace upon theſe conditions. That they ſhould thenceforth receive no enemies of the Romanes into the Realme of Ireland, neither any that gave aide againſt the Romanes, and that no rebell of the Iriſh under pretence of marchandize, ſhould thenceforth ſet foot in Albion. Theſe conditions of peace being concluded, the Iriſh were quiet, and trode not upon Scottiſh ſoile. So farre *Boetius*.

Conditions of peace between the Romans and Iriſh.

Not long after this (according to *Ponticus Virunius*) *Guanius*, King of Hunnes, and *Melga* King of Pictes having long hulled here and there, and roved upon the ſeas, were by *Gratianus* (after their invading of Britaine and Scotland, in the abſence of *Maximus*) overthrowne, and driven out of the kingdome, and forced to flee for refuge into Ireland: foule weather followed theſe two Kings, and Ireland gave them hard entertainement at the firſt. Notwithſtanding I finde, that this *Guanius* and *Melga*, after the death of this *Gratianus*, (who uſurped the kingdome of Britaine for the ſpace of foure yeeres upon the death of *Maximus*, who had ſlaine *Gratianus* the Emperour) prepared againe for Britaine, and brought with them the exiled Scots with Iriſh and Ilanders for their aide. But to proceed.

Ponticus Virunius lib. 4.

Thomas Cooper, who afterwards was Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſpeaking of the returne of the Scots from exile (in his continuing of the Chronicle of *Lanquet*) maketh the ſame to be *Anno Dom.* 423. and withall delivereth his conceit, that the Scots about this time came firſt out of Ireland into that country, which of them was called Scotland. If he had referred it to a further yeere, namely when the ſixe ſonnes of *Muredus* King of Vlſter came to Scotland, haply it would have carried ſome probabilitie: but to ſay that it was the firſt comming of the Scots into Scotland, I doe no more like of it, then *George Buchanan* doth, neither doth it concurre with the antiquities precedent or ſubſequent. *Cambrenſis* and *Stanihurſt* doe direct me in this courſe. *Here I am to note, (ſaith* Cambrenſis) *that in the time of* Neall, *Monarch of Ireland, the ſixe ſonnes of* Muredus, *King of Vlſter, with no ſmall navie, poſſeſſed the North parts of Britaine, whence the nation iſſuing out of them, and by ſpeciall name called Scottiſh to this day, inhabite that northerne angle; but upon what occaſion they came hither, how and by what great treaſons (rather then voyages) they baniſhed the Pictes from thoſe parts, a ſtout nation, farre paſſing them for armes and courage, I referre to our Topographie of Britaine.* Stanihurſt *addeth; this inrode into Albania was a little before the comming of Patricke.* So that theſe Noble men of Ireland came into Scotland in the time of *Neale*, and *Patricke* came into Ireland in the time of *Leigerius* the ſonne of *Neale*, as hereafter more at large ſhall appeare.

Tho. Cooper.

Rerum Scot. lib. 5.

Cambrenſis.

Stan. in appendice.

In the meane time we reade, how that (*Anno* 430. according to *Functius*) *Celeſtinus* Biſhop of Rome ſent *Palladius* into Scotland, who was the firſt that gave them Biſhops, for unto that time, the

Anno Dom. 430. Proſper in Chro. Palladius.

Churches

Geo. Buchanan. rer Scot. lib. 5.

Churches without Biſhops, were governed by Monkes, with leſſe pride and outward pompe, but with greater ſanctitie and meekeneſſe of ſpirit, &c. I make mention of him, for that (as our Iriſh *Anonymus*, and *Iocelin* doe write) he landed in the North parts of Ireland,

Iocelin in vita Sancti Patricij cap. 24.

where he hardly eſcaped with life, as it is reported, thence he went to the Ilands, where he did much good, laſtly he came to Scotland, preached the Goſpell, rooted out the Pelagian hereſie, and conſecrated them Biſhops, &c.

Chriſtian faith in Ireland.

At this time (as it is written in the life of *Declanus*) Chriſtian religion firſt beganne, and tooke roote in Ireland, not as ſome have dreamed, by Saint *Iames* the Apoſtle, neither by Saint *Patricke*, whom they terme the Apoſtle of Ireland. The truth of the hiſtorie is as followeth. There was one *Colmannus* in Mounſter, a reverend Prieſt, (and the firſt Chriſtian which I finde upon record in Ireland) that baptized one *Declanus*, and delivered him to be brought up unto one *Dymna* a Chriſtian ſchoolemaſter, under whom he profited ſo much, that his fame was ſpread farre and nigh, ſo that upon good advice and counſaile, he travailed to Rome, where *Celeſtinus* the Pope conſecrated him Biſhop, where alſo he met with *Albæus* a Biſhop of Iriſh birth. In his returne from Rome, he mette with *Patricke* in Italie, converſed a while with him, and being inioyned by *Celeſtinus*, haſtened to Ireland, and left Patricke that was bound for Rome. *Declanus* after his arrivall in Ireland, came among his owne ſept (whom mine Author calleth *Nandeſi*, and I take to be the ancient houſe of the *Decies*) not farre from Liſmore, and there preached the Goſpell, and converted many to the Chriſtian faith. Thither came unto him, (ſaith the Legend) ſeven holy men *Mocelloc*, *Beanus*, *Colmanus*, *Lachuyn*, *Moby*, *Fyndlug* and *Caminanus*: they builded them celles, converſed together, and planted the Chriſtian faith over all Mounſter. He went to *Engus* the ſonne *Nafrygh*, King of Mounſter, whoſe Pallace was in Caſſill, who gave him leave to preach, yet received not the faith; the reaſon of this favour (as I finde it) was for that *Engus* had married his mother, and had iſſue by her, *Colman* and *Eochard*. *Colman* was by Saint *Albæus* the Biſhop baptized, and then received the Eccleſiaſticall habite, *Eochard* raigned after his father King of Mounſter.

Colmannus and *Dymna*. The life of Saint *Declanus*.

Familie of the *Decies*.

Engus King of Mounſter.

Saint *Declanus* took a ſecond iourney to Rome, and was reverently entertained by *David* Biſhop of Menevia; after the effecting of his buſineſſe, he returned into Ireland, and arrived in a place called Ard-naciored, in Latine *Altitudo ovium*, now called Ardmore, the which ſoile the Lord of Nandeſi gave him, where goodly buildings have beene, and as the record runneth, *Civitas ſancti Declani quæ in eo loco poſita eſt, vocatur Ardmore, id eſt, Altitudo magna.* Farther in the ſame Legend I finde, *Quatuor ſanctiſſimi Epiſcopi, cum ſuis diſcipulis fuerunt in Hibernia, ante Patricium prædicantes in ea Chriſtū, ſcilicet,*

Ard-naciored, i. Altitudo ovium, now Ardmore.

ſcilicet, Albæus, Declanus, Ybarus & Kyaranus (aliàs Keran), & hi plures ad Chriſtum rete evangelico traxerunt, ſed tamen ſanctus Patricius Majores Hiberniæ, & potentiores ad fidem convertit. In their time *Patricke* ſent from *Celeſtine* Biſhop of Rome came to Ireland whom theſe foure Biſhops with their followers ſaluted, and ſeeing *Patricke* (after the humour of humorous people) more graced then themſelves, jarred with him, they would not (forſooth) have any of forraigne nation to patronize the land. In the originall it is recorded: *Ybarus nulla ratione conſentire Sancto Patricio, nunquam ei ſubditus eſſe voluit, nolebat enim Patronum Hiberniæ de alia gente habere, & conflictus magnos inter ſe ipſos Ybarus & Patricius fecerunt.* But afterward by much adoe, they were reconciled. See gentle reader the infirmitie of men, and emulation following the ſame. At *Caſſill* they were reconciled by *Engus* King of Mounſter, whom *Patricke* baptized, who after his baptiſme, founded there the Cathedrall Church, in the honour of Saint *Patricke*, made it the Metropolitane See of Mounſter, and aſſigned *Albæus* the firſt Biſhop there. This King held there a Parliament of ſpirituall and temporall perſons of his kingdome, ratifying the premiſſes, pacifying all quarrels, and yeelding contentment to all ſides, The Legend reporteth, *in quo decretum eſt ut Albæus ſecundus Patricius, & Patronus Mumeniæ eſſet; & Declanus ſecundus Patricius & Patronus eſſet Nandeiſi, & Nandeiſi ſua Dioceſis uſque ad finem ſeculi eſſet. Poſtea ſancti Epiſcopi ſalutantes & benedicentes regem Enguſium, ad ſua in oſculo pacis, cum ſpirituali gaudio, ad opus Domini ſeminandum regreſſi ſunt.* Wherein it was decreed, that Albæus *ſhould be a ſecond* Patricke *and Patron of Mounſter, and that* Declanus *ſhould be a ſecond* Patricke *and Patrone of Nandeiſi, and that Nandeiſi ſhould be his Dioceſſe to the end of the world. After all, theſe holy Biſhops ſaluted and bleſſed King* Engus, *and in the kiſſe of peace, with ſpirituall ioy, returned every one to his charge, to ſow the worke of the Lord.* Immediately there inſued a grievous plague over all Mounſter, and eſpecially at Caſſill, which was the death of thouſands; the manner of it was this, firſt they had the yellow jaundies, then they fell downe for dead. King *Engus* lamented greatly the death of ſeven Nobles of Mounſter, that were pledges with him at Caſſill, and miſcarried in this mortalitie. Not long after, *Declanus* ended the way of all fleſh, and lyeth buried at Ardmore.

Albæus, Declanus, Ybarus, Kyaranus (aliàs *Keran*).

Emulation.

Caſſill Church is built and made mother-Church of Mounſter.

A Parliament.

A great peſtilence in Mounſter.

Albæus (as his owne Legend delivereth) the ſecond Patrone of Mounſter after *Patricke* the generall Patrone of Ireland was borne in Elyach, now called Ely O Caroll. His fathers name was *Olcnaū*, his mothers, *Sandith*, a maid ſervant in the houſe of King *Cronanus*, the Lord of Eliach was then called a King. *Cronanus* in his rage, bid his ſervants hang the whoore, and kill the childe; the ſervants loath to diſpatch an innocent, tooke him out of his Pallace, and laid him under the ſide of a rocke. One *Lochanus* the ſonne of *Lugyr* paſſing by, pitied

The life of Saint *Albæus*.

King *Cronanus* of Eliach.

pittied the childe, tooke him to his horſe, and ſet him to nurſe among certaine Britaines, in the Eaſt part of Elyach. *Palladius* (ſaith the ſtory) paſſing from Rome toward Scotland, and travelling through Ireland, baptized him. The Britaines ſent him into France, where hee was trayned up in Chriſtian ſchooles, and brought up under Biſhop *Hilarius*, who ſent him to Rome, where he was conſecrated Biſhop, and remained one whole yeere and fiftie dayes, preaching and expounding holy Scripture, with great admiration. And ſaith the Legend, there came unto him out of Ireland, fiftie grave and reverend men, of which number there were 12 Colmans, 12 Coenigeni, and 12 Fintans; the Biſhop of Rome ſent them backe into Ireland, they came to Dolomoir, where *Sampſon* Biſhop of that See gave them entertainement. There he baptized (ſaith the ſtorie) King *Fintan*. After he had baptized and converted many unto the faith, and builded many Churches, and founded many Hoſpitals for lazers, he came to Ymleach, now called Emley, a Biſhopricke, and in the Legend, termed his owne Citie, fell ſicke, and there left his bones. He converſed with *Biga*, (whom learned *Camden* calleth *Bega*) & *Bretach* Nunnes, and with *Neſſanus* a great Antiquarie, ſaith mine Author, whoſe antiquities I never ſaw.

King *Fintan* baptized.

Ymleach or Emley.

Biga and *Bretach* Nunnes.

Neſſanus the Antiquarie.

Kyaranus or *Keran*, *alias Piran*, (another of the foure Biſhops that lived in Ireland before Saint *Patricke*) commeth next to be ſpoken of. Of him, *Capgrave* and the Martyrologe thus write, that hee was a Biſhop and Confeſſour, and termed *Sanctorum Hiberniæ primogenitus*. And yet I finde in *Molanus*, that one Saint *Manſuetus*, (Biſhop of Tullum now called *Tullenſe oppidū*, a towne in Flanders) was of Iriſh birth, fellow Diſciple with Saint *Clement*, under Saint *Peter* the bleſſed Apoſtle, not trayned up in Ireland in the Chriſtian faith, but in forraigne countries, where he was both baptized, inſtructed, and made Biſhop, and where he now reſteth. But to returne to *Keran*, he was borne in Oſſorie, having to his father *Domnell*, (ſaith another, *Lugnæus*, whereby I gather, there were two of that name) to his mother *Wingella*, famous for life, learning, and ſanctitie, in the dayes of Saint *Patricke*. He lived in the Ile of Cleere ſome 30. yeeres, from thence he went to Rome, where hee met Saint *Patricke*, who came to Ireland 30. yeeres after *Pyranus* was of note; in Rome hee continued 15. yeeres, expounding holy Scripture with great admiration, (as another ſaith 20. yeeres) there the Biſhop of Rome conſecrated him Biſhop. He came to Ireland, and was the firſt Biſhop of Oſſorie, having his See at Keran in Elie O Carroll. Hee refreſhed, (ſaith mine Author) Saint *Patricke*, and tenne Iriſh Kings for the ſpace of three dayes, he confirmed *Rhodanus* in the faith, viſited the Virgin *Cota* (with her Prieſt *Geranus*) whoſe cell was a rocke of the ſeas, not farre from the Citie of Cluan in Mounſter. He was a man of an auſtere life, never ware woollen garment, but the fell of Wolves and

The life of Saint *Kyaranus* or *Keran*.

Keran the firſt Biſhop of Oſſorie.

and wilde beaſts. As he came to his lodging, in time of Lent, and having inquired what proviſion they had, anſwere being made, that they had but a peſtle of Porke, he commanded it to be laid on the table, one ſcornefully refuſed the dyet, he miſliking with him, threatned him an ill end, which accordingly came to paſſe. When by the courſe of nature he ſaw his end approach, he called his friends unto him, and ſaid: My welbeloved children and friends, God hath diſpoſed that I ſhould trauaile out of Ireland into Cornewall, and there expect the end of my dayes; I cannot withſtand the will of God; I doe admoniſh you brethren, to uphold the place, with good workes and examples of life, for there ſhall come children of perdition and death among you, ye ſhall have mortalitie and warres, the Churches ſhall become waſte and deſolate, and the truth ſhall be turned into iniquitie, faith ſhall not ſhine with good workes, the Paſtors will looke to themſelves more then to their flocke, feeding themſelves more then their ſheepe: laſt of all, I beſeech you brethren, pray for me that my iourney may be proſperous, and that after my deceaſe, I finde not my King and my God angry, but gentle and appeaſed, when I ſhall appeare before him. He tooke leave, came to Cornewall, and reſteth ſome fifteene miles from Petrok-ſtow, 25. miles from Mouſehole, where he is remembred for their Patron. *Cambrenſis* writeth, that in Caerdiſe in Wales, there is a Chappell called Saint Perans Chappell, where King *Henry* the ſecond in his returne from Ireland, repaired to heare divine ſervice, as he hath remembred it in his Booke intituled *Itinerarium Cambriæ*. And thus much of Saint *Keran* or Saint *Peran*.

Itinerarium Cambriæ.

Of *Ybarus* the fourth Biſhop before Saint *Patricke*, I finde ſome diſcourſe in the Legend of *Abbanus* the Abbot, how hee baptized him, and brought him up in learning, and how they went together to Rome, and after their returne, converſed in Ireland with Saint *Patricke*, as formerly in part hath beene delivered in the life of *Declanus*.

The life of Saint *Ybarus*.

This *Abbanus* is renowned in Ireland for building of Celles and religious houſes; beſides three Monaſteries in Connaght, he built in Mounſter, Ceall Achard Conchun, *alias*, Kill Achard, where Saint *Finan* (whom he baptized) after his death was Abbot. In the borders of Muskerry he builded the Nunnery of Huſneach, and left it to Saint *Gobnaid* and her Virgins, another Monaſterie alſo by Kilcullen. In Nandeſi (as I take it now called the Decies,) by the towne of Briogoban, he founded Kill-na-Marban, and at the foot of the mountaine Grotte in Muskerie, the famous Monaſterie called Cluain-Airdmobecoc, where Saint *Becanus* was Abbot, the which afterward, becauſe of *Becanus* his lamentation in devout ſort (as it is written) for his ſinnes, was called Ceall Nander, *Cella lachrymarum*, the cell of teares. He founded alſo Cluain Findglaiſe, & Cluain Conbrum,

The life of *Abbanus* the Abbot.

Saint *Finan*.

Saint *Becanus*.

and went into Ely, where he baptized and converted unto the faith, thousands, as the Legend reporteth, in a place afterward called Rath-Becain, in Latine, *Atrium Becani*, where *Abbanus* is recounted Patron. He builded a Monasterie upon the river Berba, called Ross-Mac-Treoin, where the Abbot Saint *Emenus* resteth; also in Meath, Ceall-Ailbe, and committed the charge thereof to the holy Nunne *Segnith* and her associates, and in the North part of that country, a Nunnery, Ceall Abbain, where he made an end of his course, and slept with his fathers. There was great strife for his corps, betweene the North and the South, the Lords of the country strove for it in Armes. The North pleaded, here hee first builded and made his abode, the South answered, with us was he borne, with us hee most conversed, and we will have his corps, or else we will leave our carkasses in this place. The body was laid in a Cart, bruit beasts had the drawing of it, when both sides were in Armes, the silly beasts were frighted, and ranne away with the dead, and where he was buried, I have not found as yet. His Monkes howled, and kept a lamentable stirre; the record runneth thus. *Populus civitatis Magarnoid in Australibus Laginensibus sic dicebat. Iste sanctus a Domino ad nos missus est, & per multos annos apud nos vixit, & monasteria multa et cellas in nostra regione edificavit, et ipse est noster Sanctus et venerabilis Pater, qui nostrã civitatem similiter construxit, qui post multa miracula, apud nos, ad Dominum migravit, et per eum semper a Domino adjuvari speramus, et scitote, quod nos mortiomnes prius trademus, antequam revertamini, eo a nobis absente. Ad hanc vocem ira principum et militum utrorumque arsit, surgentes in furorem magnum, contendere et rixari conantes. Tunc verò monachi & clerici, quibus non licebat bellare, seorsum exierunt, ululantes & flentes, & fusis lachrymis dicentes; heu heu Domine Deus, cur concedis tam maximam cædem, tantorũ nobilium virorum, circa corpus famuli tui, qui in sua vita multa bella prohibuit?* He had familiaritie with Saint *Beartanus* an Abbot, *Brendanus*, *Molyng*, *Elannanus*, *Munnu*, *Gobban*, and with *Columba* the reverend Priest.

Emenus the Abbot.

Civitas Magarnoid.

The life of Saint *Patricke.*

Saint *Patricke* was sent into Ireland by *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome before named, five yeeres after *Palladius* was sent into Scotland. So writeth *Iohannes Major Scotus*, and *Functius* therein followeth him; but I thinke they are too forward in their computation, for hee came into Ireland, *Anno* 432. and for this beside *Iohn Bale* Bishop of Ossorie, I have warrant from *Iocelin* the Monke of Furnese, who wrote his life at the request of *Thomas*, Primate of Ardmagh, *Malachias* Bishop of Dune, and Sir *Iohn de Courcy* Earle of Vlster; and out of *Sigebertus* and *Iohn Clyn* Guardian of the Fryers Minors in Kilkenny in his collections of Irish antiquities, who also saith, that he was 16. yeeres old when the Pirates brought him out of Britaine into Ireland, that he was sixe yeeres in servitude, that he was eighteene yeeres under Saint

Anno Christi, 432. *Iocel. in præf. ad vitam Patric.*

Sigeb. ad an. 432. *Iohannes Clyn Antiq. Hiber.*

Saint *Germane* a Bishop in France, that he spent thirty and five yeeres in converting Ireland and other Ilands to the faith, that he bestowed thirty three yeeres in contemplation, and that hee died *anno ætatis*, one hundred twenty two.

Bale writeth his life. *Patricius* surnamed *Succetus Magonius*, of most writers called *Magnus* for his excellent vertues, had in Britaine to his father one *Calphurnius* a Priest (the sonne of *Ponticus* a Priest, saith *Iocelin*) and to his mother one *Conche* of Pannonia (*Conchessa* saith *Probus*) sister to Saint *Martin* (cosin saith *Iocelin:*) hee was brought up under godly tutors, when *Maximus* reigned, first under his uncle *Martin*, afterward under *Germanus* Bishop of Auxerre in Burgoyne, from thence he came to Italy, and so to Rome, where for his grave carriage and singular learning, descending of noble race, he got the name of a Senator, *Patricius*. His first name, saith *Florilegus* was *Nannus*, and in his consecration hee was called *Patricius*; *Sigebertus* and *Stanihurst* write, that in his baptisme hee was called *Suchat* or *Suchar*; of Saint *German*, *Magonius*; and of *Celestinus*, *Patricius*; the like saith *Beda* in his Martyrologe.

Iohn Bale Scrip. Britt. cent. 1. & 14.

Celestinus then Bishop of Rome sent him together with *Segetius* a Priest, *anno* 432 after *Palladius* the Grecian, unto the Scots and Irish, to defend them from the Pelagian heresie; he with a wonderfull fervency of spirit preached the Gospell unto the Irish nation, travailing in the vineyard of the Lord the space of thirty nine yeeres, converted them unto the Lord with his great learning, and sanctity of life. Whereupon among other miracles (the which he is said to have wrought) upon the top of an hill, like a second *Elias*, he prayed and fasted forty dayes and nights, in a vision hee received of Christ the Gospell, and a staffe, (an Hermit gave him the staffe saith *Iocelin.*) Hee destroyed the prophane temples of false gods, hee erected monuments of piety, builded Churches, ordained Ministers, releeued the poore, redeemed captives, healed the sick, delivered the possessed, raised sixty dead persons, baptized twelve thousand, if all be true which *Vincentius*, *Antonius*, and *Capgrave* report of him. Out of the treasure of his pure heart, many Authors affirme, that he wrot in Latine these bookes.

Segetius sent with Saint *Patrick.*

Saint *Patricke* works.

De antiquitate Avalonica —— *lib.* 1
Itenerarium Confessionis —— *lib.* 1
Odoeporicon Hiberniæ —— *lib.* 1
Historia Hiberniæ ex Ruano —— *lib* 1
De tribus habitaculis —— *lib.* 1
De futura electorũ vita —— *lib.* 1
Abiectoria quædam 366 —— *lib.* 1
Sermones quoque —— *lib.* 1
**Ad Cereticum tyrannum* —— *epist.* 1

* *Probus lib.* 2 of his life mentioneth it.

Ad

Ad Avaloniæ incolas ——— *epist.* 1
Ad Hibernenses Ecclesias ——— *epist. plur.*
Ad suos Britannos ——— *epist. plur.*

The manuscript Legend of Ireland reporteth, that Saint *Patrick* in his Epistles wrote his owne life. The Antiquaries report, that in his conflicts with the sages of the Gentiles, this Apostle of the Irish wrought no lesse miracles then of old *Moses* under *Pharaoh*, or *Peter* under *Nero*, and that he endured many displeasures. In the end after his death, hee was buried neere the City of Dune, but the yeere among the Historiographers is not agreed upon; yet in remembrance of him this distichon was made.

S. *Patrick* buried in Downe.

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.

Saint *Patrick* died first, *Brigida* six yeeres after him, and *Columba* many yeeres after her, yet were all three buried in one grave. What *Bale* hath formerly written, I find he hath gathered out of *Vincentius*, *Antoninus*, *Capgrave*, *Leland*, *Gildas*, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Bostonus Buriensis*, and *Florilegus*; and all that *Iocelin* hath at large written, and what *Legenda Plumbea*, and the booke of *Houth* report, to avoid prolixity, and to shunne fabulous conceits, I omit. Now to the Irish Chroniclers.

Authors that wrote of Saint *Patrick*.

They deliver, that in his captivity in Ireland being sold to *Milcho* King of Vlster (saith *Iocelin*) to *Milach* (saith *Stanihurst*) to *Coulcu* (saith *Florilegus*) to *Machuaine* saith the Irish *Anonymus*, and to reconcile them all, I take it that *Milcho* was called *Milcho Machuaine*: he kept swine six yeeres; no disgrace unto him, for *Marcellus* Bishop of Rome (he that will not beleeue other writers, will credit the Martyrologe of Sarum) by the commandement of *Maximian* the tyrant, kept swine many yeeres. When *Patricks* six yeeres were expired, one of the swine turned up a clod, under the which lay so much mony as paid his ransome. When he came the second time, he landed at Carlingford, and inquired after *Milcho* whose captive hee had beene, who would not giue care to his doctrine, but immediately after his death, his two daughters of one name, *Emeria* were baptized. *Laigerius* (in *Iocelin*, *Leogarius*) Monarch of Ireland, the son of *Neale* harkning unto Magicians and Sooth-sayers, gave commandement, (together with his brother *Corbre*) unto the Country, for the banishing of Saint *Patrick*, but *Dichu* and *Rius* (two brethren and great Commanders under him) received the faith, and *Conil* brother to *Laigerius*, who also himselfe shortly after grew indifferent, winking at them that did receive it, so that his Queene and his yonger brother received the faith, and his two daughters. And of *Laigerius* he thus prophecied:

Ioc. in vita Patricij cap. 12.

Milcho his daughters are baptized.

Laigerius Monarch of Ireland, withstandeth S. *Patr.*

prophecied: becaus thou hast alwaies withstood my doctrine, and ceased not above measure to persecute me, and hast above all disdained to beleeve in him that made all things, thou art the childe of death. And whereas of right, thou with the rest, yea before all thy confederates, oughtest presently to enter into everlasting torments; yet insomuch as thou meekely commest unto me, craving pardon, and like King *Achab*, humblest thy selfe before my God, the Lord will not forthwith bring upon thee the evill which thou hast deserved; notwithstanding there shall none of thy seed after thee sit upon thy seat, but shall serve thy yonger brother that beleeveth in my God, and his seed after him for ever.

Saint *Patrick* prophecie of the Monarch.

As this holy man travailed in preaching the Gospell, he met with a young man whose name was *Mochaa* or *Mocho*, keeping swine, in whose physiognomie hee perceived towardnesse and sparkles of grace; he taught him, baptized him, trayned him up in holy Scripture, made him Deacon, Priest, and Bishop of Dune where he lyeth buried. Clonsillan and Kellestowne, some five miles west of Dublin, have him for their Patron, where under an high rocke runneth a Spring called S. *Mochon* his Well. Next he baptized one *Benignus*, called also *Stephanus*, so *Probus* writeth, with his father, mother, & familie, who proved so good a member in the Church of God, that he succeeded S. *Patricke* in Armagh; this *Benignus*, saith *Capgrave*, lyeth buried in Glastenburie. Saint *Patricke* also received into the faith, one *Erchas*, the sonne of *Dega*, saith *Iocelin*, whom he also made a Bishop. The Martyrologe of Sarum calleth him *Herkus*. At that time, one *Pheg* a Poet, and (saith *Probus*) *Duptachus* an Irish rymer or Poet in *Lastgerius* his Court, desired baptisme, and afterward all the dayes of his life, converted his vaine rymes into Chrihian Poems, and did much good thereby among the common people.

Mocho Bishop of Dune.

Benignus or *Stephanus*, successour to Saint *Patricke*. A Nunne (saith *Iocelin*) was in love with him, sent for him to her bed, but the signe of the Crosse made all well.

Erchus or *Herkus* a Bishop.

Saint *Patricke* had brought with him into Ireland out of Italie, one *Mac Cartyn*, of Irish birth, so I reade in the martyrologe of Sarum, and three sisters of his owne, which proved very fruitfull. *Lupita* (who lived a Virgin, and lyeth buried at Armagh) *Trigridia* and *Darercha*. *Tigridia* had seventeene sonnes, and five daughters; the men became Priests, Monkes, and Bishops; the daughters were made Nunnes: the Bishops were called *Brochadius*, *Brochanus*, *Mogenochus*, and *Lumianus*. *Darerca* the yongest sister had two Bishops to her sonnes, *Melrioch* and *Munis*: the martyrologe of Sarum reckoneth her children thus, *Mele*, *Melk*, *Muncse*, Bishops, *Riok*, *Finian* and *Bolke* Abbots. Where I thinke there is some errour, that *Melrioch* in *Iocelin* is *Mele*, and *Ryok* in the maytyrologe.

Ioc. cap. 49. 51. 53. 68. 69. & *seq.*: *Mac Carly.* Saint *Pat.* sisters.

Of *Lumianus* I reade, that he baptized a Lord of the country, called *Fedlemus*, and his sonne *Forkernus*, whose mother was a Britain, his dwelling was at Ahtrum. There *Lumianus* by their meanes builded a Church some twenty five yeeres before the founding of

Lumianus Bishop of Ahtrum.

Armagh, the which he tooke for his Bishops See, and ordered *Forkernus* to succeed him there. The possessions (saith mine Author) which were first given to this Church, afterward by the donations of other Princes, fell to belong to Armagh.

Conallus Lord of Connaght.

The holy man *Patricke* laboured still in the vineyard of the Lord; he baptized *Conallus, alias Conill*, Lord of Connaught, brother to *Laigerius*, and his familie, who gave *Patricke* a country called Dompnac-Patricke, and builded for himselfe a dwelling place called Raith-Artair. After seven yeeres, this *Conill* sent him to his brother *Logan* (*Cogan* saith the Booke of *Howth*) King of Leinster, whom hee baptized, together with *Amolgath* (whom I take to be the ancestour of the house of *O Malaghlin*) a great Lord of a country, and his seven sonnes, (*Florilegus* saith they were seven Kings.) After this, this holy man comming out of Meth, and having passed over the water at Finglas, went up to a hill some mile from the village Athcled, now called Dublin. When he had viewed the place and soile adjoyning,

Saint *Patricks* prophecie of Dublin.

he blessed the same, and is said to have prophecied thus; *This village is now but small, it will be great, it will be inlarged with wealth and worship, neither will it leave increasing untill it bee advanced to the seate of the Kingdome.*

Dublin beleeveth and is baptized.

In a while after, he came to the village, where the inhabitants hearing of the wonders which the Lord wrought by his hands, went out to meete him with much ioy, and beleeved by his preaching, and were baptized. My Author addeth that upon complaint made unto him, how that they were annoyed with brackish waters, which of necessitie they were driven to use, he walked about the village, turned up cloddes, digged the earth and found a Spring, which is now called Saint *Patrickes* Well.

Saint *Patricks* Well. *Morgaus* of Castleknoke.

From this village Athcled, hee went to Castleknok, where one *Murgius* dwelled and commanded those places, who hearing of *Patricks* comming, refused to give him entertainement, but sent him word that he was asleepe, in which sleepe (as the storie saith) he died, of which accident the common saying ariseth, *Thou sleepest Murgus sleepe*, applyed to those that sleepe heavily, or are given to overmuch sleepe.

Engus and *Daris* receive Saint *Pat.*

From Castleknok, he bent his course towards Mounster, and came to King *Engus, alias Oengus Mac Nafroic*, who received him ioyfully, and brought him to his Palace at Caffill, saith *Iocelin*; where also one *Daris* a great Lord in that country, shewed him much kindenesse.

Vrmiunnan or *Ormond.*

When he had baptized the King, and many thousands with him, he came to Vrmiunnan now called Ormond, where in like sort they received the faith, and the inhabitants in remembrance of him builded a Church, and dedicated the same to his name. From Mounster (where he preached seaven yeeres) hee tooke his iourney backe to

King *Eochu* and his daughter baptized.

Vlster, and came to King *Eochu*, whom he baptized, & his daughter *Cumia*,

Cumia, whom he made a Nunne, and committed her to the charge of the Nunne *Cecubris* (in the Nunnery of Drumdukain) whom *Patricke* first vailed of all the women in Ireland. Also he baptized *Olcanus*, who went into France to studie, and upon his returne, erected schooles in Ireland, and had many schollers, whereof a great number were afterwards Bishops, he himselfe towards his end, became a Bishop, and ended his dayes in sanctitie. When Saint *Patricke* had baptized a second *Conallus* (a petite King) and his brother *Fergus*, he prophecied of *Fedlemus* the sonne of *Fergus*, and of *Columba* the sonne of *Fedlemus*, what a holy man hee should prove, as after hee did, and was the founder of an hundred Monasteries.

Cecubris the first Nunne in Ireland.

King *Conallus* and *Fergus* baptized.

Saint *Patricke* for all this travaile sailed into Britaine for coadiutors and fellow-labourers in this worke, where he opposed himselfe both in publike and private against the Pelagians and other hereticks which disturbed the peace of the Church, and brought with him thirty learned men, whom afterward he consecrated Bishops. So that to this day in Britaine, (as in Anglesey, Bristoll, Exeter, and other places) there are Churches built in remembrance of him. He also converted the Isle of Man to the faith, and there is a Church which also beareth his name, and left them one *Germanus* to bee their Bishop, after whose death hee ordained for that place, *Conidrius*, *Romillus* and *Machaldus*. Upon his returne into Ireland, hee met with sixe of his Disciples, of Irish birth, that had beene Students beyond Seas, whom in the end he made Bishops; *Lugacius*, *Columbanus*, *Meldanus*, *Lugadius*, *Cassanus*, and *Cheranus*. Then he made (saith *Iocelin*) a second iourney unto Athcled now called Dublin; upon his comming, (which was about twentie yeeres after their conversion) and found them all given to idolatrie, and withall, one *Alpinus* a King with his Queene, and his retinue, lamenting the death of *Eocchiad* their sonne & heire, and the drowning of their sole daughter *Dublinia*. *Patricke* preached, the people beleeved, the King hearing of him hoped to reape some comfort; to bee short, (saith mine Author) the dead are raised to life, and Athcled ever after in remembrance of the Kings daughter *Dublinia*, was called Dublin.

Saint *Pat.* in Britaine.

Pelagians.

Isle of Man.

Eocchiad and *Dublinia* raised from death.

Dublin whence so called.

Saint *Patricks* manner of teaching

Saint *Patrickes* manner was, first to Catechize, secondly to Baptize, lastly to minister the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. When with the aide of the country, he builded Churches, hee would not name them after any Saints name, but Domnach the Church of the Lord. And when he had procured a Church to be builded in a place called Achad Fobuit, and consecrated his Disciple *Sennachus*, *alias Seachuallus* Bishop there, the humble sute of *Senachus* unto him was, that the Church should not be called after him, as the manner was, (saith mine Author) in many places among the Irish people. The onely doctrine *Patricke* read and expounded unto the people, was the foure Evangelists, conferred with the old Testament. Hee is

Iocelin c. 122.

reported

reported to have given many bleſſings, and to have denounced many curſes. He had many Diſciples, *Kertennus, Winnocus, Winwallocus*, likewiſe ſaith *Molanus, Elberus, Ibarus, Connedus, Secundinus, Aſicus, Fiechus, Sennachus, Olcanus*, with many others which he made Biſhops. I finde mention alſo of *Riochus* that kept his Bookes and Papers, and of *Rodanus* that kept his Catteli, that hee made them Biſhops, and the world made them Saints.

Ireland is greatly beholding unto him, for it is recorded that hee went up to the top of the Mount Hely (I take it to be a hill in Ely, *O Carrols* country) where he made three petitions unto Almighty God for the people of Ireland that had received the faith. *Firſt, that every one might have grace to repent, though it were at the laſt houre. Secondly, that they might not be utterly deſtroyed by Infidels. Laſtly, that no Iriſh man ſhould live till the day of Iudgement; Quia delebitur per orationem ſancti Patricij ſeptem annis ante judicium; for it ſhall be deſtroyed by meanes of Saint Patrickes prayers, ſeaven yeeres before the comming of Chriſt to iudgement.* *Probus* maketh mention of other Petitions, which for that I hold them fabulous, I will not rehearſe: He procured (as it is written of him) ſeaven hundred Churches to bee builded in Ireland, ordained five thouſand Miniſters, conſecrated three hundred and fifty Biſhops, ſucceſſively, underſtand, in his time.

Saint *Patricks* three petitions for Ireland. *Flor. biſtor. Anton Chron. part 2. tit. 11. cap. 18.*

Saint *Patricks* workes and labour in Ireland *Iocelin cap. 187. Ioc. cap. 164.* and 198.

Darius (the Booke of *Houth* calleth him *Dares*, in *Probus Dair*) a Noble man, affecting *Patricke*, and ſeeing him beare low ſaile, and ſhrowding himſelfe with all humilitie in Vlſter, drew him to dwell at Drumſailech, now called Armagh, and having uſed meanes there for the building of a Church, *Patricke* went to Rome, procured all confirmations neceſſary to his purpoſe, arrived againe in Ireland, and being of the age of 122. yeeres, ended his life in the time that *Aurelius Ambroſius* raigned in Britaine, and *Forthkerrus* was Monarch of Ireland, *Brigida* and *Ethembria* who then were accounted two holy women, ſhrowded him to his grave, when *Thaſſach* a Biſhop had miniſtred the Sacrament. *Probus* writeth that the Britaines came with great forces, attempting at ſeverall times to fetch away his corps, and that the men of Vlſter did withſtand them. As for the purgatorie that is fathered upon him, I muſt referre the reader to the yeere of grace, 850. where he ſhall finde a ſecond *Patricke* founder thereof.

Strife for Saint *Patricks* body.

In our *Patricks* time flouriſhed many good Chriſtians, renowned at this day, and as an Antiquarie and collector of antiquities, I deſire the chriſtian reader to accept of them as I finde them. And I will beginne with *Brigida* that gave Saint *Patricke* his winding ſheete, ſhee was borne (as *Iohn Clyn* writeth) *anno* 439. in Fochart not farre from Dondalke, as *Bernard* deliuereth, ſhe was the baſe daughter of one *Duptacus*, haply *Laigerius* his rymer before ſpoken of) a Noble man (ſaith *Bale* of the North parts, a Captaine of Leinſter, ſaith the Book of *Houth*. *Capgrave* writeth, that her mother in wantonneſſe having conceived,

The life of Saint *Brigide*.

Bernard in vita Malachiæ.

conceived, and her belly being eſpied to be up, *Duptacus* his wife cauſed her to be turned out of doores; *Duptacus* to avoid the iealouſie and diſquietneſſe of his wife, delivered her to a Poet or Bard, (a Magician ſaith *Bale*) who kept both Mother and Daughter, and trayned her up in ſuch learning as he had skill in. Shee proved ſo ſingularly learned, and was in ſuch account among all men, that a Synode of Biſhops aſſembled by Dublin, uſed her advice in weightie cauſes, as I reade in the Booke of *Houth*. She became a Nunne, and wrought but one miracle, (ſaith *Bale*) that is, ſhee uſed meanes to purge a Biſhop, one *Bronus* or *Bruno* from fornication, when the fact was manifeſtly proved againſt him. In the authenticke manuſcript Legend of Ireland, I finde that ſhe kept moſt in Leinſter, and builded a Cell for her abode under a goodly faire Oke, which afterwards grew to be a Monaſterie of Virgins, called Cyll-dara, in Latine, *Cella Quercus*, the Cell of the Oke, now Kildare, and ſaith mine Author, *ibique maxima civitas poſtea in honore beatiſſimæ Brigidæ crevit, quæ eſt hodie metropolis Laginenſium.* The firſt Biſhop by her meanes was *Conlianus, alias Conlaidus*. *Stanihurſt* reckoneth the ſucceſſion of the See in this ſort.

A Synode by Dublin.

Kildare.

Biſhops of Kildare.

Lony.	*Symon.*	*William.*
Ivor.	*Nicolas.*	*Galfride.*
Conlie.	*Walter.*	*Richard.*
Donatus.	*Richard.*	*Iames.*
David.	*Thomas.*	*Wale.*
Magnus.	*Robart.*	*Barret.*
Richard.	*Boniface.*	*Edmund Lane.*
Iohn.	*Madogg.*	

Who flouriſhed in the yeere, 1518. So farre Maſter *Stanihurſt*.

Hector Boetius putteth us in remembrance of the honour given her by Scots, Pictes, Iriſh and Engliſh nations, and how that many Churches beare her name. The ſuperſtitious Iriſh in proceſſe of time, found out a Bell called Clogg Brietta, *Brigids* Bell, whereunto, to deceive the ſimple people, they attribute great vertue and holineſſe, the which together with other toyes they carried about, not onely in Ireland, but alſo in England, and were by Act of Parliament in England, baniſhed the land in *Henry* the fifts time. *Cambrenſis* reporteth that the harmonie of the foure Evangeliſts (the worke of Saint *Ierome*) was cauſed by *Brigid* (moſt of it) to be written in letters of gold, and was as curious a worke (ſaith he) as ever I ſaw, and called *Brigids Booke*, the which was kept as a monument (ſaith *Stanihurſt*) at Kildare.

Scot. biſt. lib. 9.

She deceaſed about the yeere 510. (another ſaith, *anno* 548.) and about the yeere 524. ſhe was tranſlated from the Hebrides into Dune,

Brigids death.

and

and resteth by Saint *Patrickes* side, as formerly hath beene declared in his life. Ireland hath given her this Epitaph.

Flos patriæ, pietatis amans, virtutis alumna,
Sidus Hibernorum, Brigida virgo fuit.

In her Legend I finde mention of *Ercus*, a Bishop, the disciple of Saint *Patricke*, borne in Mounster, also of Saint *Ruanus* a Bishop, Saint *Numidus*, Saint *Præcipuus*, Saint *Daria* a Virgin, Saint *Darlugdach* called a Virgin, and yet had a daughter that was baptized in the presence of *Brigide*. This *Darlugdach* was the second Nunne, and succeeded *Brigide* in Kildare, whose remembrance is celebrated the same day with her. *Illand* King of Leinster gave *Brigide* great honour, of him I read in her Legend, that hee was a most worthy Prince, and fortunate in all his affaires. *Illand Rex Lageniæ qui triginta bella in Hibernia vicit, octo certamina in Britannia, occidit Engusium regem Momoniæ cum Ethna uxore, quos Patricius baptizavit: Illand King of Leinster, who wonne thirty battailes in Ireland, and eight combats in Britaine, slue Engusus King of Mounster, and Ethna his wife, whom Patricke had baptized.*

Saint Darlugdach.

Illand King of Leinster.

The life of Cælius Sedulius.

About this time lived *Cælius Sedulius*, whom *Damianus à Goes*, a Knight of Portingall challenged for a Spaniard. *Bale* writeth hee was a Scot, and *Stanihurst* that he was borne in Ireland. I will first lay downe what *Bale* hath, next what *Stanihurst* reporteth. *Cælius Sedulius* (*saith* Bale) *by nation a Scot, by calling a Priest, a man trayned up in learning from his youth, cleaved as a diligent scholler unto* Hildebert, *the most learned Archbishop of Scots, as* Tritemius *delivereth. After the decease of his master, being desirous of farther knowledge, he tooke a painefull voyage in hand, travailed throughout Spain, France, Italie, Greece and Asia; last of all, after he had read in Achaia most learned lectures, to the great profit of many, hee came backe to Rome, where with great labour he distributed most abundantly in like sort the treasure of singular learning. Hee was a man exercised in holy Scripture, of a singular wit, excellently well seene in all manner of secular literature, passing both for verse and prose, so that* Gelasius, *Bishop of Rome, in the decrees, dist.* 15. *calleth him reverend* Sedulius, *and gave his workes no meane commendation.* Paterius *the disciple of* Gregorius Magnus, *and* Remigius Antisiodorensis, *in his commentary upon him of old have published his fame and renowne.* Sedulius *both in verse and prose hath published many workes, whereof in* Boston *of Burie, and* Tritemius, *I onely found these that follow. Vnto* Macedonius *the Priest, a singular worke, which he intituled*

Iohannes Bale Script. Brit. cent. 14.

The workes of Cælius Sedulius.

Carmen paschale——lib. 4 *Paschales quicunq; dapes conviva requiris*

Elegia vel exhortatorium ad fideles } lib. 1 *Cantemus socij Dom. cantemus honorem:*

De

De signis & virtutibus—lib. 1 *Domino meo charissimo.*
Gesta et miracula Christi-lib. 4 *Expulerat quondam, &c:*
Super utroq; testamento-lib. 2
In Psalmos Dividicos—lib. 1
Collectanea in Paulum--lib. 14 *Antequam Apostolica verba.*
In Paulum ad Romanos—lib. 1 *Sciendum est quod hoc.*
Ad Corinthios——lib. 2 *Quod nomen suum proponit.*
Ad Galatas——lib. 1 *Hoc est non ab humana.*
Ad Ephesios——lib. 1 *Refers scriptura testante.*
Ad Philippenses——lib. 1 *Metropoli Macedoniæ cum.*
Ad Colossenses——lib. 1 *Hac vice Apostolatus autor.*
Ad Thessalonicenses——lib. 2 *Quod non dicit Apostolus:*
Ad Timotheum——lib. 2 *Non secundum præsumptionem.*
Ad Titum Discipulum-lib. 1 *Hanc epistolam scribit de*
Ad Philemonem——lib. 1 *In carcere vel in catenis.*
Ad Hebræos——lib. 1 *Quoniam apud Hebræorum.*
De facto Christi prosaice lib. 2
Ad Cæsarem Theodosiũ lib. 1 *Romulidum ductor Clariss.*
Epist. ad diversos——lib. 1 *Sedulius Scotigena dilect.*
In editionem Donati——lib. 1
In Prisciani volumen—lib. 1
Carmina diversi generis lib. 1

He published also certaine Hymnes which the Church useth.

1 *A solis ortus cardine*
Ad usque terræ limitem
Christum canamus principem, &c.
2 *Hostis Herodes impie*
Christum venisse quid times? &c.

He flourished in the yeere after the Incarnation, 450. *under* Theodosius *Iunior the Emperour, what time* Fergusius *the second raigned in Scotland after his miserable exile by the Romanes. Of this Author,* Sigebertus *and* Bostonus *write more.* So farre *Bale.*

Stanihurst pleadeth for Ireland, and writeth: *Sedulius was not only of Irish birth, but also the light of all Ireland, neither will we suffer any longer so excellent a man out of his native soile contrary to all right to exile or wander, but be is rather to be restored to his former inheritance, as it were with a new solemnity of birth.* In another place hee seemeth to qualifie the matter (having already chalenged *Damianus a Goes* of iniurie) and to reconcile the dissonance of varying writers, that the Scottish is taken for the Irish, and the Irish for the Scottish; and to satisfie the reader, noteth the confusion, how that all the commentaries of *Sedulius* upon the Epistles of *Paul* beginne, *Sedulij Scoti Hibernensis, &c. the Commentarie of* Sedulius *the Scot of Ireland.* And to shut up this challenge of all sides, I finde that there was a second *Sedulius*, a man of no lesse fame and learning, and hee is said to bee a Scottish

R. Stan. prefat. ad lib. 1. de reb. Hib.

Append. ad cap. 17.

Scottiſh man, therefore let Ireland being more antient then Scotland, take the firſt, and Scotland the laſt.

The life of *Fridelinus Viator Io. Bale ſcript. Britanic cent.* 14.

In the like ſort (excepting the challenge) ſtandeth *Fridelinus Viator*, ſo called by reaſon of his great travaile; his ſtile is, *Scotorum Hibernicorum regis olim filius, the ſonne ſometime of the King of the Scots in Ireland*, whom I couch among them of Iriſh birth, becauſe of the ancient ſtile and diſtinction often uſed by *Buchanan, Scoti Albanenſes, and Scoti Hibernenſes*, the firſt he challengeth for Scotland, the ſecond he referreth to Ireland, and therefore I accept of him as granted. He was a Kings ſonne of Ireland, excellently ſtudied in Philoſophie, earneſtly addicted to the eccleſiaſticall courſe of life, and to the end he might plant religion, and ſpreade abroad chriſtianitie, enterpriſed a voyage farre from his native ſoile. This holy man firſt of all taught here and there throughout France, he came to Poitiers, and became father of the Monkes of Saint *Hilarie*, and with the aide of King *Clodovarus*, erected a ſtately Monaſterie, the like he did at Moſella in Flanders, upon the top of the mount Voſagius, at Argentine, Curia Rhetiorum, and elſewhere throughout Burgundie. Laſtly, he came to Angia Seckingenſis upon the Rhene, to the end he might there alſo build a Cell; after many godly Sermons and learned Interpretations, he is ſaid to have written a Booke of exhortations unto the ſacred Virgins. He flouriſhed in the yeere 495. and reſteth in the Monaſterie of Seckinge before ſpoken of.

Saint *Fekin.*

Ireland remembreth the feaſt of Saint *Fekin*, that hee was of the Kings bloud, and an Abbot, cured many of the flixe or fluxe, and dyed thereof himſelfe.

The life of Saint *Modwen*

Many things are written of Saint *Modwen*, (whom the Britaines call *Mawdwen*) the daughter of *Naughtheus* the Iriſh King, who heard Saint *Patricke* preach, and of her companions *Orbila, Luge, Edith, Athea, Lazara, Sith* (whom the Iriſh call *Oſith*) *Oſmanna*, and of *Brigid* (poken of before, whereof ſome began with *Patricke*, and ended with him, ſome began with him, and lived many yeeres after, (as *Capgrave* writeth in the life of *Modwen*) to the time of the Biſhop *Collumkill*, (otherwiſe called *Colme* and *Columba*) and the Eremite, Abbot, or Biſhop *Kevin*.

Saint *Sith* the Virgin.

Saint *Modwen* was a Nunne, lived 130. yeeres. The Iriſh, Scots, and Engliſh (in which countries ſhe had travailed) ſtrove for her corps, at length *Columkill* the Biſhop gave ſentence for England, where ſhee reſteth at Andreiſey. *Bale* writeth how that one *Galfride*, Abbot of Burton upon Trent, in the time of King *Iohn*, wrote the life and memorable acts of this Iriſh Virgin *Modwen*, unto the poſterity, with great applauſe.

Capgrave writeth the life of Saint *Sith*, (otherwiſe called *Oſith*) that was brought up under *Modwen*, that ſhe was a Kings daughter, and borne in England: *Leppeloo* the Carthuſian, and other forraigne

forraigne Writers ſay little of her, ſaving that the Danes (being Heathens) cut off her head, and that ſhee tooke her head in her armes, carried it uprightly three furlongs off, knockt at the Church doore, (being lockt) with her bloudy hands, and there fell downe. The Martyrologe of Sarum confoundeth *Dorothy*, and Saint *Sith* thus; the 15. of Ianuarie the feaſt of Saint *Dorothie* otherwiſe called Saint *Sith*, is kept in Ireland, *who refuſed marriage, fled into a Monaſterie, where the devill appeared unto her*, and there mine Author left her.

The reader is not bound to beleeve this.

Of *Oſmanna* the Virgin I finde little, ſaving what *Capgrave* reporteth, that ſhe was of the bloud royall in Ireland, and having infidels to her parents, fled into France, dwelled upon the banke of Loire, the river of Lions, and there in peace ended her dayes.

Oſmanna the Virgin.

I read that about this time one *Tathe*, the ſonne of an Iriſh King, forſooke his fathers poſſeſſions, went to the Dioceſſe of Landaffe in Wales, and became a Monke, builded a Monaſterie, and there left his bones.

Tathe the Monke.

Gualterus Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford; *Caxton* and others doe write, that *Aurelius Ambroſius*, after his valiant exploits and noble victories, went to a Monaſterie neere Cair caredoch, now called Salisburie, where through the treaſon of *Hengiſt*, (*which the Britaines call Toill y Killill Hirion, the treaſon of the long knives*) the Nobles and Princes of Britaine were ſlaine and buried, called his Councell, and demanded what monument were meete to be made there in remembrance of ſo many Nobles of the land there reſting in the duſt of the earth. Carpenters, Maſons, Carvers, Ingravers, and Tombemakers, being out of all places ſent for, came thither, delivered their opinions, but concluded nothing. Then ſtepped forth a Biſhop, which ſaid; O King, if it may ſtand with your pleaſure, there is one *Merlin* of Worceſter, a Prophet, a ſearcher of Antiquities, a man of rare gifts, I wiſh his opinion in the matter. *Merlin* came, and being "adviſed, ſaid as followeth. Moſt Noble King, upon occaſion offe- "red, I went lately into Ireland, and having ended my buſineſſe, I "was inquiſitive of antiquities, and ſight of monuments, where a- "mong other things, being brought to a mountaine of Kildare, I "ſaw ſo rare a ſight, in ſo rude a country, as might bee ſeene; there "was a round row of huge ſtones, the which none of this age had ſo "framed, neither could be, unleſſe Art had maſtered the common "skill of man; ſend for them, and ſet them vp as they are there cou- "ched, and they will bee a monument whilſt the world ſtanderh. Hereat the King ſmiled and ſaid; how ſhall we convey ſo great ſtones into Britaine, from ſo farre a countrey, and to what end? as though Britaine veelded not as good ſtones to all purpoſes? *Merlin* replied, be not diſpleaſed O King, there is a hid myſtery in thoſe ſtones, they are medicinable, and as I was given to underſtand in Ireland, the Gyants of old dwelling in that land, procured them from the fartheſt

The ſtones of Salisbury ſent for into Ireland.

part of Affricke, and pitched them there, in them they bathed themselves, and were rid of their infirmities. The Britaines hearing this, were perswaded to send for them, the King appointed his brother *Vter-Pendragon*, with *Merlin*, and fifteene thousand men to effect the businesse. In a short time, they arrived in Ireland. *Gillomer* King of Leinster, raised an Armie to resist them, and reviled the Britaines, saying, what fooles and asses are you? are the Irish better then the British stones? and turning himselfe to his Armie, said, come on, quit your selves like men, keepe your monuments, and defend your country. *Vter-Pendragon* seeing this, animated his company, they met, and manfully encountred in the end; *Gillomer* fled, and the Irish were discomfited. *Vter-Pendragon* marched on, they came by *Merlins* direction to the place, and beholding the hugenesse of the stones, they wondred, yet they joyed that they had found them. To worke they went, some with Ropes, some with Wythes, some with Ladders, and carried them away, brought them to Britaine, and pitched them in the Plaine of Salisburie, which place is now called Stonehenge.

Gillomer, King of Leinster.

Stonehenge.

Beside this, there are divers monuments of Gyants in Ireland, as at Dundalke, Louth, Ardee, and on the hilles not farre from the Naas: the like *Saxo Grammaticus* reporteth of the Danes, a nation famous for Gyants, and mighty men, and this, saith he, the great and huge stones laid of old upon Caves and Tombes of the dead, doe declare.

In præfatione ad hist. Dan.

About this time, *Passent* the sonne of *Vortiger* that fled into Germany for aide, arrived in the North parts, *Aurelius Ambrosius* met him, and put him to flight; *Passent* came into Ireland, delivered his griefe unto *Gillomer* King of Leinster, craved him to extend his Princely favour toward him; *Gillomer* on the other side complained of the wrong done him by *Vter-Pendragon* and the Britaines, namely, how they had slaine his subiects, wasted his country, and carried away his rare monuments, concluding that hee was willing of himselfe to be revenged of them, much more finding this opportunitie. *Caxton* saith, he came with fifteene thousand Irish to aide *Passent* against the Britaines; the Armie was great, for with *Passent* came Germans, Irish and Saxons, and arrived at Menevia (now called Saint Davids) at which time *Aurelius Ambrosius* being sicke of poyson, (by the procurement of *Passent*) of which he died, *Vter-Pendragon* was appointed Generall of the field, met with the invaders, fought a bloudy battaile (where many fell on both sides) and in the end, slue *Passent* and *Gillomer*, and ouerthrew the Germans, Irish, and Saxons, and was crowned King of England.

Io. Harding.

Gillomer, King of Leinster, slaine at Saint *Davids* in Wales.

I doe finde in Antiquaries, together with *Florilegus*, *Fabian*, *Caxton*, *Holinshed*, and *Fleminge*, (men of great iudgement) that the Pictes and Scots in the dayes of King *Arthur* (who succeeded his father *Vter-Pendragon*) ioyned with the Saxons, and drew to their aide,

aide, *Gillomer*, second of that name, King of Ireland, so that *Arthur* sent for *Howell* his sisters sonne, King of little Britaine in France, who came with fifteene thousand fighting men, and ioyning forces with *Arthur*, foyled the Pictes, Scots, and Saxons, vanquished the Irish King, and chaced him into Ireland, and the yeere following, *viz.* five hundred twenty and five, in revenge of the former aide, hee came into Ireland, offered King *Gillomer* battaile, hee then being Monarch of Ireland (as *Caxton* and the book of *Heath* record) assembled the Princes and Nobles of the land; and it is said that King *Anguish* came to the field with five thousand horse, but *Arthur* constrained them to yeeld, and to acknowledge by doing their fealtie, to hold the Realme of Ireland of him. Whereof *Harding* saith,

Anno Dom. 525.

Homage for Ireland.

The sommer next Arthur went to Ireland,
With battaile sore forefoughten y conquered,
And of the King, had homage of that land
To hold of him, so was he of him feared;
And also gate (as Chronicles have us lered)
Denmarke, Friseland, Gotland and Norwey,
Iseland, Groenland, the Isle of Man and Orkney.

The booke of *Houth* recordeth, that *anno Dom.* 519. *Arthur* summoned to a speciall feast of solemnitie of the round Table, *Gillomer* the Monarch of Ireland, and King *Anguish*, with the Princes and Nobles of the land, where they continued during the whole time of the solemnitie. In which triumph it is recorded that *Garret*, King of Orkeney, sonne to King *Lotho*, and nephew to *Arthur*, being one of King *Arthurs* Knights, together with his two brethren, performed most valiant exploits, encountred with *Anguish*, King of Ireland, *Goranus* King of Scotland, *Cador*, Duke of Cornewall, and with other Princes, and wanne great honour. This *Anguish* claimed tribute from *Marke*, King of Cornewall, that formerly was wonne by combate, and sent *Morogh* (whom *Caxton* calleth *Marhaus*) the Queene of Leinsters brother, who was also one of King *Arthurs* Knights, to demand it; he was a valiant Gentleman, often tryed, and ever quitted himselfe with honour. The Frenchmen calleth him *Le Morhoult d'Ireland*; and a Citizen of London thus blazoneth his Armes.

Morogh, one of K. *Arthurs* Knights.

Rich, Robinson in his bookes of Armes and Archerie.

In silver shield, on fesse of peeces five throughout the same,
He bare a Lyon Rampant red
and arme greene, whose name
Might seeme to signifie in truth,
each mighty enterprise,
A prey most fit for his courage,
as is the Irish guise.

Marke, King of Cornewall denieth the tribute, offereth the combate, and Sir *Triſtram* undertaketh it for him. *Morogh* for himſelfe pleaded that he was to encounter with none, unleſſe he were a King or Queene, a Prince or Princeſſe ſonne; the circumſtances being conſidered and agreed upon, the combatants meete, and fiercly fight, the battaile was a long time doubtfull; in the end, Sir *Triſtram* gave Sir *Morogh* with his ſword, a ſore blow, that a piece of the edge ſtucke in his ſcull, whereupon the combate ended, *Morogh* returned into Ireland, and ſhortly after died of the wound. This doth *Caxton* and the booke of *Houth* deliver at large. But I may not end thus with Sir *Triſtram*, he alſo was ſore wounded with a Speare, whoſe head was venomed, and could not be cured untill that by counſaile he repaired to the country where the venome had beene confected. Whereupon he came to Ireland, and to King *Anguiſh* his Court, and having great skill upon the Harpe, he recreated himſelfe, delighted the houſe, and fell in loue with *La Bell Iſod* the Kings daughter, and ſhe with him. In proceſſe of time the Queene had learned that he had given her brother *Morogh* his deaths wound, and comparing the piece of the ſwords edge which was taken out of the skull, with his ſword, found them to agree, and baniſhed him the land. Not long after upon conference had with *Marke*, King of Cornewall, of marriage, and commending the beautie and vertues of *La Bel Iſod* ſpoken of before, hee commeth to Ireland to intreate of marriage betweene King *Marke* and her. And having effected his purpoſe, taketh her with him to Cornewall, where *Marke* eſpouſed her with great ioy and ſolemnity; but the old ſecret love betweene *Triſtram* and her, had taken ſuch impreſſion in both, and ſo inflamed their hearts, that it could not eaſily be quenched, ſo that in proceſſe of time, *Marke* eſpied it, and in his furious jealouſie, ſlue him as he played upon the Harpe to recreate *La Bel Iſod*; and thus as his love began with the Harpe, ſo it ended at the Harpe; it is recorded that *Iſod* came to his grave and ſwouned. She was (ſaith mine Author) ſo faire a woman, that hardly who ſo beheld her, could not chuſe but be enamoured with her. In Dublin upon the wall of the Citie, is a Caſtle called *Iſods* towre, and not farre from Dublin, a Chappell with a Village named Chappell-Iſod: the originall cauſe of the name I doe not finde, but it is conieCtured, that her father King *Anguiſh*, that doted on her, builded them in remembrance of her, the one for her recreation, and the other for the good of her ſoule.

Caxton, and the booke of *Houth*.

Sir *Triſtram*, & *La Bell Iſod*.

Marke, King of Cornewall married *La Bell Iſod*. Iealouſie.

About the time that King *Arthur* raigned, lived many famous men of Iriſh birth, renowned for their great learning and ſanCtitie, and commended by divers Antiquaries, both at home and abroad to the poſteritie. But before I come to ſpeake of them, I muſt firſt make mention of *Congellus* a Britaine by birth, who builded the Monaſterie of Bangor, not farre from West-Cheſter, which was called the Colledge

The life of *Congellus* a Britaine.

Colledge of Chriſtian Philoſophers, and became the firſt Abbot thereof himſelfe, in the dayes of King *Arthur*, *anno Dom.* 530. I make mention of him, becauſe *Bernard* in the life of *Malachias*, reporteth this Colledge or Abbey which he built, to have beene the head or principall Abbey of all the Monaſteries in Europe, the ſeminarie or Bee-hive of many thouſands of Monkes, after the Apoſtolike manner, getting their living with the ſweate of their browes, and the labour of their owne hands. And the rather for that he had to his Diſciples of Iriſh birth, *Columbanus* that travailed France, Germanie, and Italie, *Brendan* that furniſhed Ireland and Scotland with holy men, with *Luanus* and others, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in their places. This *Congellus* alſo (*Bernard* is mine Author) founded the Abbey of Benchor, *alias* Bangor, here in Vlſter, where many ſingular learned men of Iriſh birth were trayned up, yea Britaines, Saxons, and Scots alſo, and diſperſed themſelves farre and nigh, (as hereafter ſhall more plainely appeare) into forraigne countries, converted and confirmed thouſands in the true faith The which Abbey of Benchor, was afterward deſtroyed by Pyrates, and nine hundred Monks ſlaine in one day, and ſo continued waſte unto the time of *Malachias* Biſhop of Armach, whereof I will ſpeake hereafter.

Bangor in Vlſter.

Yet in an ancient manuſcript Legend of Ireland, I finde that this *Congellus* the Abbot was borne in Dail Naraid in Vlſter, of honourable Parents, and upon ſome diſpleaſure conceived, forſooke his native ſoile, came to Mounſter to Saint *Finian* Abbot of Cluoyn Ednech at the foote of Mons Blandina, where he was ioyfully received, who after long inſtruction, through the counſaile of *Finian*, returned to his native ſoile, and entred the Monaſterie of Saint *Kiaran* in Cluayn Mac Noyſe, where Biſhop *Lugidus* gave him orders; and that in a while after, he founded the famous Abbey of Benchor in Vlſter, in the country called *Altitudo ulterorum*, to the Eaſt ſea (as I reade in the life *Mocoemog*) containing three thouſand Monkes, and that ſeven yeeres after, hee went into Britaine, and founded there a Monaſterie that ſwarmed with Monkes, as formerly in part is delivered, whither out of all places by ſea and land, they flocked unto him, for the fame of learning which there was profeſſed. He, when hee had ſetled his affaires there, returned into Ireland, and now reſteth at his monaſterie of Benchor. The fame of both Monaſteries or Colledges of Chriſtian Philoſophers and famous men thither frequenting, and entercourſing with domeſticall and forraigne ſtudents, mee thinkes, ſhould reconcile Britaine and Ireland now being in one, and breed an agreement among Antiquaries.

Congellus ſuppoſed to be Iriſh.

Altitudo Vlteriorum, now called the Ardes.

Brendan, among others, was famous at this time, borne in Connaght, brought up under *Hercus* a Biſhop, and directed by *Barinetus* a Monke, he was excellently ſeene in the liberall ſciences, and travailed into Britaine to the Abbey of Bangor, where hee learned the

Brendans life.

monasticall rules of *Congellus*, from thence he went to Llancarvan and builded a Monasterie, became the father of three thousand Monkes that got their living with the labour of their hands, and sweate of their browes, left to oversee them *Machutus* and *Molochus*, travailed over Ireland and Scotland with other countries; after seven yeeres peregrination, he returned to *Ireland*, and became Bishop of Kerry, (of old called Kiaragi, but now Ardfertensis) where he ended his dayes, and lyeth buried at Cluenarca, otherwise called Luarcha: Yet in the life of *Ruadanus*, *I* finde hee was buried at Cluanferta. Other things that *Capgrave*, the martyrologe, and *Bale* have, *I* omit.

Saint *Fynbarry*.

When Saint *Brendan* was olde, Saint *Fynbarry* was a childe, hee is now the Patrone of the Cathedrall Church of Corke; his Legend runneth thus: There was a certaine King in *Ireland*, called *Tegernatus*, who had to his handmaid, a very beautifull Damosell; this King gave charge throughout his dominion, that none should be so bold as to touch her, for it was supposed he kept her for his owne tooth. Yet (saith the Legend) one of his souldiers, whose name was *Amorgen*, (a blacke Smith) got her with childe, the which being brought to light, and the time of her travaile nigh approaching, *Tegernatus* commanded that *Amorgen* the father, the faire harlot the mother, (with her great bellie) should bee cast into the fire, and burned to ashes. But (saith the Legend) they were all miraculously delivered, and the childe safely brought into the world. At his baptisme he was named *Loanus*, but in a while after, three religious men that had the charge of him (by reason of the beautie of his white lockes, and gracious aspect) called him in Irish, *Fuenbarrah*, whom now wee call *Fynbarry*. He was brought up under Bishop *Torpereus*, the disciple of *Gregorie*, Bishop of Rome, and was conversant with *Fatturus*, (another Legend calleth him *Fyachna*) a King in *Ireland*, who did allot him a certaine portion of land in his country. Bishop *Torpereus* gave him orders, after which he went (saith the Legend) into Albania now called Scotland, did much good there, and went from thence to Rome, and was consecrated Bishop in the time of *Gregorie* the first, then he returned to *Ireland*, landed on the South side of the river Lee, where one *Edo* a Noble man gave him a parcell of ground, where (with the aide of many good men) he built the old Citie of Corke, and the Cathedrall Church, annexing thereto a faire Church-yard, wherein now standeth a watch Towre, builded by the Danes. The Legend speaketh of a priviledge granted to that Church-yard, which *I* take to have beene brought in through the covetousnesse of the Priests: That what faithfull soever being penitent, shall bee buried there, shall not after this life, feele the torments of hell; as if every faithfull penitent Christian were not freed from hell, whersoever he be buried. But let us proceed: *Torpereus* Bishop of Cloan his Schoolemaster,

Let flie.

master, was the first man that was buried in that Church-yard. After this, *Finbarry* went to *Calangus* a reverend man, then Abbot of Cloane, and concluded betweene themselves, that in the feare of God, they would both be buried in one place, and so indeed it fell out, for there *Finbarry* fell sicke, received the Sacrament at the hands of *Calangus*, ended his dayes, and was brought to the Church-yard of old Corke, and there interred; shortly after, followed *Calangus*, and there Bishop *Torperus* the first Bishop of Cloane, *Finbarry* the first Bishop of Corke, and *Calangus* the first Abbot of Cloane, keepe together in the dust of the earth, waiting for the resurrection at the last day. The fabulous circumstances of the Legend I leave to old Wives and long winters nights; yet to satisfie the reader that I met with the Originall, I will lay down part of the Latine rithmes sung yeerely on his day, being the 25. of September, not worthy of translation into English, and here they follow.

Ex officio Sancti Finbarri.

Infantis clari matremque patremque ligatum
Ambo Rex quondam, flammis præceperat uri;
Interea mirum bellum gessere elementa,
Ignis edax stupuit, non audens mandere ligna.
Hic nondum genitus jam matris ventre moratus,
O nova res! miris cepit clamare loquelis,
Obstupuit rex, &c.
Ad Christi verbum ducentes tres seniores
Infantem secum nitidum, vultuque decorum,
Dogmata ut sacra cunabulo disceret evo
Contigit ut nimio, solis fervore sitiret;
Tunc senibus quidam præceperat ire ministrum
Vt potum puero cerva deduceret almo
Statim cerva petens vitulum lac fudit abundè
Et potum, &c.
Rex quondam retinens plenam turpedine prolem
Luminis expertem natum, mutamque puellam
Præclarum Christi famulum iam rogitavit
Vt natos miseros ditaret munere caro
Illico respexit cæcus, & muta locuta
Ad natum regis cæcum, mutamque puellam
Fynbarry precibus salvavit conditor almus.
Sanctus Fynbarrus quondam cum rege sedebat,
Cumque salutabant læti sese, vice versa,
Audierant fletum tristem, magnumque lamentum:
At rex confestim turbatus, heu mea, dixit,
Regalis conjux nunc mortem gustat amaram.
Tunc dixit Christi famulus, depone merorem,
Namque potest dominus vitam donare defunctis.

Fynbarry

Fynbarry precibus tunc fœmina viva resurgit.
Fynbarrus residens Rex atque sub arboris umbra:
Tunc placuit Regi miracula cernere quædam
Auxiliante Deo Fynbarrus quæ faciebat;
Interea corylus gignebat tempore veris
Maturos fructus, valdè largèque cadebant.
Miratur corylum vernalem gignere fructum.

With many such strange things with which I will no longer trouble the reader, nor keepe him from that which followeth.

Now commeth in the confused name of *Colme*, *Columba*, *Columbanus*, *Columkillus*, and *Colmannus*; who all lived at one time, about the dayes of King *Arthure*, and were all of Irish birth, but are greatly mistaken by the Antiquaries.

Columbanus. The first called *Columbanus* by *Adamannus* and *Capgrave*, in the life of *Columba*, was, as they write, *Episcopus Laginensis*, a Bishop of Leinster, but the Diocesse of which he was Bishop, I finde not named.

Columba. The second by *Beda* (whom, for authority and antiquitie, I reverence) is called *Columbanus presbiter & Abbas*, Priest and Abbot, whom *Capgrave* calleth *Columba*, borne of Noble Parentage in Ireland. *Adamannus* who wrote his life, saith, his father hight *Feidlimyd*, the sonne of *Fergus*, his mother *Ethnea*, and that the second yeere after the bloudie battaile of Cule-Dreibne, he came to Britaine in the time of *Gildas sapiens*, and converted the Pictes. But before his departure out of Ireland, he founded a Monasterie (saith *Beda*) *à copia roborum*, in the Scottish tongue called *Dearmagh*. *Capgrave* termeth it *Roboretum*, the grove of Okes. In Britaine (saith *Beda*) he builded a Monasterie in the Iland called Hu, (*Capgrave* calleth it Iona) where he lyeth buried, ending his dayes at the age of 77. yeeres, whose death *Aidanus* King of Scots greatly lamented. *Beda* reporteth that some wrote of him, which work came not to his hands, and that in the observation of Easter he followed no other direction, then hee found in holy Scripture. Here (gentle reader) two scruples are to be removed from among our Irish Antiquaries; the first *Beda* dissolveth, namely that of him the name of *Columkilli* came in; *Columba, now a dayes (saith he) of some men compounding Cella and Columba, is called Columcelli*, and in *Capgrave* we reade *Columkillius*. The second scruple is, where *Beda* writeth that he was buried in the Isle Hu, the Antiquaries of Ireland record his funerall to have beene at Downe, (as formerly I have written) in one Tombe with *Patricke* and *Brigide*; I hold both may be true, namely that he was buried in the Isle before spoken of, and being thence translated into Downe in Ireland, (as *Brigide* was before) now resteth there in one grave with *Patricke* and her.

Battaile of Cule-Dreibne.

Beda Ang. hist. lib. 5. cap. 10.

The

The third *Columbanus*, otherwise called *Columba*, of Irish birth, was a most famous man of that time for learning and vertue, eternized in writing by *Ionas* an Abbot his disciple, also by *Capgrave*, *Bale*, *Surius*, *Baronius*, *Lippeloo* and *Staniburst*. In his youth he was mightily tempted with the feminine sex, *nihil tam sanctum religione*, (saith mine Author) *tamque custodia clausum, quod penetrare libido nequeat.* *Columba.*

He forsooke his native soile, went to *Congellus*, Abbot of Bangor, continued there many yeeres, and having formerly taken with him twelve of his country men, called twelve followers, hee went into France, and made them Cabanes, after the Irish manner, in stead of Monasteries. Many fabulous things are reported of Wolves, Beares, and Fowles of the ayre, that they had no power over him. When he had continued together with his followers, twenty yeeres in one place, he was banished thence, and being desirous to returne to Ireland, *Clotarius* sonne to *Chilpericke* staid him, yet he tooke his course into Italie, where *Agilulphus* King of Lombardie received him most honourably, and in Italie hee died, saith *Beda* in his Martyrologe, though *Capgrave* write it was in Almaine, whose report of him I may not omit. He builded (saith he) certaine famous Monasteries in Almaine, into the which, (as it is said) they admit onely Irish men unto this day. He wrote (saith *Lippeloo*) a booke against the Arians. *Bale* reckoneth his other workes that he published. *Io. Capgrave.*

In psalterium commentar: ——— lib. 1.
Collationes ad Monachos ——— lib. 1.
De moribus monachorum metrice lib. 1. *Hæc præcepta legat.*
Epistolas ad Commilitones ——— lib. 1.
Monasteriorum methodos ——— lib. 1.
Adversus Theodoricum regem adulterum ——— lib. 1

This *Columbanus* had many learned men of Irish birth, brought up under him. The Martyrologe of Sarum remembreth one *Deicolus* an Abbot. *Capgrave* and *Walafridus Strabo* commend one *Gallus*, whom *Columbanus* left behinde him in Almaine. And when *Gunzo* Duke of Suevia would have made him Bishop of Constance, he preferred one *John* his Deacon and disciple, to the roomth, and kept the desert himselfe. *Surius* writeth, Italie glorieth of *Columbanus*, Almaine of *Gallus*, and Flanders of *Kilianus*. Hee wrote, as *Bale* remembreth, *Columbanus* his Irish disciples. *Deicolus.* *Gallus.*

In electione Iohannis—Orat. 1. Sempiternus & inæstimabilis Deus.
Gubernandæ ecclesiæ formam ——— lib. 1

Ionas likewise his disciple, is by *Tritemius* commended and reckoned among the great learned men of Ireland, who at the request of *Ionas* a Monke

certaine

certaine brethren, penned for the good of posteritie.

Vitam Abbatis Columbani——lib.1
Vitam Attale Monachi——lib.1
Vitam Eustachij Abbatis——lib.1
Vitam Bertolfi Abbatis.

All are found among *Beda* his workes.

4 *Columbus* There was a fourth *Columbanus* a Monke in Luxonium, countriman and kinsman to *Columbanus* going before, who dyed in his presence; so much I finde of him in *Capgrave*, and no more of him either there or in any other.

Colmannus and *Colme.* *Colmannus* I must referre to his place, and *Colme* I must leave to the vulgar and corrupted speech; yet in one Author I finde, that *Colme* is buried with *Patricke* and *Brigide*, which must be understood to be *Columbanus* spoken of before.

About the latter dayes of Saint *Martin*, Bishop of Toures in France, *Ninianus* a Britaine (whom *Beda* worthily commendeth) comming from Rome, was made Bishop of Lyndsey, Lindesfernensis, whom *Aidus* (otherwise called *Aidanus* and *Ædanus*) *Finanus* and *Colmannus*, all three of Irish birth, orderly succeeded in the dayes of King *Arthur*.

Saint *Mochudu* About this time, *Carthagus* commonly called *Mocudu*, *Mochudu* and *Mocodi* was the first Bishop of Lismore, he descended of the sept of *Fergusius*, the most potent Prince of Vlster, whose of-spring were dispersed over Ireland, his father matched with the royall bloud of Mounster, he had to his Schoolemaster one *Carthagus* a Bishop. It is alledged in his Legend, (*penes authorem sit fides*) that it was prophecied, he should become a great man, and build two cities; the first, Raithe (or Raichen) in Feraceall; the second, Lismore. This diversitie of names comming upon accidents, is known unto them that have skill in the old Irish. It is remembred in his life, that in his youth, 30. Virgins were in love with him, and that hee prayed unto God, to turne their carnall into spirituall love, which was granted, yet (saith mine Author) to requite their former love, he builded them all Cells, and they dwelled in his parish, and conversed with him all the dayes of their lives. He had disciples that proved rare men, *Mochue*, *Mocoemoge*, *Gobbanus*, *Sraphanus*, *Lazreanus*, *Molva*, *Aidanus*, *Fiachus*, *Findeling*, with others. He was compelled to forsake Raithen, and travailed west-ward, untill he came to the river Nem, now called Band more, falling from the mountaine Chua, and running into the sea, whereupon Lismore is builded, and given to Saint *Mocodi*. For the Lord of that country, *Nandeisi Melochtrig*, the son of *Cokthacg*, before witnesse, granted him that seate, to build both Church and Citie, where he resteth, and whom one *Moicolmog* succeeded.

The life of Saint *Machutus* or *Maclovius.* *Machutus* otherwise called *Maclovius*, though *Bale* and *Capgrave* call

call him a Britaine, yet I finde that he was borne in Ireland, and that he was the sonne of one *Lovi*, and therefore called *Maclovy*. *Molanus* writeth, that he crossing the seas, and having good successe, led an Eremites life in Britaine, and was the disciple of Saint *Brendan* of Ireland. He accompanied with one *Aaron*, and kept with him in an Island of his name, (saith *Molanus*) called *Aaron*, but now I finde it in the North-west parts of Ireland, belonging to the Earle of Ormond, called the Isles of Aran: Lastly, he was made Bishop of Aletha, and is honoured at Gemblacum in Flanders, where the Church (say they) is patronized by Saint *Machutus*, *alias Maclovius*, hee lived (saith *Bale*) about the yeere 540. what time *Arthur* commanded Britaine. Iles of *Aran*. Io. *Bale cent.* 1.

Saint *Kentegernus* *Kentegernus* then also lived, and now is remembred in Ireland and in Wales: the Martyrologe of Sarum reporteth, that his Mother wist not how, when, nor by whom he was gotten, yet was shee an holy woman, (saith mine Author) and much loved our Lady. She was cast downe headlong from a rocke (saith mine Author) into the sea, and tooke no hurt, then put into a Boate alone without Sayle or Oare, came into Ireland, and presently travailed with child. He became an Abbot of 965. Monkes, kept company with Saint *David*, and in the end was a Bishop.

Ruadanus his life. *Ruadanus* borne in Ireland, of Noble Parentage, his father hight *Byrra*, of the of-spring of *Dnach*, but inhabited the West part of Leinster, of olde called Ofraigie, but now Offorie, whose sept is called Dnachs, in those parts unto this day. He left Offorie, and hearing of the fame of Saint *Fynnan*, a wise and a learned man, dwelling in his owne towne, (so saith mine Author) commonly called Clonard, of Cluayn iarhaird in Meath, and confines of Leinster, resorted to him, who for the space of certaine yeeres, brought him up in sacred letters, gave him orders, and sent him to Muscraytrie in Mounster, where he was borne, where also he builded a Monasterie, which standeth to this day, and is maintained by the Lords of the soile. From thence he went to a place called Lothra, where he builded another Monasterie, and lyeth there wayting the generall resurrection. Saint *Brendan* at the same time builded a Cell not farre from that place, called Tulach Brenayd, that is, (saith mine Author) *Collis Brendani*, left Ruadan the charge thereof, tooke his blessing, and begun his travaile, as the Legends at large doe write. *Ruadanus* is said to have written these bookes in the Latine tongue.

De miraculosa arbore——lib. 1
De mirabili fontium in Hibernia natura——lib. 1
Contra Diarmoyd regem——lib. 1

Saint *Faghna* his life. Saint *Faghna* lived in the time of *Finbarry*, and founded a Monasterie

ſterie upon the ſea in the ſouth part of *Ireland*, where he became Abbot, the which ſeat grew to be a Citie, wherein a Cathedrall Church was builded, and patronized by *Faghua*. This towne of olde called Roſſai Lithry, but now Roskarbry, hath beene walled about by a Lady of that country, but now according to the fruits of warre, among the Carties, O Driſcales, and other ſepts, ſcarce can the old foundation be ſeene. There hath beene there of old (ſaith mine Author) *magnum ſtudium ſcholarium, a great Vniverſitie*, whereto reſorted all the South-weſt parts of *Ireland* for learnings ſake. Saint *Brendan* Biſhop of Kery, read publikely the liberall ſciences in that ſchoole. Farther of *Faghua* or *Faghuanus*, mine Author recordeth, that he being *ſapiens & probus*, a wiſe and a good man, by miſhap fell blinde, and with many prayers, and ſalt teares, deſired of God, reſtitution of his ſight, for the good of his Covent, and the Students brought up under him; a voyce he heard, (ſaith mine Author) goe get ſome of the breaſt milke of *Broanus* the artificers wife, waſh thine eyes therewith, and thou ſhalt ſee. He went to a Propheteſſe called *Yta* or *Ytha*, to learne how to come by this woman, and it fell out that this woman was her ſiſter, hee found her out, waſhed his eyes, and recovered his ſight; whether it be true or no, *I* know not, *I* report it as *I* finde it. This Saint *Yta* was an Abbateſſe, whoſe originall was of Meth, but ſhe was borne in Mounſter.

Saint *Yta* the Abbateſſe.

Saint *Mococinoge*.

Vpon the ſtorie of *Faghua* dependeth the Legend of *Mococinoge*, interpreted in Latine, *meus pulcher iuvenis, my beautifull young man*, who proved learned, an Abbot and a Biſhop, being the childe of thoſe breaſts that waſhed *Faghua* his eyes; many admirable things are reported of him wherewith *I* will not trouble the reader. He converſed with *Coemanus* or *Chemanus*, *Cannicus*, *Finianus* Abbas, *Colman* a Biſhop, *Daganus* Abbot of Inbyr-dayle in Leinſter, *Mocobe* his owne diſciple, *Illepius* the diſciple of *Mocobe*, *Molna*, *Moſcēta*, *Cunminus longus*, the ſonne of *Fiachua*, and *Cronanne*, who lyeth buried at Roſſere, *Luctichernus* and *Lazerianus*, with *Yta*, Patroneſſe of *Hua Conaill*, & her Abbot of *Cluayn Mac Noys*, & Abbot *Engus*, & Abbot *Congallus*, of Vlſter, *Mococinoge* reſteth in the county of Typperary, by along foord in the way from Kilkenny to the Holy Croſſe (as they cal it) where ſometime was a Citie & a Monaſterie called Liath, but now a Village bearing his name, Liath Mococinoge. He had in his life time much adoe with *Coemanus*, *Bledin*, *Ronanus*, *Foelanus*, *Diarmoda*, *Sugbue*, Lords of Ely, (now called Ely O Carroll) and with *Falke Fland*, King of Mounſter, whoſe chiefe Pallace was in Caſhell.

Divers learned men.

Saint *Coeingenus*.

Saint *Coeingenus* ſhall next be ſpoken of, in Latine as much to ſay, as *pulchrogenitus*, he was ordered by Biſhop *Lugidus*, & led an heremeticall life in a Cell, in a place of old called Cluayn Duach, where he was borne and brought up. Now the place is called Gleand-daloch (ſaith mine Author) *Vallis duorum ſtagnorum, a valley of two pooles or*

Gleand-daloch.

or ſtanding waters, where one *Dymnach* a Lord of the ſoile founded a Cathedrall Church, in the honour of Saint *Coeingenus*, ioyned thereunto a faire Church-yard, with other edifices, and divers buildings, the which in mine Author, *legenda ſancti Coeingeni*) is termed *civitas de Glandelogh*. In the life of Saint *Patricke* I finde, that hee propheciedof two rare men, *Albanus* and *Coeingenus*, and that this ſhould be a Biſhop, and that one *Molingus* ſhould ſucceed him; I finde this true in the See of Glandelogh. *Coeingenus* was a great learned man, and wrote theſe bookes.

Dymnach.

De Britannorum origine —— *lib.* 1 *Bryto ſive Brutus.*
De Hibero & Hermone —— *lib.* 1 *Hyber & Hermon.*

Saint *Molva* his life.

Molva before mentioned in the life of *Mococinoge*, (of his mother called *Lugidus*, but of his maſter, *Congallus*) was a great learned man, borne in Mounſter, in Huaſi, of the ſept of *Corcach*. His father hight *Carthach, alias Coche*, his mother *Sochla*, that is, Large; hee was brought up under *Congallus* in Vlſter, in his Abbey of Benchor, where he received orders, and was ſent into his native ſoile of Mounſter, for the good of his country. Hee came to the ſchoole of Saint *Finnian*, in the confines of Leinſter, and profited there very much, from thence he went to mount Luacha in the South-weſt part of the river Synna, together with his diſciples, and craved of *Foelanus*, Lord of that ſoile, licenſe there to inhabite, who refuſed him, ſo that he went to his kindred in Oſraigi, (now called Oſſorie) who received him ioyfully. In a while after, he went to mount Smoil, now called *mons Blandina*, where he caſt his ſtaffe, and builded a Monaſterie in a place called Roſſe Bualead, by licence of *Berachus* Lord of that ſoile, (in Latine, *Dux Laigy*) where he decreed, ſaith the Legend, *ut nulla mulier ibi ſemper intraret, that no woman ſhould alwaies enter into it*, which was, and may well be obſerved to this day, yea while the world endureth. In the ſame place was afterwards a famous citie builded, called Cluayn ferta Molua, in Latine, *latibulum mirabile ſancti Molvæ, the ſecret habitation of Saint Molva*. He converſed with Saint *Flannanus*, *Molayſii, alias Molaſſus*, *Sethua* Biſhop of Saigir or Sagri, where it lyeth, I finde not, but by all likelyhood it ſhould not be farre from Cluayn Ferta, with *Moedog* Archbiſhop of Leinſter, *Einenus* Abbot of Roſſe Mac Treoin in Kenſelach, upon the river Berua, founded by the olde Saint *Abbanus*, with *Daganus* Abbot of Ardgabraine in Nandeſi, called Achad Dagani, Saint *Cronan in inſula Cree*, *Stellanus* his diſciple, *Manchenus* and *Munnu*, Abbot of Techmunnu in Kenſelach in the South part of Leinſter. Hee ended the way of all fleſh, and reſteth in the Monaſterie of Cluayn Ferta, where one *Lachtanus* ſucceeded him. He is ſaid to have wrought many wonders, and if the reader laugh not, I will penne him one.

Mount Smoill

Divers Biſhops and learned men.

Berua ſt.

Molva in an evening walking among the cattell of his monasterie, heard a company of Wolves howling for their prey; hee was moved with pitty, called them to him, washed their feet, made them a feast, and gave them lodging. The Legend saith further, that they thenceforth familiarly conversed with the Heard keepers, and chased away other Wolves and theeves. Hewrote

Regulas Monacherum, confirmed by *Greg.* 1.

The life of Saint *Munnu*.

Munnu spoken of in the former Legend, came of good parentage, of the house of *Neill*, his father was *Tulchanus*, his mother *Fedelyr*, he was brought up under *Silell* a learned man in the North of Ireland. Hee proved a singular learned man, and wrote a booke *de pascate*, which was in his time in question, he outlived *Congallus* and *Columba*, and conversed with *Baithenus* and *Lazerianus*, Abbot of Leighlin, he dwelt a while in Ely, from thence hee went to Athcayn in Kinselach, and in Achad Liachtrom he builded a monasterie called Teach-Munnu, *alias* Thech-Munnu, where hee gave up the ghost, 12. of the Kalends of November, and yet the Martyrologes place him the sixt Kalend of the same moneth. In his storie I finde mention

Lazerianus.

of a controversie betweene him and *Lazerianus*, who builded a Monasterie, *In stagno Hiberniæ Daiynis, in Latine, bovis insula*, in the North part of Ireland, so it is written in the life of *Ædanus*; afterwards he came to the river Berba (now called the Barrow) and there became Abbot of fifteene hundred Monkes. In their time, the old controversie about the observation of Easter, was vehemently urged of all sides; a great disputation and parlie was appointed in Campo Albo (saith mine Author) upon the Barrow. *Munnu* held the old, the other the new observation. To be short, *Munnu* gave this offer, brother *Lazerianus* (saith he) let us not spend time, neither trouble this people with this tedious question; choose for the tryall of the truth, one of these three things, take two bookes, one of the old, the other of the new Easter, cast them into the fire, looke which the fire saveth, let the truth rest there; or take two Monkes, one of thy side,

If they were as fat in those daies, as most of them proved after, there would have beene old frying.

another of mine, and cast them both into an house set on fire, he that commeth forth safe, let him carry the truth. Or let us goe to the grave of some holy Monke, and raise the dead, and stand to his sentence, when we shall keepe Easter this yeere. *Lazerianus* refused his offers, and said, I will no longer contend with thee brother *Munnu*, for I know thy worthinesse and sanctitie is such, that if thou command the mount Margee over against us to remove to this Campus albus, and this ground to remove thither, I am of opinion it will bee so, thus they broke up and did nothing.

Mount Margee

Saint *Kenny* his life.

Cennicus or *Kennicus* was borne in the North of Ireland (in Connaught as I gather) his father was called *Lugaid Lechtseag* a Poet, his mother hight *Maula* or *Mella*, hee was trayned up in Britaine in the christian schoole of *Docus*, thence he went to Rome, and took orders in

in Italie, returned into Ireland, preached the Gospell most zealously, and (saith his Legend) wrought many miracles. He conversed with great learned men, namely *Eugenius*, Bishop of Ardratha, *Baithenus* and others. *Adamannus* in the life of *Columba* formerly spoken of, and the second of the name, writeth (wherby I gather the time of the learned men of that age) how that at one time, *Cannicus*, *Congallus*, *Brendanus*, *Cormacus*, and *Fynbarry* visited *Columba*, and were all present when he celebrated the divine mysterie. *Colmanus* the sonne of *Feraid*, Lord of Ofraide or Offragy, now called Offorie, was *Kannicus* his deare friend, who after he had received the faith, gave him many villages, where he builded Cels and Monasteries, but chiefely at Achadbo, where he resteth. When the time of his departure out of this sinfull world drew nigh, he sent for *Fintan* the Abbot, and received at his hands the blessed Sacrament, and so departed the fift of the Ides of October.

Learned men.

In remembrance of this *Cannicus*, there is now a famous towne in Leinster called Kilkenny, parted into the English and Irish towne, with a small fresh or brooke that falleth into the Nure; the chiefe Lord under the King, is the Earle of Ormond and Offorie; the English towne is governed by a Soveraigne, Bayliffes and Burgesses, the Irish towne is governed by the Bishop of Offorie and his officers, and the Bishopricke of Offorie, whose principall see was first in Ely, and called Sire Keran (as formerly I have written in the life of *Keranus*) afterward translated to Achadbo, is now setled in Kilkenny. The first founder of Saint *Kennies* Church there, was *Hugh Mapilton*, the fift Bishop of that See, after the conquest, about the yeer 1240. There was also about the same time, a Church builded over against the towne, upon the East side of the Nure, in the honour of Saint *Maula* the mother of Saint *Kenny*, whose memory is continued in that towne, by her plague that fell among them, and thus it was.

Kilkenny.

Saint *Kennies* Church.

There was a great plague in that towne, and such as died thereof being bound with Wythes upon the Beere, were buried in Saint *Maulas* Churchyard; after that the infection ceased, women and maides went thither to dance, and in stead of handkerchiefes and napkins to keepe them together in their round, it is said they tooke those Wythes to serve their purpose. It is generally received, (take it gentle reader as cheape as you finde it) that *Maula* was angry for prophaning her Church-yard, and with the Wythes infected the dancers so, that shortly after in Kilkenny, there died of the sickneſſe, man, woman and childe.

Saint *Maula* and her plague

Ædanus (divers times before spoken of) was of honourable parentage, borne in Connaght, his father hight *Sothna*, his mother, *Ethne*, of the sept of *Amluygh*, his companions were *Molassus*, *alias Lazerianus*, and *Airedus*, also he conversed much with Saint *David*, Bishop of Menevia, (now called Saint *Davids*) and is there called

Ædanus his life

Moedock; this *David* was his maſter. The martyrologe of Sarum calleth him *Maeldock*; my Author yeeldeth the reaſon, writing how that his mother conceiving with childe of him, his father dreamed that he ſaw a ſtarre fall from heaven upon his wife, the mother of this *Ædanus*, and therefore when he was borne, he was called in Latine, *filius ſtellæ*, in Iriſh, *Moedog*, that is, the ſonne of the ſtarre. Maſter *Fox* writeth, that hee builded the Monaſterie of Maibroſe by the floud of Twide. *David* the holy man adviſed him to repaire to his native ſoile for the good of his country, after that hee had for a good ſpace followed the Chriſtian Britaines againſt the faithleſſe Saxons. He came to Ireland to *Anmyre*, King of Connaght, from thence to Leinſter, and builded Monaſteries in Kinſelach and Cluayn More, what time *Edus* or *Edanus*, the ſonne of *Anmyre* King of Connaght, levied warre againſt *Brandub* King of Leinſter, in which battaile, *Edus* and all his Nobilitie of Connaght were ſlaine, and *Brandub* became Monarch of Ireland. After this he went to the North of England, and was made Biſhop of Lyndſey, *Lyndesfermenſis: Capgrave* maketh two of one *Ædanus*, the one an Abbot, the other a Biſhop, and to reconcile the diſſonance, he was firſt an Abbot, afterwards a Biſhop, ſo writeth *Bale*. *Beda* delivereth ſingular commendations of him, the which to avoid prolixitie I omit. After all this, hee returned to Leinſter, to *Brandub* the Monarch, who upon ſpeciall liking of his vertues, gave him a parcell of land, where he builded a Monaſterie; the place is called Ferna, now Fernes, where both Church and Monaſterie are patronized (as they write) by Saint *Moedog*, where afterwards both *Brandub* and *Moedog* were buried, whereof the words in the life of *Ædanus, alias Moedog*, are theſe. *Magnas dedit rex oblationes Sancto Moedeg, & agrum in quo vir Dei conſtruxit monaſterium quod dicitur Ferna, in quo Sanctus Moedog ſepultus eſt, & rex Brandub, & genus ejus poſt eum ibi ſemper ſepelitur. Et magna civitas in honore ſancti Moedog ibi crevit, quæ eodem nomine vocatur Ferna. Deinde facta Synodo magnatum in terra Laginenſium, decrevit Rex Brandub, & tam Laici quam Clerici, ut Archiepiſcopatus omnium Laginenſium, ſemper eſſet in ſede & cathedra ſancti Moedog, & tunc ſanctus Moedog a multis catholicis conſecratus eſt Archiepiſcopus. The King gave many gifts to Saint Moedog, and a parcell of ground, where the man of God builded a Monaſterie, called Ferna, where Saint Moedog is buried, and King Brandub, and his poſteritie after him, is there continually buried. And a great Citie in the honour of Saint Moedog is there riſen, the which by the ſame name is called Ferna. Afterwards a Synode or Parliament of the Nobilitie of Leinſter being called together, King Brandub decreed together with the Laitie and Clergie, that the Archbiſhopricke of all Leinſter ſhould alwaies be in the ſeate and chayre of Saint Moedog, and then Saint Moedog by many Catholikes was conſecrated Archbiſhop.* According to

Anmyre, King of Connaght.

Edus or *Edanus* King of Connaght.

Brandub, King of Leinſter, Monarch of Ireland.

Fernes,

Fernes the Metropolitan See of Leinſter.

to which indeed in the Legend of Saint *Molva* he is called *Archiepiſcopus Laginenſium*.

David of Menevia being of great yeeres, deſired to ſee him before his death; *Moedog* viſited him, and returned into Ireland in a troubleſome time, namely when all Leinſter was in Armes to revenge upon *Saran* (a Noble man of Leinſter) the death of King *Brandub*, whom he had traiterouſly murthered. This *Brandub*, the ſonne of *Eatach*, of the progenie or ſept of *Enna*, of whom *Cenſelach* hath originall, had a moſt honourable funerall, and was greatly lamented, and intombed in the Church-yard of Saint *Moedog*, in his Citie Ferna, where his progenie, the royall bloud of the Kings of Leinſter is interred; after his death, Earle *Saran* (ſo mine Author calleth him) being tormented in conſcience, came to the Kings tombe, lamented the horrible treaſon he had committed, and could finde no reſt to his dying day.

King *Brandubs* death.

Ferne, the buriall place of the Kings of Leinſter.

In the time of this *Moedog*, the three Kings of Tuomond, Connaght, and Vlſter, with an Armie of foure and twenty thouſand men, came to Leinſter, to revenge the death of *Edus* before ſpoken of. The King of Leinſter called *Moedog*, and the Clergie, and commanded them all to pray while he fought, and, ſaith the ſtorie, God gave the Leinſter men the victory, and their enemies were overthrowne.

Warres againſt Leinſter.

It is remembred of this *Ædanus*, how that one comming unto him, and deſiring him to aſſigne him a Confeſſor, his anſwer was; *Thou needſt no Confeſſor but God, who knoweth the ſecrets of thy heart, but if thou wilt have a witneſſe of thy doings, goe to one* Molva *a learned man, who ſhall direct thee in thy courſe.* And yet (gentle reader) I may not overſlip one thing, the which *Capgrave* reporteth in the life of *Ædanus* or *Aidanus*, (or *Moedog*) namely, how that (for all the ſanctitie of the Prelates in thoſe dayes) Satan, with all the infernall ſpirits, ſent greeting, with great thankes, unto the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate upon earth, in dreadfull characters. For that they wanting no aide in their delights from helliſh places, ſent ſuch a number of damned ſoules into the ſulphureall pits, through their remiſneſſe in life, and ſlackneſſe in preaching, as in former ages had not beene ſeene. Whoſoever deviſed the courſe, it forceth not greatly, the matter might ſeeme odious if it contained no truth.

An Epiſtle from the Divell.

Finnan in Wales, (as my Authors report) called *Gwyn*, was born at Ardez, he travelled forraigne countries, came to his native ſoile, was Biſhop of Farne, ſaith *Beda*, baptized *Penda* King of Mercia, conſecrated *Cedd*, Biſhop of Eaſt Saxons, and lyeth buried at Cuningham in Scotland, called of the Britaines, Kilgwinin. There was alſo one *Finan* an Abbot, borne in Mounſter, ſent by Saint *Brendan* to Smoir, now called *Mons Blandina*, to inhabite there, who came afterwards to Corcodizbue, where hee was borne, builded Cels and Monaſteries for religious men, contended with *Failbe Fland*, King of

Biſhop *Finan*. *Capgrave*. Martyrologe.

Abbot *Finan*.

Finan of Cluayn jarhaird.

Mounſter. A third *Finan* there was, who was maſter of *Ruadanus* a great learned man, and dwelt at Cluayn jarhaird in Meath.

Colmannus.

Colmannus, whoſe life *Bale* writeth at large, was a godly learned man, borne in Ireland, the ſonne of one *Fiachra*, of the bloud Royall, and highly commended of *Beda*, hee was brought up after the Apoſtolike rules of *Congellus*, he ſucceeded *Finan* in the Biſhopricke of Farne, *alias*, Linſey. In his time there was great ſtirre about the obſervation of Eaſter, when ſome alledged cuſtome, and ſome urged the authoritie of Rome; he pleaded the Goſpell both againſt this ſtir, and the like trouble that roſe about the ſhaving of Prieſts crownes,

Beda.

the which he reiected (ſaith *Beda*) and ſeeing that he could not prevaile, forſooke his Biſhopricke, and went with certaine Scots and Saxons into the Hebrydes, where he ended his dayes.

Beda writeth, how that in the yeere 664. there fell ſtrange accidents upon the eclipſe of the Sunne, (which was the third of May) in England and Ireland, and a great mortalitie in both lands, in the time of *Finan* and *Colman* the godly Biſhops. Gentle reader, thou ſhalt heare himſelfe ſpeake. *The plague preſſed ſore that Iland of Ireland, no leſſe then England; there were then at that time, many of noble parentage, and likewiſe of the meane ſort of Engliſh birth, in the dayes of Finan and Colman the Biſhops, who leaving their native ſoile, had repaired thither, either for divine literature, or for more continencie of life, whereof ſome immediately gave themſelves to monaſticall converſation, others frequenting the Cels, gave diligent eare to the lectures of the readers. All which the Scots* (he meaneth the Iriſh men) *with moſt willing minde daily relieved, and that freely, yeelding unto them bookes to reade, and maſterly care without hire. Among theſe, there were two young men of great towardneſſe, of the Nobles of England,*

Edelthun and Egbert.

Edelthun and Egbert: the firſt was brother to Edilhun, a man beloved of God, who formerly had viſited Ireland for learnings ſake, and being well inſtructed, returned into his country, was made Biſhop of Lindisfarne, and for a long time governed the Church with great diſcretion. Theſe men being of the monaſterie of Rathmelſig, and all their fellowes, by the mortalitie, either cut off or diſperſed abroad, were both viſited with the ſickneſſe; and to make ſhort, that which mine Author layeth downe at large, *Edelthun* died thereof, and *Egbert* lived untill he was foureſcore and tenne yeeres old. So farre *Beda*.

Colmannus, or Colmanellus.

There was another *Colmannus*, otherwiſe called *Colmanellus*, an Abbot, of the ſept of the *Neilles*, borne in Hoichle in Meth, what time the King of Leinſter, with an huge armie waſted the North, he became firſt Abbot of Conor in Vlſter, where the godly Biſhop *Mac Cneſſey* reſteth. From thence he came to the place where he was born,

Eadus the ſonne of King Aimireach.

and there (ſaith his Legend) he met with *Eadus* the ſonne of *Aimireach*, a King of Ireland, *Edus Flan* a Lord of that country, of the ſept of the *Neills*, his kinſman, Saint *Colomba Cylle*, and Saint *Cannicus* the

the Abbot who received him ioyfully. *Edus Flan* gave him a parcell of land to build upon, and to inhabit, called *Fyd Elo*, afterwards called *Colmans Elo*, where hee founded a Monaſterie, and now reſteth himſelfe.

Carantocus or Cerugh.

Carantocus, in the martyrologe *Cartak*, was the ſonne of *Keredicus*, a King of Ireland, a good Preacher, the Iriſh called him *Cerugh*, his mother was a Britaine, and was delivered of him in Wales. Hee travailed over Ireland and Britaine; King *Arthur* is ſaid to have honoured him greatly, and gave him a parcell of land, where he builded a Church. In his latter dayes he came to Ireland, and died in a towne called after his name, Chervac: So much *Capgrave*. There was another of that name, an Abbot in France, of whom *Ionas* maketh mention in the life of *Columbanus*, but not of Iriſh birth.

Now to intermit a while from ſpeaking of theſe learned men; I finde that *Aurelius Conanus*, (who ſlue *Conſtantine* that ſucceeded King *Arthur*, and raigned in his ſtead thirty three yeeres) valiantly by force of Armes brought under his command, as *Gualterus Oxonienſis* writeth, Norwey, Denmarke, Ireland, Iſland, Gothland, the

Ireland ſubiect to the King of England.

Orchades, and Ocean Ilands. I finde alſo that *Malgo*, the nephew of this *Conanus*, who (as it is in the Engliſh hiſtory) ſucceeded *Vortipore*, vanquiſhed the Iriſh Pictes, or Scots, which the Britaines called y Gwydhil Pictiard, which had over-runne the Iſle of Man,

Ile of Man.

of them called, Tyr Mon, and ſlue *Serigi* their King with his owne hand at Llan y Gwydhil, that is, the Iriſh Church at Holy-head; ſo write Sir *Iohn Price* Knight, and *Humfry Lloyd* in the deſcription of Cambria. *Florilegus* ſaith, that he ſubdued ſixe Ilands of the Ocean adioyning unto him, which *Harding* thus reckoneth.

And conquered wholy the Iſle of Orkenay,
Ireland, Denmarke, Iſelond and eke Norway,
And Gotland alſo obeyed his royaltie,
He was ſo wiſe, full of fortunitie.

Anno Domi 586

When *Careticus* was King of Britaine, who began his raigne, *Anno Dom.* 586. the Saxons intending to make a full conqueſt of the land, called to their aide, for a number of Pirates and ſea rovers, that were mighty and ſtrong, and ſcoured the Seas and the Ilands, whoſe Captaine was *Gurmundus*, one calleth him an African. *Fabian* wri-

Gurmundus.

teth, that he had two names, and was called *Gurmundus*, and *Africanus*; howſoever, I finde, that hee was the King of Norweys ſonne, and for his ſucceſſe in England, referre the reader to that hiſtorie; and for his behaviour in Ireland, I will acquaint the courteous reader with what I finde, in which the Writers noe not agree. *Cambrenſis* and *Polycronicon* followed bad preſidents, and were deceived; *Staniburſt* ſtammereth, writing one thing in Engliſh, another thing in Latine;

Dowlinge and Grace.

Latine; the beſt record I finde, is in *Thadie Dowlinge*, Chancellour of Leighlin, and *Iames Grace* of Kilkenny. They write that *Gurmund* was in Ireland, but no King or Conquerour, that with ſtrong hand he entred Leinſter like a raging Pyrate, prevailed for the time, and that the Princes of the land, not being able then to withſtand his forces, yeelded unto the iniquitie of the time, and wincked at his raſh enterpriſes. And whereas he gave forth his ſtile, *King of England*, they laughed at it, and he perceiving the wilineſſe and ingenioſitie of the people, and having ſmall ſtomacke to continue among them, (by reaſon of many miſhaps which befell him) left the land, and went for France to ſeeke adventures, where he ended his dayes. Further they write, that he had a ſonne called *Burchard, alias Burchared Mac Gurmond*, whom his father made Duke of Leinſter, and Baron of Margee. He was commonly called, *O Gormagheyn*; Hee builded Gurmund-grange in Monte Margeo, with other memorable things for him and his poſterity; hee is ſaid to have beene the founder of the mother Church or priorie of old Leighlin, but I rather beleeve hee was a Benefactor or endower thereof in the time of Saint *Eubanus* the originall Patron; and that one *Lazerianus* a Biſhop and Confeſſor, *Anno* 651. procured the perfection of the whole, as in the Leighlin records more at large doth appeare. Againe, it is recorded that Duke *Burchard* lyeth buried on the North ſide of the Chancell of that Cathedrall Church, over againſt the Treaſurers ſtall, under a marble ſtone, as it was found for certaine, *Anno* 1589. by *Thadie Dowlinge*, Chancellour, and others, with this Epitaph.

Duke of Leinſter and Baron of Margee.

Hic jacet humatus Dux fundator Leniæ (i. Leighlenie)
En Gormondi Burchardus vir gratus Eccleſiæ.

Here lyeth interred Duke Purchard, *the ſonne of* Gurmond, *founder of Leighlin, and a gratefull man to the Church.*

There are, ſaith mine Author, other remembrances of this in thoſe parts, as Gurmunds-grove, and Gurmunds-foord, the which I overpaſſe. *Mons Margeus*, in Iriſh, Sliewe Marrig or Sliew Marighagha, (which is the mountaine reaching along by Leighlin to Butlers wood) wherin, as before I have touched; Gurmunds-grange ſtandeth, was, as I haue learned, of old, granted to one called *de Sancto Leodegario*, by the name and honour of Baron *de Marrighagha*, but time and place have brought the name to degenerate and turne from Engliſh to Iriſh. Of late yeeres a Gentleman of the name, dwelling at Dunganſtowne, neere Catherlagh, (affirming himſelfe to be lineally deſcended from Baron *Sentleger*) made claime unto the ſame, but the ſucceſſe I hearken not after, as impertinent to my purpoſe.

Baron of Sliew Marrig.

Anno 587. Ireland helpeth the Britaines.

About the yeere 587. *Athelfrid* the Saxon King of Northumbers, ſo tyrannized over the Britaines, that they were faine to take Ireland for

for their refuge, and *Aidan*, King of Scots pittying their ſtate, raiſed forces to defend them, but could not prevaile, ſo great was the miſerie of the Britaines.

Anno Dom. 635. was *Cadwallin* crowned King of Britaine; *Caxton* and *Florilegus* write of cruell warres betweene *Edwin*, ſonne unto *Athelfrid*, King of Northumbers, and *Cadwallin*; how that *Edwin* made him flee into Ireland, deſtroyed his land, caſt downe his Caſtles, burnt his Mannors, and divided his land among his friends, and laſtly, how that in a good while after, *Cadwallin* came upon him with forces out of Ireland, ſlue *Edwin*, and recovered all his poſſeſſions.

Ireland helpeth *Cadwallin.*

In the dayes of this *Cadwallin*, *Kenevalcus*, (otherwiſe called *Cewalch*) King of Weſt Saxons, builded the Church of Wincheſter, made it a Biſhops See, and the firſt Biſhop he placed there, was one *Agilbertus*, who came out of Ireland, who in a ſhort time after, was depoſed, ſay ſome; *Grafton* with other writers record not the cauſe, but *Beda* writeth that he was offended, for that *Kenelwalkus* divided the Province into two, that he left the See, went into France, became Biſhop of Paris, and there ended his dayes; and how that *Kenelwalkus* ſent for him againe and againe, but his flat anſwer was, for that he had dealt with him ſo unkindely, he would never returne.

Agilbertus of Ireland, the firſt Biſhop of Wincheſter.

I muſt here inſert that which *Cambrenſis* writeth of the antiquities of Brechinia or Breknoke in this ſort; *there was of old of that country, which now is called Brecheinoc, a governour that was a man both mighty and Noble, whoſe name was* Brachanus, *of whom the country of Brecheinoc*, (Brecknokſhire) *is ſo called, of whom one thing came unto me worthy the noting; the hiſtories of Britaine doe teſtifie that he had foure and twenty daughters, that were all from their childhood brought up in the ſervice of God, and happily ended their dayes in the holy purpoſe they tooke upon them.* Doctor *Powell* the great Antiquarie of Britaine, in his learned annotations upon him, explaineth the ſame thus. *This Brachanus*, (ſaith he) *was the ſonne of one Haulaph, King of Ireland, his mother was one Mercella, the daughter of Theoderike, the ſonne of Tithphalt a petite King of Garthmarthrin, to wit, of the country which tooke the name of this Brachanus, and at this day is called Brechonia, or Brechinia, in Britiſh, Brecheinoc, in Engliſh, Breknok. This Brachanus had to his daughter, one Tydvaell, the wife of Congenus, the ſonne of Cadell a petit King of Powis, and the mother of Brochmael, ſurnamed Scithroc, who ſlue Athelfred*, alias *Ethelfred, King of Northumberland, at the river of Deva* (called of the Britaines, Doverdwy) and foyled his armie about the yeere of our Lord, 603. Here Breknok towne, and Breknokſhire have cauſe to glorie of Ireland, that gave them the name and honour which they hold to this day, and Ireland to glory of them that gave their Kings ſonne *Marcella* their Lady, and all that country in her right.

Brachanus, ſonne of *Haulaph*, King of Ireland.

Alſo

Beda eccles. hist. lib. 3. cap. 26.

Also I cannot omit another thing of that age, the which *Grafton* reporteth of the Clergie; and I finde in *Beda* more reverently delivered, for that I have formerly spoken much of them, and shall have occasion to speake something hereafter, especially seeing *Bedaes* words are generall, to be understood as well of the one land, as of the other, if not rather of Ireland, considering what hath beene delivered heretofore. *In those dayes* (saith Grafton) *the Monkes and Clergie set all their mindes to serve God, and not the world, and were wholly given to devotion, and not to filling of the panch, and pampering of the body, wherefore they were then had in great reverence and honour, so that they were then received with all worship. And as they went by the streetes and wayes, men that saw them, would runne to them, and desire their blessings, and well was him then that might give unto them possessions, and to build them houses and Churches. But as they increased in riches of worldly treasure, so they decreased in heauenly treasure; as in the dayes of* Aluredus *some deale began, and sithen that time, hath sprung not all to the pleasure of God. Then they applyed nothing that was worldly, but gave themselves to preaching and teaching of the word of our Saviour Iesus Christ, and followed in life the doctrine that they preached, giving good example to all men. And beside that, they were utterly void of covetousnesse, and received no possessions gladly, but were enforced thereunto. So farre Grafton.*

Grafton.

Priests of former ages.

Anno Dom. 685. was *Cadwallader* crowned King of Britaines, that Ireland was subiect unto him, *Harding* testifieth, his words are,

Cadwaladrus after him gan succeed,
Both young and faire in florishing iuvent;
That Cadwallader was called as I reade,
Who of Britaine had all the Soveraigntie,
Of English and Saxons in each country,
Of Pightes, Irish, and Scots his under regence,
As Soveraigne Lord, and most of excellence.

For other things that concerne him, I referre the reader to the historie of England. He had two nephewes (his daughters sonnes) named *Ivor* and *Henyr*, who fled into Ireland saith *Powell*, and when they saw their time, came with forces against the Saxons, gave them three battailes, with many skirmishes and inrodes, yet in the end, were foiled, as in the proper historie more at large appeareth. And here ended the rule of the Britaines which had long continued.

Saint Dympna the Virgin.

I must now acquaint the reader with such as for learning and sanctitie were of note during this age, beginning at the yeere 600. *Zacharias Lippeloo*, out of *Petrus Cameracensis*, writeth, that about this yeere 600. there was an heathenish and idolatrous King in Ireland, who

who had one *Dympna* to his daughter, who secretly was baptized by one *Gerebernus* a Priest that travailed the land for such purposes. The daughter being sole heire, and her mother being now dead, the father was very carefull to see her well matched according to his degree, and accordingly acquainted his deerest friends and counsellers with his intent and purpose, who likewise travailed carefully in the cause, but could not speed to the fathers contentment. As shee grew in yeeres, so she excelled in beautie, and the father being as wicked as she was good and faire, became enamoured of his owne daughter, and importunately offered her marriage. Shee at the first being amazed at the motion, yet at length gathering spirit, desired respite for forty dayes, and withall desired that it would please him to adorne her with such attire, jewels and ornaments, as became a Kings daughter to weare, all which being granted, she privately sent for *Gerebernus* the Priest, and acquainted him with all the circumstances. The Priest advised her, that the safest way for her to avoid the incestuous King, was to avoid the land; shee immediately with the Priest, together with her fathers Iester and his wife, tooke shipping, and arrived at Antverp. When they had rested there a while, and recreated themselves, they of devotion (saith mine Author) sought out among woods and desarts, a solitarie place to remaine; in this resolution they came to a poore village called Ghele, (Gela saith *Molanus*) and from thence they went to a thicket called Zammale, where they rid some small quantity of ground, made a Caban to hold them all foure, where they continued well some three moneths, praying and fasting. In the meane while the Irish King missing his daughter *Dympna*, lamented greatly, made great inquirie, and offered great rewards to know what became of her, and having gotten inkling of her course, hoised up saile after her, and landed at Antverp, immediately hee made search, and sent messengers with large offers about, if haply they might heare of her. At the length, by the coyne which they offered for reward, she was found out, for they said, there was a faire young woman, remaining in a solitary place, which had sent for reliefe for her selfe, and three persons more with the like coyne. The messengers were brought to the place, who knowing her ranne forthwith with newes to the King, and he with much ioy made haste to the Caban, and when he saw her, said; *O my onely daughter Dympna, my love, my delight, and the ioy of my heart; what constrained thee to despise a regall dignity, to forsake thy native soile, to forget the naturall affection of a Childe toward her Parent, to flee from thy father a King, and to follow, as a childe, this old decrepit bald Priest, and so willingly to condescend to his unfavorie injunctions? hearken to mine advice, returne with me into Ireland, yeeld to thy fathers desire, and I will advance thee above all the Ladies in Ireland.* *Gerebernus* the Priest, preventing the young Gentlewoman, turned him to the Irish King, and rebuked him

him sharpely, denouncing him for a most wicked and abhominable person; then he turned him to the Gentlewoman, and charged her never to give eare to so lewd a man. With this the King and his company being mightily moved, commanded the Priest to be taken aside, and his head to be taken off his shoulders. Afterward the father turned him to his daughter, *O daughter, (saith he) why sufferest thou mee thy father to bee thus vexed? why contemnest thou my love towards thee? yeeld, and thou shalt want nothing.* Shee with a sterne countenance made answer, *Thou infortunate tyrant, why goest thou about with deceitfull promises, to withdraw me from my setled purpose of shamefastnesse? I defie thee, and all thine. Thou cruell tyrant, why hast thou slaine the Lords Priest? shalt thou escape (thinkest thou) the indgement of the Almighty? what torture thou wilt lay upon me, I weigh not*: with this, the father being furiously moved, commanded his souldiers to cut off her head, and they being loath to doe it, he tooke the sword that hung by his side, and with his own hands strucke off her head, and with expedition returned into Ireland. Thus the Priest and *Dympna* died, of the Iester and his wife I reade nothing, belike they returned home againe. *Molanus* writeth, that many yeeres after, the bodies of *Dympna* and *Gerebernus* were sought out, taken up, and solemnly enterred. The Irish in the County of Louth doe honour her; belike her father dwelt there.

Saint *Bertwin.*

Saint *Bertwin*, an Irish man, was brought up in the Monasterie of Othbell in England, from thence he went to Rome, where hee led a solitarie life the space of two yeeres; in his returne, he came to the Forest of Marlignia in Flanders, where he builded a Chappell; lastly, he was made Bishop of Molania, where he ended his dayes. *Sigebert ad an.* 651. writeth, *Many out of Eng. or Scot.* (he knew notwell the countries) *as strangers travailing in France, preached the word of God, and did much good, to wit, Etto, [Bertwinus, Eloquius.* This *Bertwin* lyeth buried nigh Namurcum (saith *Molanus*) of oldcalled Namur, *novus murus*, but now Namurra, so writeth *Hubertus Thomas Leodius.*

Hub Tho Comment. de Tungris & Eburonibus.

Livinus.

Livinus, borne in Ireland, and brought up in Scotland and England, under *Benignus* the Priest, and *Augustine* the first Bishop of the Saxons, by whom he was made Archbishop (saith *Molanus*) of the Scots, (saith *Christianus Massæus*, of Ireland, saith *Bale*, *Silvestris Scotiæ*, of the Ilanders and Red-shanckes) the which charge, after certaine yeeres, he committed to *Sylvanus* his Arch-deacon, and gave himselfe to travaile, and tooke with him his three disciples, Saint *Feillanus*, *Helias*, and *Kilian*, and came to Gandavum. Of him, *Christianus Massæus* writeth thus: In the yeere of our Lord, 631. Saint *Livinus* by nation a Scot, Archbishop of Ireland, came to Gandavum, with three disciples, and remained there one moneth, from thence he went to Esca, preached Christ, and converted many, there some hard-hearted people slue him, when he was beheaded, hee rose up,

Molanus nat. Sanctori Belgij. Chron lib. 13.

up, tooke with him his owne head, (beleeve it who list) and carried it to Hourthein, where the Angels had made a sepulchre for him. He is said (saith *Bale*) to have written a booke of Homilies, and in the yeere 1007. to have beene translated to Saint *Bavons* Church in Gandavum. There was another *Livinus* a French man, a Fryer minorite, and slaine, as they say, about the yeere 1345. and of fame at this day in Flanders.

Arbogastus borne in Ireland, a godly Preacher, and a great Writer, was the second Bishop of Argentine, *Anno* 646. who also for his great wisedome, was taken by *Dagobert* King of France, to be of his Councell. He left behinde him for the good of the Church, a booke of Homilies. So much *Bale* out of Munster *Molanus* writeth, that about the yeere 647. some of the familie of *Pipinus*, the first Duke of Brabant, father of Saint *Gertrude*, sent for many Preachers out of Ireland and Scotland into Brabant, and the bordering regions, to plant the Christian religion among them, *Fortanus* and *Vltanus* are there named. *Lippeloo* saith, that about the yeere 696. *Egbertus*, *Wicbertus* and *Willibrodus* were famous learned men in Ireland, continued there a long time, afterwards dispersed themselves into farre countries, and with happinesse ended their dayes.

Arbogastus. *Anno* 646.

Fortanus. *Vltanus.* *Egbertus.* *Wicbertus.* *Willibrodus.*

Molanus hereof writeth farther thus. *In the imperiall towne called Werda, the birth of Saint Switberd, (whom Beda calleth Suidbertus) the Bishop and Confessor is solemnized: who in the time of Pipinus, (the first Duke of Brabant) together with Saint Willibrod, preached soules health unto the nations thereabouts. This man, among other diseases, was wont to cure the disease in the throate, called of the Physitians, the squinancie. He is termed the second of those Apostolike men which came out of England and Ireland to preach the Gospell unto the Frisians, Hollanders, and the nations about them.* Among whom, being as yet but a Priest, he converted many, chiefly the inhabitants of the great Village Diverstadt, the which now is the towne of Wiic. He converted also the Citie Hagenstein, which now is a village adioyning unto Viana. And when as by the industrie of him and *Willibrodus*, the number of the faithfull daily increased, at the intreatie of the brethren in Trajectum and Friseland, both of them consented he should be consecrated Bishop. Whereupon Saint *Switbert* (whom *Beda* saith to have beene modest of life, and meeke in heart) went into England, and was consecrated by Saint *Willfride* Bishop of Mercia (Kent, saith *Beda*, had then no Bishop) in the yeere 695. But Saint *Willibrode* went unto Duke *Pipinus*, and having gotten leave of him, departed to Rome, where the yeere following, Pope *Sergius* consecrated him. And although *Switbert*, by reason of some small time, had the start of *Willibrode*, yet *Willibrode* went before him in dignitie, for he was the first Archbishop of Trajectum, and especially by Pope *Sergius*, consecrated Archbishop of Frisia, and directed

Saint *Switberd.*

to that people. And (saith *Beda*) *Sergius* changed his name, and called him *Clement*, because (saith *Molanus*) hee consecrated him on Saint *Clements* Even. And he also writeth, that he was Archbishop of the nations now called Frisii, Transiselani, Trajectenses, Hollandi and Zelandi, whereas *Switbert* is not called Bishop of Trajectum, but fellow Bishop with Saint *Willibrode*. Yet he is by speciall name called the Apostle of Teisterbandia, Westfalia, and of the Boructuarians: for *Marcellinus* writeth, that hee converted the county of Teisterbandia, and together with it, in a manner, all Batua, and the greater part of the lower Friseland unto the faith: He also exceedingly increased the number of the beleevers in the Church, at Trajectum; he founded many Churches, and dedicated the temples of Idols unto the honour of God. In the historie of *Marcellinus*, certaine places by especiall words are named; as in Zandwic, in the Ile of Tila, which at this day cannot be found in Arkell and Hoernaer villages of the Lordship of Gorcomia, in Schoenreford, (now called Schoenrewoert) by Leerda, in Authensden, nigh Huesden in Wondrighen, (now called Worckum) in Aelborch, Giesen and Riiswijcke between Worckum and Huesden, in Almkerk (which is the territorie of Altenae) in Maelsem, Erkum and Avesaede in the Lordship of Buria, with many other places. In these countries hee hallowed Churches, continually praying with great devotion for the people which hee had converted, and with wholesome admonitions drawing them to the heavenly dwellings. He converted the Westfalians and Boructuarians, which at this day are thought to bee the people Markenses.

Werda given to Saint *Switbert.*

Further, the renowned Duke *Pipinus* gave him Werda upon the river of Rhene, for his good, and for the establishing of his principality: which place is elsewhere called the Iland of Saint *Switbert*, though now it be part of the continent or maine land. *Pipinus* gave him also great store of treasure, wherewith he builded there a Monasterie, and replenished the same with a great company of the servants of Christ. In the end, this Saint *Switbert* died in the yeere 717. and lyeth buried in the Monasterie of Werda-Cæsaris which he had founded.

Beda writeth, that *Willibrode* lived in his time, and went on the thirtieth and sixt yeere of his consecration, Archbishop of Friseland: *Molanus* delivereth his end, that namely he ended his dayes at Westervoert, and was buried at Elste in Gelderland; but of *Egbert* and *Wigbert* the Martyr (before mentioned) he reporteth out of *Beda* and *Marcellinus*, that *Wigbert* was one of the companions of *Egbert*, and for the space of many yeeres, had ledan Anchors life in Ireland, that he sailed into Friseland, and for the space of two whole yeeres, preached unto that nation, and to their King *Radbodus*, and seeing that he could doe no good among them, returned againe to Ireland. And when as *Egbertus* the servant of God, had sent the second time unto the Friselanders and Saxons, famous men for life and learning,

Beda lib. 5. cap. 10.

Acca,

Acca, *Willibaldus*, *Winiboldus*, *Lebuinus*, *Werenfridus*, *Marcellinus*, *Adalbertus*, *Ewaldus senior* and *junior*, together with *Willibrode*, he sent the said *Wigbert*, who no sooner landed, but King *Radbod* caused him cruelly to be tormented to death in *Fosetes-landt*, an Iland in the confines of Friseland and Denmarke; for that the Christians of that place by his preaching of the Gospell, had destroyed there the Idoll groves of *Iupiter* and *Fosta*.

There was a later *Wigbertus*, Patron of Herssweldia, remembred in the Martyrologe, whom I would have the reader take notice of, to avoid the confusion of times. And last of all, of *Willibrode* and *Wilfram*, there is a storie, how that *Raboldus* after long perswasion, seemed willing to be baptized, and having one foot in the water, demanded where be the nobilitie of Frizeland, my Father, Grand-father and kindred? Answer being made, that they were in hell, hee with drew himselfe from baptisme, saying, I will goe after the greatest company, take your heaven to your selfe.

Molanus when hee had at large written the lives of the foresaid learned men that came out of Ireland, he maketh in his Chronicle a recapitulation of them, the which will helpe the memorie of the reader, therefore I thought good to lay it down. *Egbert the second time assaied to convert Friseland and Saxonie, gathered together twelve Apostolicke men, Willibrode, Switbert, Acca, Wigbert, Wilibald, Winibold, Lebuinus, Ewaldus, surnamed the blacke,* (in Irish, Dusse) *Ewaldus the white, Werenfridus, Marcellinus and Adalbertus.*

1 *Saint Willibrod and Saint Switbert, by common consent of the brethren, were elected and consecrated Bishops. Saint Willibrode was made Archbishop of Friseland, he received by the donation of Duke Pipinus, the Citie of Traiectum, with all thereunto appertaining. He founded in the territorie of Saint Thomas, a Colledge of regular Canons. In the towne of Rhen he is said to have found the body of Cunera, one of the eleven thousand Virgins. He travailed in preaching without Friseland; be had in Latharingia, two women disciples, Herlind and Relind, Nunnes of Maeseike, which now is of Leodium or Leege in Flanders. He converted the Hulstenses, Axellanos, Hasuenses, Birsletanos. At Trevires, in the Church of Saint Marie and Martyres, hee founded a Monasterie of Monkes Benedictines. At Epternacum among the Luxemburgs, he founded a famous Monasterie, wherein hee was buried, Anno 736.* Willibrode.

2 *Saint Switbert was consecrated in England, and converted many in Traiectum, Holland, Gelderland, chiefely Wiic, Hagelsteyn, Alemaria, Waterlandia, Gerconium, Bomelia, Tiela, Hoesda, Bura, Batua with other places. He is called the Apostle of Teisterbandia, Westfalia, and of the Boructuarians. He builded a Monasterie in Werda Cæsaris, where he ended his dayes, Anno 710.* Switbert.

3 *Accawent into England to the consecration of Saint Switbert, and*

when Switbert returned, he became Bishop of Lindisfarne.

Wigbert is said to be martyred in Fostilandia adjoyning upon Friseland by Radbodus King of Friseland, who also slue Saint Egelmund the Martyr.

5.6 *Wilibaldus and Winiboldus being brethren, went to Aistadium in Germanie.*

7 *Lebuinus converted the Transiselanians, and resteth among them in Daventria.*

8.9 *The two Ewaldes went to Nabia, preached Christ, and were martyred by the old Saxons.*

10 *Werenfridus converted many to the faith at Arnhemium in Westervaert, and at Neomagum in Elst.*

11 *Marcellinus preached 65. yeeres, chiefely in Trenta, Twenta, Oudenzeel and Daventria.*

12 *Adelbertus was the first Archdeacon of Traiectum, preached in Kenemaria, together with Engelmund an Englishman before spoken of, and lyeth buried at Velsen in Egmondan monasterie.*

He writeth farther of *Wiron* and *Plechelinus*, Bishops of Friseland, who came thither together with *Otgerus* a Deacon, out of these pares, and were entertained by *Pipinus*, Duke of Brabant.

Fursæus, Foilanus, Vltanus. Many things are written by *Beda, Capgrave, Surius, Baronius, Molanus, Lippeloo* and others, of *Fursæus, Foilanus,* (whom *Beda* calleth *Fullanus*) and *Vltanus*. They were three brethren, and the base sonnes of a King of Leinster, they flourished about the yeere sixe hundred fiftie and odde. *Fursæus* is said to have had many visions and dreadfull conflicts with divels and infernall spirits. He preached unto the Irish, Scots, Britaines and Saxons; hee went into France, where he wrought many miracles, (saith *Molanus*) and because of the fame that went abroad of him, one *Ercanaldus* gave him at Latiniacum, a parcell of land to build a Monasterie, also hee gave him another piece of ground at Perona, sometime a towne in Flanders, but now of France, and parcell of *Gallia Comata*, where he builded another Monasterie, and drew unto him, (saith mine Author) *germanos fratres, Foilanus* and *Vltanus*, and there ended the way of all flesh. They of Cambray doe honour him as a Bishop, not that hee was a Bishop, but an Apostle of certaine places. The martyrologe of Sarum reporteth, how that after his death, the angels and the deuils strove for his soule, how that the soule returned to the body againe, and how that he lived afterwards. Here the Author is deceived, for it was a trance that he was in, out of which after certaine conflicts, he came to himselfe againe, and finally in godly sort ended his dayes. I finde in the life of *Mocoeinoge*, that there was one *Fursæus* a Bishop, but more ancient then this.

Many other learned men of Irish birth, contemporane with *Fursæus.* With *Fursæus* there were at one and the selfe same time, many famous men of Irish birth, renowned for learning and sanctitie, which gave

gave themselves to travaile, and dispersed themselves to farre countries, as *Foilanus* and *Vltanus* (before mentioned) also *Mombolus, Boetius, Eloquius, Adulgisius, Columbanus, Hetto, Helanus, Tresanus, Germanus, Veranus, Gobanus, Corbrican, Dicull, Fredegandus, Colmanellus, Madelgarius, Algisius* and others. After they had visited Rome, they came backe (saith *Molanus*) into France and Flanders, *Fursæus* and *Adelgisius* into Perona, *Foilanus* and *Vltanus* into Fossa, *Eloquius* and *Algisius* into Theoras, the reverend Priest *Hetto*, unto the lake adioyning unto Corbriolum, where he builded a Monasterie called *domus Petri*. Further, saith *Molanus*, in the confines of the Attrebates, there is a Village called Baym, which hath a Church called Saint *Hetto*, whereupon is written, *In hoc loco Hetto Hibernensium Episcopus mansionem habuit*, in another place of the Church, *Hic reposuit Hetto Hibernensis Episcopus reliquias de corpore sancti Clementis Papæ & Martyris*. In another place he writeth of *Hetto, Goban*, and *Corbrican*, that they were three brethren, and in their returne from Rome, died at Walciodorum, and lie buried at Fesca. *Beda* left but a bare mention of *Goban* and *Dicull*, onely this, that they were companions of *Foilanus*.

Foilanus was slaine in a place in Flanders, called Carboriar. Saint *Bernard* writeth, that in the place where he was slaine, there is a Monasterie builded by the name of Saint *Foilane ordinis præmonstratensis*, in the Diocesse of Cambray. *Foilanus.*

Fredegand preached in Antverp, where now hee resteth, and is greatly honoured. *Fredegand.*

Mombolus became an Abbot in the Monasterie of Fursæus in France, a perceiving a conspiracie of his covent against him, forsook the place, and withdrew himselfe, together with a few of his company, unto a place of old called Condrynus, upon the river Isara, where he led an hermites life, and ended his dayes. There was another of that name, a Saint of Burdeux, but not of Irish birth. *Mombolus.*

Eloquius preached most painefully throughout France and Saxonie, and being seated at Latiniecum in the Monasterie which *Fursæus* had founded, perceived some treacherie practised against him, withdrew himselfe (as formerly *Mombolus* had done) to a solitarie place called Grimacum, upon the rivers of Some and Isara, where he departed this life, afterwards his body was translated to Walciodorum in Flanders, and there he resteth. *Eloquius.*

About this time, Saint *Autbert*, borne in Ireland, was Bishop of Cambray; he converted *Hannonia*, and is called the Apostle of Flanders; of him *Molanus* writeth thus, *Autbertus had beene for certaine yeeres, Hiberniæ gubernator, governour of Ireland*, (the which I take to be some ecclesiasticall charge) *by which occasion, many singular good Preachers heretofore mentioned, came the more willingly out of Ireland unto us.* Saint *Autbert.*

Tritbemius reporteth of this time in this ſort, *There were many Monaſteries of Iriſh men in Germanie, Herbipolis and other places, but when their zeale waxed cold, and that they fell to remiſſe and diſſolute life, they were expulſed, and their habitation became waſte and deſolate.*

Saint *Chilian.*

Saint *Chilian* (otherwiſe written *Kilian*) whom *Bale* calleth a Scot, *Surius*, *Baronius*, and *Lippeloo*, write that hee was an Iriſh man of Noble Parentage. *Molanus* writeth, *in Hibernia regio ſanguine procreatus, that he was begotten in Ireland of royall blond*; another ſaith he was a Kings baſe ſonne. This man became a Monke, went to Rome, together with *Colman* a Prieſt, and *Totnan* a Deacon of the ſame country birth, in the time of *Conon*, Biſhop of Rome, about the yeere 687. to ſue unto the Biſhop there, that Ireland might be releaſed of the curſe that was denounced againſt the land, and the inhabitants thereof, for the Pelagian hereſie. *Molanus* writeth, that he ſerved in Saint *Peters* Church in Rome, eleven yeeres, but he was directed another courſe, for he was conſecrated Biſhop of Herbipolis in the Eaſt parts of France, and together with his fellowes ſent away. There they converted *Gosbert* a French Duke, which had married one *Geila* his brothers wife. It is *Iohn Baptiſts* caſe, he rebuked him for it, and ſhee hearing thereof, ſent certaine lewd perſons in the night, which murthered them all three, and privily buried them, leſt ſo horrible a fact ſhould come to light; but God that will have no ſuch villany concealed, brought it out, the tormentors became madde, and confeſſed the whole. *Beda* in his Martyrologe reporteth, how that at Wirciburge in Auſtria, the birth day of *Kilian* the Martyr, and his two companions, is ſolemnly kept the eight of Iuly.

Saint *Fiacre.*

Molanus ſaith, that in his travaile he met with Saint *Fiacre*, ſometime his fathers ſervant, but he following carefully his direction, ſtaid not with him, but paſſed on in his iourney. This Saint *Fiacre*, (ſaith the Martyrologe) was baſe ſonne of ſome King in Ireland, went into France, and became an heremite; there are ſmall remembrances of him in *Surius* and *Lippeloo*, ſaving that for a womans ſake which called him a Witch, Sorcerer, and Inchanter, hee commanded that no woman ſhould put foot into his Cloiſter, and if any ſhould doe ſo, he prayed that God would lay ſome plague upon her; to try this, a woman ſent her maide to take the ayre of the Cloyſter, but ſhe tooke no harme; upon a ſecond tryall, a fairer then ſhe preſumed ſo farre, that her ſhinne, her knee, and her thigh, (ſaith mine Author) and ſome parts above, tooke ſwelling, and that went for a puniſhment. In an antient manuſcript Legend of the life of *Congellus* or *Congallus*, I finde that Saint *Fiacre* returned into Ireland, and became Abbot of Airard in Leinſter upon the river of Berba, now called the Barrow, in the Barony of Odrone, and that he went to the Abbey of Beanchor in Vlſter to viſite *Congellus*, at whoſe hands *Congellus* received the Sacrament,

Sacrament, and gave up the Ghoſt. There alſo it is further alledged, that this *Fiacre* builded a Monaſterie in Leinſter, in the honour of Saint *Congellus*.

Saint *Cataldus.* Saint *Finan.* Saint *Sacodine.*

The martyrologe aforeſaid, remembreth Saint *Cataldus* a Biſhop, Saint *Finan* an Abbot, Saint *Sacodine* a Virgin, who forſooke her husband, and entred religion, to have lived then: and how that *Indrake*, a King of Ireland, forſooke his royaltie, went to Rome with his ſiſter *Dominica*, led a private life, and died beggers. *Capgrave* calleth him *Indraktus*, ſaying that he was a Kings ſonne, and tooke with him, beſide his ſiſter, nine perſons more.

King *Indrake*, *Dominica.*

Muriardachus Monarch of Ireland.

About this time, (ſaith *Capgrave*) one *Muriardachus*, Monarch of Ireland, together with his wife *Sabina*, lived in the true faith and feare of God, who being mighty and wiſe, commanded in good ſort all the Princes of the land. In this his good ſucceſſe and peaceable governement, he was envied, ſo that a petite King his neighbour, came upon him in the night, murthered him with his Queene, and all his familie, excepting one daughter, whoſe life hee ſaved for her beauties ſake. This cruell tyrant after aſſaulted this faire Gentlewoman to his filthy luſt, and when with faire perſwaſions he could not prevaile, at length by force he oppreſſed her, ſo that ſhee conceived and bare him a ſonne, called at the time of his baptiſme, *Milluhoc*, but afterwards, *Cuthbert*.

Saint *Cuthbert.*

This *Cuthbert* being borne (as my Author writeth) at Kilmacrodrike, ſome three miles from Dublin, his mother tooke him to Scotland to her two brethren, *Meldan* and *Eatan*, that were Biſhops. From thence hee went into the North parts of England, and was brought up among the holy Monkes of thoſe dayes, in the Monaſterie of Mailros, under the Abbot *Boiſilius*, whom he ſucceeded in the ſame Monaſterie. *Anno* 651. And *Anno* 676. he went to the Ile Farne, which was uninhabited, and continued there nine yeeres, building, teaching and preaching, and (as *Beda* writing his life delivereth) working in harveſt time with his owne hands. The fame of his vertues and holineſſe went farre abroad, ſo that *Egfride*, King of the Northumbers, made him Biſhop of Lindesfarne, to which dignitie hee was conſecrated at Yorke by *Theodorus* the Archbiſhop, *Anno* 685.

Meldan and *Eatan* Biſhops, ſonnes to the Monarch of Ireland.

Anno 684. Saxons in Ireland.

In his time, the aforeſaid *Egfride* ſent *Brith* with a great hoſt into Ireland to be revenged of them, for that he was given to underſtand, they had aided his enemies againſt him; theſe Saxons over-ranne the land, killing, burning, and ſpoyling, they ſpared neither Church nor Monaſterie, ſo writeth *Beda*: *Berthus vaſtavit miſerè gentẽ innoxã, & nationi Anglorum ſemper amiciſſimam*: *Berthus pittifully ſpoiled this harmeleſſe people, who alwaies moſt kindely affected the Engliſh nation.* *Cuthbert* reproved him for it, and the Ilanders cried unto the heavens, and prayed God to avenge their cauſe. *Beda* reporteth farther, how

Beda eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 4. cap 26.

how that he bent his forces afterwards againſt the Pictes and Scots, and would not be adviſed by *Cuthbert* and *Egbert*, and that his bloudy courſe had no good ſucceſſe, and that then *Egfride*, the glory of the Saxons began to decay, the which *Florilegus* attributeth to the crie of the Iriſh, and the courage of the Pictes and Scots, and Britaines. In his time, ſaith *Carodoc*, it raigned bloud in Britaine and Ireland; the Milke likewiſe and the Butter, turned to the colour of bloud, and the Moone appeared all bloudie.

Cuthbert, when he had beene Biſhop two yeeres, forſooke his Biſhopricke, and went to the Ile Farne, where hee led an hermites life, and left the world, *Anno Dom.* 687. It is written of him that he forbade his Monkes and Prieſts, the company of women, and that they ſhould not come within any Cloyſter, for that the devill appeared unto him in his Church in the ſhape of a womam moſt faire and beautifull. Yet I finde that he converſed much with *Ebba* and *Verca*, and with *Elfleda*, King *Egfrides* ſiſter, and repaired oft to their Nunneries, did eate and drinke with them, and ſent *Elfleda* a linnen or threed Girdle for a token, which tooke away a ſwelling and crampe that troubled her, and that he was ſhrouded in the winding ſheete, which the Nunne *Verca* had ſent him. *Anno* 875. *Ardulphus*, Biſhop of Lindisfarne, fearing the incurſion of the Danes, who deſtroyed Churches, and defaced Tombes, tooke the corps of *Cuthbert*, and attempted the tranſporting of it into Ireland, but the winde was againſt them, and compelled them to land in England, then they brought it to Cuncaceſter, ſome ſixe miles from Durham, where it reſted ſome yeeres. *Anno* 925. (though *Stow* referre it to the yeere 995.) *Aldunus* (who was the firſt Biſhop of Durham) preventing (as formerly *Ardulphus* did) the invaſion of barbarous people, removed it to a place full of buſhes and thornes, now called Durham, and with the aide of Earle *Vthred*, builded a Church over it, where (now at length) it reſteth. *Edmund* the ſecond Biſhop of Durham, enlarged the Church, and beautified the place of his buriall, and long after, were brought thither, the bodies of *Balther* and *Bilfride*, that had beene Anchors, *Acca* and *Alkmundus* that had beene Biſhops, *Ebba* the Nunne, and familiar of *Cuthbert*, *Boiſilus* the Abbot his maſter, King *Oſwine*, and the bones of *Beda* that reſted at Girwin, ſo writeth *Capgrave*. He that will ſee farther of *Cuthbert* and his patrimonie, (ſo called in the Biſhopricke of Durham) of the endowments and grants given by Chriſtian Princes, and of the reverend opinion held of the place, becauſe of the ſanctitie of Iriſh *Cuthbert*, let him repaire to learned *Camdens* Brigantes, the which for that they concerne the antiquities of England more then Ireland, I omit.

Anno 701. Now to come to the 700. yeere of Chriſt. I will beginne with *Adamannus*, who flouriſhed *Anno* 701. as *Florilegus* writeth, in the time of *Alfred*, King of Northumbers, whom *Beda* highly commendeth,

deth, and as it may be gathered and borrowed out of his workes, many things to furniſh his hiſtorie of England. I finde of divers reported, that he was in Ireland, and did much good. I take it he was of Iriſh birth, for I cannot finde the contrary. *Bale* ſummarily out of *Beda* and others, writeth in his life as followeth. *Adamannus Coludius, by profeſſion a Monke, not vowed, but of the Apoſtolike order, and governour of that famous Monaſterie, which of old, Columbanus the diſciple of Congellus had founded in the Ile Hu, made himſelfe a patterne of vertue to be followed of many; hee was a man ſtudious and ſingularly well ſeene in holy Scripture, as Tritemius witneſſeth, neither ignorant of prophane literature, wiſe and faire ſpoken; hee was for his life and converſation, renowned, and for opinion of ſanctitie, recounted the father of many Monkes, ſo that hee travailed in a manner all the North regions of Britaine; he was a notable Preacher, inſtructing with heavenly admonitions, Iriſh, Scots, Pictes, and Angloſaxons. Hee willingly gave eare to all ſuch as made report of any memorable acts of Paleſtina by their travaile, and of other places of the holy Land, with the ſite thereof, truſting thereby to attaine unto a better ſight in the holy Scripture. Then it fell out (ſay the Chronographers) that one Arnulphus, a Biſhop of France, comming from Ieruſalem, and being winde-driven to that place, arrived there, and throughly enformed Adamannus, the which he ſhortly after committed to writing, and dedicated unto Alfred, King of Northumbers, with theſe titles.* Adamannus his life.

De locis terræ ſanctæ——lib. 1.
De ſitu Ieruſalem——lib. 1.
De paſchate legitimo——lib. 1.

With certaine Epiſtles. So farre *Bale*. I have ſeene beſide theſe, a Manuſcript worke of his, of the life of Saint *Columba* in three bookes.

About the yeere 740. ſaith *Lippeloo*, *Gualafer* Biſhop of Dublin, was famous, who by his prayers obtained that *Cecilia*, wife to *David* King of Scots, and daughter to the King of Sicilia, being barren, did conceive & beare a ſonne called *Rumoldus*, who after the deceaſe of *Gualafer*, was made Biſhop of that See, and conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and two other Prelates. He went into England, afterwards to France, and came to Rome, *Anno* 752. in the time of *Stephen* 2. he reſigned his Biſhopricke, from thence hee went into Brabant, and by his prayers (ſaith mine Author) got one *Eliza*, wife to Earle *Ado*, of the age of 66. yeeres, to conceive. In the end he went to repaire an old Church, agreed with workemen, wrangled with them ſo, that they for one quarrell and other, and eſpecially for that they held him to be rich, hoping to get ſome part of his wealth, knockt him in the head with a hatchet, and there lay

Gualafer, Biſhop. Saint *Rumold. Zacbar. Lip. de vitis Sanct. tom.* 3.

Saint

Saint *Rumolde*. *Molanus* in discreet sort examineth this historie, and delivereth that this *Rumoldus* tooke with him beyond the seas, one Saint *Himelin*, now Patron of Fenacum, the place in Dutch is *Sijnte Himelijns Vissenaken*, some said he was of his bloud, others some, that he was of his bloud and bone. His words are these. *Some suppose that Saint Rumold was the sonne of Erfinus King of Scots, after whom succeeded in the kingdome, the third and fourth sonne, Fergusius and Achaius, but the names of the first and second sonne are not extant. They adde happely unto the rest, that because he was the King of Scots his sonne, it stood him upon to forsake the Bishopricke of Dublin, when Solvathius that raigned betweene Fergusius and Achaius, warred against the Irish, and upon this occasion, he tooke his iourney to Rome, and at his returne, preached the Gospell at Mechlin. All which, by conferring the times, would have some great probabilitie, unlesse the antient Monuments and Records of Mechlin, had avouched him to have beene the sonne of one David a King, and to have beene brought forth into the world, by the intercession and devout prayers of Gualafer, Bishop of Dublin, and of him baptized, whereby I gather, that he was the sonne of some King of Ireland. Neither is it any mervaile, though we reade not of this David, when as Saint Bernard witnesseth, that Ireland was not governed by one King, but by many; the orderly succession of which Kings, I suppose for the most part is now perished. If you urge that hee came of the Scottish bloud royall; I admit it, for it is so sung every where throughout the Diocesse of Mechlin, but that of old the Irish men were understood and comprehended under the name of Scots, by the life of Saint Patricke and elsewhere, is very manifest. To this purpose is that which Beda affirmeth, that Ireland is properly the country of the Scots, and Ionas also writeth in the entrance to Columbanus his life, how that the Scottish nation inhabit the Iland of the Irish. This Rumoldus died, Anno 775. and is honoured in Mechlin for their Patron.*

Io. Molanus nat. Scotorum Belgij ex Martyrologo Mechlin.

Virgilius Solivagus.

Virgilius Solivagus, borne in Ireland, and descended of noble Parentage, in his yeeres of discretion, forsooke his native soile, and together with certaine companions of the same countrey birth, went into Germanie, where *Anno* 754. hee was made Abbot of Salisburge, by *Odilo*, Duke of Bavaria, and shortly after, Bishop of Iuvaviens; the name of which Bishopricke, hee procured to bee changed, and called it the Bishops See of Salisburgh, where he builded a sumptuous Cathedrall Church, and was the first founder thereof. In his time, one *Boniface* an English man, and the Popes Legate in Germany, tooke upon him to rebaptize, contrary to the Canons of the Church, such as had beene (as hee thought) formerly not rightly baptized. *Virgilius* (having had conference with *Sydonius*, Archbishop of Bavaria) opposed himselfe against him. The matter came to hearing before Pope *Zacharie*, who gave sentence, that *Virgilius* was in the right, and *Boniface* his Legate (for all his great authority) in the wrong

wrong opinion. Hee prudently governed his Church some thirty yeeres, and gave place to nature. So farre *Bale*, out of *Gaspar Bruschius*.

Learned *Camden* alledgeth out of *Rhegino*, that in the time of *Carolus magnus*, which must needs bee about the yeere 767. certaine Norwegians or Normans entred Ireland, and were repulsed, and further of them I have not read: but in the British Chronicle of *Caradoc Llancarvan*, I finde that *Anno* 799. the Danes came into England, and destroyed a great part of Lindsey and Northumberland, overranne the most part of Ireland, and destroyed Rechreyn.

Invasions of Norwegians and Danes.

Anno 799.

The accidents of the eight hundreth yeere after Christ, now follow. And first of all, *Functius* offereth occasion to write, how that *Anno* 820. *Regnerus*, King of Denmarke, invaded Britaine, and how that his prosperous successes in Britaine, Scotland, and the Orchades, puffed him up, and emboldned him so much, that he passed into Ireland, slue the King of the land, tooke the Citie of Dublin, where hee remained an whole yeere, and then returned to Denmarke.

Next commeth *Turgesius* his time to bee examined, who was of Norwey, and came with great power of Esterlings into Ireland, vanquished King *Edlumding*, or *Edlimidus*, or in Irish, *Felim Mac Edmund*, and raigned thirty yeeres. Here (gentle reader) observe certain errours or escapes (whether of ignorance, wilfulnesse, or negligence, I know not) the which I finde betweene *Cambrensis*, *Polychronicon*, *Fabian* and others, touching *Gurmund* and *Turgesius*. First, that *Gurmund* and *Turgesius* should be one man, the end of them both by a generall consent of Writers, reproveth that; for *Gurmund* dyed in France, and *Turgesius* was slaine in Ireland. Secondly, (whereat *Giraldus* marvaileth) how that the Antiquaries of England make mention of *Gurmund*, but nothing of *Turgesius*, and that the Writers of Ireland speake of *Turgesius*, but little or nothing of *Gurmund*; so that *Turgesius* by reason of his raigne and continuance was knowne unto them, and *Gurmund*, if he were here, made small abode, (as I have formerly written) and therefore became a man unknowne. Thirdly, that *Turgesius* should be *Gurmunds* deputie in Ireland, or his brother (as I reade in *Fabian*) cannot possibly stand with the truth: for on all sides it is agreed, that *Gurmund* came to Britaine, and ioyned with the Saxons against *Caretieus*, who began his raigne in Britaine, *anno* 586. but, as saith *Cambrensis*, *Turgesius* Captaine of the Norwegians, Danes or Esterlings, came to Ireland in the daies of *Fedlimidius*, which was 400. yeeres from the comming of the first *Patricke* into the land, in the which time there had raigned thirty three Kings or Monar[illegible] then this knot with facilitie may be untied, for *Patricke* came to Ireland (as I have formerly delivered) *An.* 432. adde 400. to it, then *Turgesius* came to Ireland, *Anno* 832. But forward with the history.

Turgesius came to Ireland, *Anno* 832.

When

When these Norwegians or Esterlings had got footing in the land to their content, and planted themselves the space of thirty yeeres, they builded Castles, Fortes and Wardes, they cast up Trenches, Bankes and Ditches for safegard and refuge. Toward the end of the terme before mentioned, *Turgesius* was enamoured on a faire Gentlewoman, the onely daughter of *Omalaghlin*, King of Meth, and desired her for his Concubine; he practised with the father for obtaining of his purpose, the father not willing to yeeld, nor daring to displease, resolved him thus: Appoint the day, the houre, and the place, and sequester your selfe from your Court and retinue, and I will send my daughter unto you with twelve or sixteene Gentlewomen, of the choice and beautifullest maidens of my country, and take your choice of them; if my daughter please you best, she is at your command.

When the time appointed came, and the Lecher longed to satisfie his filthy lust, *Omalaghlin* attired his daughter in princely sort, and sent her to King *Turgesius*, with sixteene young men in womens attire, which had long Skeines under their Mantles. These young springals were faire, beautifull, effeminate, and amiable to look upon; they were brought to his chamber, and presented before him, he taketh the Gentlewoman by the middle, and kisseth her, the Striplings
Turgesius slaine out with their Skeines, and stabbed him, having the Lady in his armes, whereof he presently dyed, whilst they fell upon a few loose and dissolute persons that were about him, whom they killed every one.

Omalaghlin that lay in ambush all this while with certaine horsemen, (expecting the end of this exploit) reioyced greatly when hee saw his daughter and her company make so speedy a returne, and understanding that his practise was effected as he desired, sent Scoutes and Cursitors, Messengers and horses over the whole land, declaring what had happened. Immediately, Meth and all Leinster are in Armes, the Princes and Lords from euery place throughout Ireland, repaired to *Omalaghlin*, and being glad of liberty, reioyced with him at the destruction of *Turgesius* and his Guard. To make the story short, (for they made short worke with it) they set upon the Norwegians and Danes, killed them every mothers sonne that escaped not by flight, seized upon all their possessions, so as together with their lives, they lost all their lands and goods: and, saith the Irish
Jacob. Grace. Thad. Dowling. Chronicle, *tunc cepit conquestus Hibernicorum; Then the Irish began to conquer.*

This *Omalaghlin* King of Meath, being in great trust, credite and favour with *Turgesius* (no man greater at that time) dema[illegible] of him (concealing the plot that lay hidden in his heart against the Norwegians) by what meanes certaine ravenous and pestiferous fowle (hee meant the Norwegians) lately brought into the land, which greatly annoyed

annoyed the country, might be destroyed? *Turgesius* answered, if they breed, destroy their egges, birds, and nests; which answer, the Irish made good upon the Norwegians.

Not long after (saith *Cambrensis* and *Polychronicon*) after what? They meane, after the murthering of *Turgesius*, and rooting out of all the Norwegians and Esterlings, *there came againe out of Norway, and the Northerne Ilands, as remnants of the former nation, and whether they knew of themselves, or by relation of their Parents and Ancestours, the land to be fruitfull, & commodious; thither they came, not in warlike sort, but in peaceable manner, to use the trade of merchandise; when they had entred certaine Ports and Havens of Ireland, with the licence of the Princes of the land, they builded therein divers Cities. For the Irish nation,* (they speake of that time) *naturally given to idlenesse, would not sulcate the seas, neither give themselves to merchandise, so that by one consent of the whole land, it was thought good, that some certaine nation, by whose industrie the commodities of other regions wanting in Ireland, might be hither transported, should be suffered to dwell in some parts of the land. Their Leaders and Captaines were three brethren, Amelanus, Sitaracus and Ivorus, when they had first builded three Cities, Dublin, Waterford, and Limericke; the command of Dublin fell to Amelanus, Waterford to Sitaracus, Lymericke to Ivorus, and from these by degrees, in processe of time, they gave themselves to build other Cities in Ireland. This nation (quæ nunc Ostmannica gens vocatur) which now is called the Esterling nation, or East men, at their first comming, demeaned themselves toward the Kings of the land, in a most royall and peaceable mander, but when the number multiplied of their owne kinne, and they had fortified their Cities with wals and trenches, they began to revive the old hatred that was hid in their hearts, and obstinately to rebell. They were called Ostmanni of their corrupt Saxon tongue, as men of the East. Of these and the former Norwegians, the Irish tooke the use of the Sparthes,* now called *Galloglas axes.* So farre *Cambrensis verbatim*, and *Polychron* in substance.

Amelanus, Sitaracus and Ivorus.

Divers have diversly delivered their opinion, and misreckoned themselves in their computation of yeeres, when these Cities before spoken of were builded. *Stanihurst* in his description of Ireland, referreth it to the yeere 155. and that they were builded by *Amelanus*; in another place he alledgeth it was after *Gurmundus* his dayes, done in like sort by *Amelanus*. It is such an errour as I cannot well impute it to the Printer. *Cambrensis* and *Polychronicon* doe not lay down the yeere, but the time about the yeere: what beside is added, is but fancie and conjecture, for their testimony is the ground of all. For where they write that these brethren came to Ireland after the death of *Turgesius*, then it was after the yeere 862. wherein hee died, but how soone or how long after, there is no certaintie. That they builded

theſe Cities, I doe not beleeve, I had rather ſay with *Stanihurſt*, that they reedified them, for thoſe places were after a ſort builded, and inhabited many yeeres before their arrivall. I take it that as Merchants, they builded themſelves dwelling houſes, walled the townes, and made keyes to moore their ſhippes, neither doe I hold it that every one ſeverally builded a Citie, but all three together with the aide of their country Merchants upon their arrivall in their ſafe Ports, builded and planted their country people, and reſted not long, for the Iriſh fell upon them, and baniſhed them out of the land, for their riches, pride, and rebellion.

Patricke, the Abbot.

In the yeere 850. lived *Patricke* the Abbot of Ireland, Abbot and Confeſſor. For there were two *Patrickes*, the firſt a very learned and godly man, the ſecond a Abbot, and given to ſuperſtition, and founder of the fabulous Purgatorie, which goeth in Ireland under the name of Saint *Patrickes* Purgatorie; ſo write *Ranulphus*, Monke of Cheſter, and *Bale*, Biſhop of Oſſory, though *Stanihurſt* allow not of it, but attribute it to the firſt *Patricke*, and that without warrant.

In his time there roſe a great rebellion in Ireland, ſo that hee fled into Britaine, and lyeth buried in Glaſtenbury. The Martyrologe of Sarum reporteth, that in Ireland they keepe the feaſt of *Patricke* the Abbot, the 24. of Auguſt. *Stanihurſt* to further his credite, delivereth that he wrote a booke of Homilies, and certaine Epiſtles directed to the Iriſh. The founder opinion is, (the which *Stanihurſt* at unawares remembred out of *Claudianus*) that the place there, was in like ſort as it is now in the time of Paganiſme, and was long before Saint *Patrickes* dayes, And it ſeemeth to be after the manner of concavities in the bowels of the earth, where the ayre entring naturally to avoid *Vacuum*, and the winde following, whiſteleth and crieth like dolefull ghoſts; the ſilly ignorant and ſimple people being deceived through perſwaſion of covetous Prieſts, that ſome ſoules and ſpirits doe penance there for their ſinnes, call it a Purgatorie. And further we ſee by reaſon and daily experience in Miners, that if any be much under grownd, the dampneſſe of the earth takes away their lively colour, and makes them looke ghaſtly, and if they continue any long while there (the vitall ſpirits being barred of their uſuall courſe) they are mightily tormented, caſt into trances, and diſtracted, and being once delivered from the place, report things at randon of heaven and earth, beleeve them who liſt.

Saint *Patricks* Purgatory.

Albertus Krantz, reckoning up reports given forth out of ſeverall countries touching viſions, apparitions, voyces, illuſions, inſerteth among them, *Patrickes* Purgatorie in Ireland, and concludeth, that they are to be accounted among old Wives fables. *Antoninus* alledgeth *Vincentius* for his Author, how that in thoſe dayes, the hiſtorie *de foſſa ſancti Patricij* of *Saint Patrickes* pit or ditch, was not of many allowed, the reaſon is alledged, for that it is there avouched, that the ſoules

Albertus Krantz Dan. lib. 2.

Ant chron. p 2. tit. 11. cap. 18.

ſoules in that Purgatorie, goe not ſtraight to heaven, but into ſome terreſtriall Paradice, whereas the received opinion is, (ſaith he) that there is no middle place betweene Purgatorie and the celeſtiall Paradice.

In the time of *Alphred*, *alias Alured*, King of Weſt Saxons, *anno* 872. as *Fabian* and *Cooper* have noted, there was a grievous maladie raigning among the people, called the *euill ficus*, which alſo tooke the King, ſo that (ſay mine Authors) an Iriſh maid came out of Ireland, called *Modwen*, whoſe Monaſterie in time of rebellion, was deſtroyed, and cured the King. In recompence whereof, ſhe had land given her in the North, whereon two Monaſteries were founded, and now ſhe reſteth at Aunderſey by Burloa. *Polychronicon* and *Holinſhead* report the hiſtorie, as if *Alphred* had gone into Ireland unto her. I alledge this hiſtorie to put the reader in minde, how that formerly I have written of one *Modwen*, who lived immediately after Saint *Patricke*, and was of Iriſh birth, about 400. yeeres agoe. Were it not for the time, by many circumſtances, they both ſhould be one, but to remove all doubts, and to uphold the credite of antiquaries, I will ſay they were two, of one country birth, and now reſt in one place.

Evill *Ficus*.

Modwen.

There was great amitie betweene *Alphred* or *Alured* before mentioned, and *Gregory*, King of Scots, in whoſe time, *Anno* 877. (*Grafton*, *Cooper*, and *Buchanan* are mine Authors) great troubles and miſery fell upon Ireland; the circumſtances in briefe were theſe. The Citizens of Dublin found themſelves grieved, and mightily wronged by the Scots of Galloway; that whereas certaine tall ſhips of theirs were wind-driven thither, the Scots fell upon them, rifled them, and thereof made a prey. In revenge whereof, the people of Dublin gathered Iriſh forces, arrived there, and preyed the country. *Gregory* the King having intelligence thereof, haſtened with his forces, to encounter with them; the Iriſh fearing the worſe, got them with their pillage aboard their ſhippes, and hoiſed up ſailes for Ireland: *Gregory* prepareth his navy, and ſhortly after arriveth in Ireland.

Anno 877.

The King at that time (ſaith *Buchanan*) was but a childe, whoſe name was *Duncanus*, or *Donatus*, or rather *Dunachus*; the Protectors or chiefe commanders of the land about the King, were *Brian* and *Cornelius*, who had drawne the land into two factions. The Iriſh hering of the comming of *Gregory*, fortified themſelves upon the river of the Band, but there the Scots overthrew them; *Brian* was ſlaine, and *Cornelius* put to flight. The Scots left them not ſo, but purſued them, preyed the country without reſiſtance, conſtrained the townes before them to yeeld, and hearing by the way that *Cornelius* gathered all the forces of Ireland againſt them, made ready to ioyn battaile, in the which, *Cornelius* and all his forces were foiled, ſo that for a ſafeguard of his life, hee fled to Dublin, and his armie diſperſed themſelves abroad. *Gregory* followed him, laid ſiege to Dublin, and

Brian and *Cornelius*.

Scots at the Band overthrow the Iriſh.

by reaſon there were ſo many received within that fled from the field, they could not long indure the ſtrength of the puiſſant King of Scots without, wherefore by generall conſent of the Citizens, *Cormacke*, Biſhop of Dublin, opened the gates, received the King of Scots, without loſſe of any man of either ſide, or damage of goods. Immediately *Gregory* the King of Scots, went to his couſin *Duncan* the young King, ſaluted him, and delivered unto him that he came not for his kingdome, ne for gold nor ſilver, ne for commodities of his country, but onely to be revenged of them that had formerly injured his ſubiects. And as for you, ſaid he, couſin *Duncan*, I beare you no malice; without bloud I came into the Citie of Dublin, without bloud I will depart; recompence of the Citizens of Dublin I ſeeke none, the inhabitants betweene this and the Band have ſatisfied me and my people, let the Citizens pay it them againe, and make no more ſuch raſh attempts into Scotland. With this they lovingly departed, and continued friends, to the great honour of the King of Scots.

Dublin receive the Scots.

Cormack, Biſhop of Dublin.

Anno 897. Strange Wormes.

After this, *Anno* 897. poore Ireland had another ſcourge, for ſaith *Caradoc Llancarvan* in his Britiſh Chronicle, and likewiſe *Polichronicon*, this country was deſtroyed with ſtrange wormes, having two teeth, ſo that there was neither corne nor graſſe, nor food for man or beaſt, for all was conſumed that was greene in the land, at the ſeaſon of the yeere: The nine hundreth yeere followeth.

Anno Dom. 900. Danes in Ireland.

The Saxons that divided Britaine (as formerly hath been declared) into many kingdomes, began now to grow weake in their eſtate; and the Danes that troubled in a manner all Chriſtendome, were falling to naught: yet *Anno* 905. ſaith the Britiſh Chronicle, the Danes entred Ireland, preyed, ſpoyled, and fired the country, ſlue in the field, *Carmot*, (ſo he calleth him) *alias Cormac*, Monarch of Ireland, and the ſonne of *Cukeman*, a man both godly and religious; and alſo *Kyrvalt*, ſonne of *Morgan*, King of Leinſter. Then they roved round about England, hulling upon the ſeas, and landing where they eſpied advantage, deſtroyed with fire and ſword as much as lay in them.

Anno 911. they came againe into Ireland (ſaith *Cooper*) holding on in their former outrages.

Angleſey ſpoyled by them of Dublin.

Anno 913. (ſaith *Carodoc*) the men of Dublin with great forces came to Angleſey, preyed and deſtroyed the Iland, and returned to Ireland: the cauſe I finde not, but that ſea and land was bent to miſchiefe, the fire upon the land, and piracie upon the ſea.

Anno 925. the ſecond yeere of the raigne of *Adelſtane*, the baſe ſonne of *Edward* the firſt, (called *Edward Senior*) King of Weſt-Saxons, was a great armie gathered by the ſaid *Adelſtane*, againſt *Hawlaffe*, King of Ireland, the ſonne of *Suthricus*, and a Painym, ſaith *Polychronicon*, who came with the whole power of the Scots and Danes againſt him, and gave him battaile at Brimeſturie, where *Adelſtane* had the victory, and ſlue the ſaid King *Hawlaffe*, and the King

Hawlaffe, King of Ireland. Bromford ſaith *Grafton*.

King of Scots, and five Kings of the Danes and Normans, and twelve Earles, ſo that he brought all the land of England and Scotland into ſubjection, which none of his Predeceſſours had ever attempted. So farre out of *Caradoc* in the Britiſh Chronicle.

Polychronicon writeth of *Hawlaffe*, that he was the ſonne of *Sitricus*, and had married the daughter of *Conſtantine*, King of Scots, and by his aide entred the mouth of the river of Humber, with a ſtrong navy, and when both armies had encamped themſelves, *Hawlaffe* uſed this policie; He tooke a Harpe, and in Harpers attire, went to *Adelſtanes* Tent, where he harped, and viewed their diet, diſpoſition, and behaviour, tooke money for his muſicke, which in heart he diſdayned, he ſecretly, as he thought, hid the money in the ground, and went away. A ſouldier that ſometime ſerved *Hawlaffe*, eſpied it, and told *Adelſtane* the whole; why, ſaith *Adelſtane*, diddeſt not thou acquaint me ſooner? he anſwered, O King, the faith I owe thee now, ſometime I ought to *Hawlaffe*, if I had beene falſe to him, thou wouldſt have ſuſpected me afterwards; but now remove thy Tent, for he will ſuddenly come upon thee. For all the haſte that *Adelſtane* made, *Hawlaffe* came in the night, ſlue a certaine Biſhop and his company that were fleeing, and many others: hee haſted to *Adelſtanes* Tent, but he was provided, and in armes, and at the breake of the day, ſet upon his enemies, and foiled them, as formerly is delivered.

Anno 926. (*Saxo Grammaticus*, *Albertus Krantz*, and others are mine Authors) *Knutus* and *Herald*, ſonnes to *Gormo*, King of Denmarke, following the ſteps of their fathers, gave themſelves to Piracie; roved, croſſed, and hulled upon the ſeas, all was fiſh that came to their nets; they arrived in Ireland, and laid ſiege to Dublin. The King of Leinſter ſent eſpecially, and laid an ambuſh within a mile of Dublin, and whilſt the Danes ſcaled the wals without, the Citizens manfully defended themſelves within, and others were careleſſe of themſelves abroad; one of the eſpials levelled an arrow at *Knutus*, and gave him ſuch a wound, that he ſhortly dyed thereof. The Danes prevailed, but their ioy upon his death was turned into ſorrow; *Gormo* the father ſo intirely loved this *Knutus* his ſonne, that he vowed, whoſoever brought him newes of the death of his ſonne *Knutus*, for recompence, ſhould die the death. *Thira*, daughter to *Edward* the Martyr, (ſaith *Functius*) the mother, being a Chriſtian (though *Gormo* were a bloudy Infidell) having certaine intelligence of the death of *Knutus*, durſt not reveale it, but uſed this policie: ſhee cauſed in ſtead of her husbands princely robes, (wherewith he was on a morning to make himſelfe ready) mourning cloathes to bee laid before him, and ſuch funerall exequies, as were uſed to be prepared for the witneſſing of the ſorrow and griefe conceived for the departure of ſome deare friend; woe is me (ſaith *Gormo*) now my ſonne *Knutus* is dead, this I gather by theſe circumſtances. Then anſwered *Thira* the

Queene, you my Lord discover it, not I. *Gormo* dyed for sorrow, and *Thira* lamented in one day the departure of her Lord and husband the King, the death of her sonne, and her owne dolefull widdowhood.

Anno 939. (so writeth *Caradoc*) *Abloic* a most worthy Prince, and Monarch of Ireland deceased.

Anno 940. after the death of *Athelstane*, his brother *Edmund* raigned over Britaine. He subdued the Danes that remained in Northumberland, together with others that came out of Ireland to invade the land with *Anlaffe* their Captaine, saith *Fabian*; he slue some, and banished the rest, so writeth *Cooper*.

Saint *Maries* Abbey founded by Dublin

Anno 948. the Abbey of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, by Dublin, was founded by the Danes.

Molanus writeth of one *Columbanus* an Abbot of Irish birth that became a recluse or an anachorist, *Anno* 957. in the Church yard of the Monasterie of Gandavum, where he kept the space of two yeeres, and there ended his dayes. This yeere, saith *Caradoc*, *Congelach*, King of Ireland was slaine, but he sheweth not where nor how.

Anno 959. *Edgar*, the sonne of *Edmund*, beganne his raigne over England, he reduced all into one Monarchie. *Camden* found in a Charter, where *Edgar* delivered of himselfe, *that it pleased God of his mercy to grant unto him, together with the command of England, to subdue all the Ilandish kingdomes of the Ocean, together with their fierce and mighty Kings as farre as Norwey, and the greatest part of Ireland, with Dublin the most noble Citie thereof, unto the kingdome of England.*

Anno 966. *Rodericke*, the sonne of *Edwall Voell*, Prince of Wales, was slaine by Irish men that landed there for a prey, spoyled the country, and destroyed Aberfraw. *Caradoc* so complaineth of them.

Foranannus his life.

Molanus writeth of one *Foranannus* a Bishop, which flourished, *Anno* 980. he termeth him Bishop of Domenormor, and Metropolitane of Ireland and Scotland: where he mightily erred in the name of the place, of the person, and his stile. For hee was Bishop of Dromore in Ireland, and no Metropolitane at all, but to his purpose hee findeth him among his Saints of Flanders, and saith, that he was warned in a vision to travaile; so that he with a company of Irish Priests, arrived in France, and came to Rome, in the time of *Benedict* 7. from thence he came backe to the Monasterie of Walciodorum, where hee and his Priests became professed Monkes, of the order of Saint *Benedict*, for the space of twelve yeeres, and there ended their dayes. The Monkes there, saith he, were wont among other Saints at Easter, yeerely to call upon him; *Sancte Foranane ora pro nobis*, untill that the reformers of Bursfeld wiped him out of the Catalogue of Saints, for that he was not canonized by the Church of Rome.

Anno

Anno 988. (as I finde in the British Chronicle) *Elwmaen*, the sonne of *Abloic*, King of Ireland, was slaine, and a great number of people dyed with famine; that is alwaies the end of civill warres and rebellion in Ireland.

Scots in Ireland.

Anno 1004. the Scots (I know not the cause) entred Ireland, and after their manner, as also the Danes did then in England, preyed, burned, and destroyed: they tooke *Gulfath* and *Vbiad*, Irish Lords, and put out their eyes, they ransacked also the Citie of Dublin.

Battaile of Clantarfe. *Brian Boroave.*

Anno 1012. *Grace* and *Dowlinge*, the Irish Antiquaries doe concurre, (the English Writers are silent) and deliver how that *Bernaidus*, commonly called *Brian Bowrow*, Monarch of Ireland, and his sonne *Murcath*, *alias Murchardus Mac Brian*, with other Kings of the land subiect unto him, gathered great power, and met at Clantarfe, nigh Dublin, and gave a sore battaile unto *Sutraic*, *alias Sutric*, the sonne of *Abloic*, King of Dublin, and unto *Moilmordha*, King of Leinster. This *Sutric*, to withstand the Monarch, had hired to his aide, all manner of strangers he could get by sea or by land, as Danes, Norwegians, Scots, Britaines, Pirates, and sea rovers. The fight was desperate, the field all bloud, a horse (they say) was sometime to his belly in bloud. There were slaine that day of the one side, *Brian* the Monarch, and his sonne *Murchard*; of the other side, *Moilmordha* King of Leinster, *Rodericke* the Arch-Pirate, and Captaine of the strangers, with others of both sides innumerable. *Sutrick* was sore wounded, was brought to Dublin, and shortly after died of his wound. I pray thee gentle Reader, who got by the bargaine? As farre as ever I could learne, a woman set them together by the eares.

The cause of the field of Clantarfe, out of the booke of *Houth*.

The Booke of *Houth*, after the Irish observation, delivereth the story thus. There was a Merchant in Dublin, commonly called the *white Merchant*, a Dane, the fourth sonne of the King of Denmarke who had a faire wife of Irish birth, and he being full of iealousie, and ready to travaile for merchandize into farre countries, desired of *Brian Borow*, Monarch of Ireland, that his wife (untill his returne) might waite upon his Lady, soiourne in his house for the safeguard of her person, credit, and honestie, the which was granted, and the King undertooke it. This Merchant made as speedy a returne as he could, and being landed early in a morning, with a privy key, entred the chamber where his wife lay, and found *Morogh Mac Brian* the Kings sonne in bed with his wife; hee wheeled about, devising what was best to be done, at length resolving himselfe to depart for that time, tooke *Moroghs* sword, and put it into his owne scabbard, and his into *Morogbs* scabbard. Hee went to the King, and complained of the abuse here spoken of; the King answered, *He is my sonne, give thou iudgement upon him*; saith the Merchant, *let him keepe the whore still, I will be revenged upon him and his partakers in the field, as soone as possibly*

possibly may be, and I doubt not but all Ireland shall rue the day of this villanie. Immediately he went to Denmarke, brought over to his aide, thirty thousand Danes and Norwegians, landed at Clantarfe, whereof the field was called the field of Clantarfe; hee summoned *Morogh* and his favourites to fight, and thought at the first to have taken Dublin. *Brian Borow* fearing this, made more haste then good speed, tarried not for the forces of the land, that were comming with his sonne *Donogh* to his aide, but rashly with his sonne *Morogh*, (the Author of all this mischiefe) gave them battaile. The which battaile all the forenoone being cruelly fought, seemed all to leane on the Irish side, but in the afternoone, the Danes that were in the rere, and yet fresh for any fight they had, were directed to wheele about, and to take the voward unknowne unto the Irish, which fiercely fought and encountred with the wearie and wounded Irish, and wonne the field. Here was *Brian Borow*, and his sonne *Morogh*, and eleven thousand of the Irish slaine.

One thing further (gentle reader) note, there was a Priests sonne, accounted a tall man of armes, who in the beginning of the battaile, fled away, fearing the hardinesse of the Danes and Norwegians, and went to *Donogh Mac Brian*, the brother of *Morogh*, who was comming with forces to the field, and perswaded him to retraict; saying further, that there was no hope of good successe to bee obtained in this field. This man being taken, confessed the whole treason, and for punishment, was carried to the winde gates, twelve miles from Dublin, set alive standing in the ground, with a great heape of stones about him, as it pleased the Commanders to direct. *In Stanihurst I* finde that the the chiefe Potentates of the *Irish*, were *Brian Borow*, *Miagh Mac Brian*, (whom formerly *I* termed *Morogh*) *Tady O Kelly*, *Dolir Ahertegan*, and *Gille Barramed*, and that they were buried at Kilmaniham, over against the great Crosse.

Anno 1031. as it is remembred by *Caradoc* in the British Chronicles, there was great stirre and bloudshed in South-Wales, by the meanes of *Howell* and *Meredith*, the sonnes of *Edwyn ap Evean ap Owen ap Howell Dha*, that made claime unto that country against *Rytherch ap Iestyn*, Prince of South-Wales. *Howell* and *Meridith* hired unto them a King of *Ireland*, (whose name is not set downe) which brought with him a great armie of *Irish-Scots*; the armies met, the fight was cruell, much bloud on both sides was shed, in the end, *Rytherch* the Prince was discomfited and slaine, by which means they attained unto the governement of South-Wales, the which they ioyntly ruled, and bountifully rewarded the *Irish* King.

Saint *Pappan*. There is at Sauntrie, some three miles from Dublin, yeerely remembrance of Saint *Pappan* that was borne there. *Molanus* calleth him *Poppon*. He travailed into France, builded there many Monasteries, (saith mine Author) and preferred to governe them many men, became

became an Abbot himselfe, and departed this life, *Anno* 1048. and lyeth buried at Stabuletum in France, where hee governed. Lastly, mine Author noteth, that he was a Saint, but never canonized.

Conan, the sonne of *Iago*, Prince of North-Wales, married *Ranulph*, the daughter of *Alfred*, King of Dublin, who in the warres betweene *Iago* his father, and *Griffith* the sonne of *Lhewelyn ap Sitsylte*, sometimes King of Wales, (saith *Caradoc*) was driven to flee into Ireland for safegard of his life. This *Conan*, *Anno* 1041. came with *Alfred* his father in law, with great power out of Ireland, to recover his country: they shortly landed in Wales, and by treason, secretly tooke *Griffith* the King, and carried him towards their ships, but when it was knowne, the country upon the sodaine rose, armed themselves, followed the Irish men, made great slaughter of them, rescued their Prince, and drove *Alfred* and *Conan*, with the rest of their forces, to their shippes, and so to Ireland.

Stow following *Fabian*, writeth how that *Anno* 1049. certaine forces out of Ireland, (whom hee calleth Irish Pirates) with 36. ships, entred the mouth of Severne, landed in a place called Westlapham, and with the helpe of *Griffith* King of South-Wales, spoyled along those coasts, and did great mischiefe. Afterwards *Griffith*, and those Irish Pyrates, ioyning their powers together, passed over the river Wie, and burnt Dumenham, and slue man, woman, and childe, leaving nothing behinde them, but bloud and ashes. Worcester, Glocester, and Herefordshire, rose in Armes against them, but many of them in cruell fight being slaine, the rest put to flight, the Irish returned home merrily, loaden with spoyle.

Anno 1050. *Conan* gathered an armie of his friends in Ireland, attempting the second time the recoverie of his inheritance, he hoysed up saile towards Wales, but on a sodaine there arose such a tempest upon the seas, that scattered his Navie, and drowned the most part of his ships, so that he gave over the voyage for that time.

About this time (wherein the English and British historiographers doe agree) *Robert*, Archbishop of Canterbury, accused Earle *Godwin* and his five sonnes, (especially *Swaine* and *Harold*) of treason, and Queene *Editha* the daughter of *Godwin*, of adulterie, who being called before the King, refused to appeare, and therefore were banished the land, and the Queene was put away from the King. *Godwin* and *Swaine* fled to Flanders, *Harold* and *Leofwin* (*Warwell* saith *Holinshead*) to Ireland, and the Queene was sent with one Maid to the Monasterie of Wilton. Immediately the King disposed of all their possessions. It was not long after ere *Godwin* and *Swaine* got shippes, men, munition, and all necessaries in Flanders, the like did *Harold* and *Leofwin* in Ireland, they all met upon the seas, to wit, the father, the mother, and the five sonnes; they spoyled the Ile of Wight, Partland, Pevenesey, Romny-heath, Folkeston, Dover, and

Or Midleton. and Sandwich, and entring the Thames, destroyed Sheppey, and burned the Kings houses at Mielton. Then they met with the kings Fleet upon the seas, and being ready to fight, Bishop *Stigand* stept betweene them, and reconciled both sides in such sort, that the King restored them their lands and goods, tooke home the Queene, and banished *Robert* the Archbishop, with all the French men which had put buzzes and suspitions into the Kings head.

Anno 1054. as *Powell* in his annotations upon *Caradoc*, hath learnedly collected; King *Edward* by evill counsell (as it was thought) banished *Algar*, Earle of Chester, which had treason laid to his charge, whereupon *Algar* gate him into Ireland, and there providing him eighteene shippes of warre, well appointed and manned with stalworth men, of Irish birth, returned and joyned himselfe with *Griffith*, King or Prince of Wales, who both together, invaded the country of Mercia about Hereford, where *Ranulph*, Earle of that country (who was sonne to King *Edwards* sister, named *Goda*, by her first husband *Walter de Manut*) came against them with a great armie, and met them about two miles from Hereford, where after a sore fight, by the space of three houres, *Ranulph* and his armie were discomfited, and about 500. of them slaine, and the rest put to flight, whom *Griffith* and *Algar* pursued to Hereford, and entring the towne, set the Cathedrall Church on fire, and slue the Bishop named *Leogar*, with seven of the Canons, and most lamentably (as it falleth out in warres) spoyled and burned the towne King *Edward* being advertised hereof, gathered an armie, and sent *Harold* the sonne of Earle *Godwin* against them, who pursuing the enemies to North-Wales, passed through Stradlewyde to Snowdon: but *Griffith* and *Algar* being loath to meete *Harold*, got them againe into South-Wales, whereof *Harold* being advertised, left one part of his armie in North-Wales, to resist the enemy there, and returning with the residue to Hereford, caused a great trench to be cast round about the towne, with a high rampire, strongly fortifying the gates of the same. After this, by meanes of a parlee had with *Griffith* and *Algar*, at a place called Biligellagh, a peace was concluded, whereupon *Algar* being pardoned by the King, and restored againe to his Earledome, returned home to Chester.

About two yeeres after, *Algar* was accused againe of treason, and the second time exiled the land, fled into Ireland, where he was most ioyously received of his old followers, and offered more kindenesse, then he requested, for hee had most honourably dealt with the Merchants and owners of the former ships, and most kindely intreated, and bounteously rewarded the Irish souldiers, the which then in his second extremity, was not forgotten. With shippes, men and munition out of Ireland, he bent his course to Wales, repaired to his old friend *Griffith*, Prince of Wales, where he was most welcome, and

and shortly restored againe to his Earldome by the meanes and intreaty of certaine strangers, which had lately there arrived out of Norway.

Camden writeth how that *Anno* 1066. *Godred*, surnamed *Crouan*, the sonne of *Hirald niger*, of Island, invaded the Ile of Man, thence came into Ireland, did the like unto Dublin, and a great part of Leynster, made great spoyle, and went backe againe.

The British Chronicle reporteth of *Dermot*, (a King in Ireland) that in *Anno* 1068. he was murthered, but the manner hee sheweth not; the commendation he giveth of him is this: *He was the worthiest and noblest Prince that ever ruled in Ireland.*

Polychronicon reporteth, how that *Anno* 1072. at Winsore before *William* the Conquerour, and the Cleargie, the controversie between the Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke was heard at large, and decided, and that *Bedaes* historie was shewed, where it appeared that from *Austen* the Monkes time, till *Bedaes* death, (about 140. yeeres) the Archbishop of Canterburie had primacie over all Great Britaine & Ireland, that he had held Councels by Yorke, summoned Bishops of Yorke, consecrated Bishops, and punished Bishops of Yorke for their offences, and iudicially removed them.

Philip Flatesburie a great Antiquarie, whom *Stanihurst* followeth, and *Iames Grace* of Kilkenny, with *Dowlinge* his ioynt Collectour doe write, how that *Anno* 1074. *Patricke*, Bishop of Dublin, was consecrated in *Pauls* Church in London, by *Lanfranke*, Archbishop of Canterburie, upon commendatorie Letters of *Teridiowatus, alias Terdilnacus*, Monarch of Ireland, and *Godericke*, King of Leinster, and with *teste* of the Clergie and Laytie of that Dioceese of his lawfull and orderly election. Further I finde recorded, that it was the manner to consecrate Bishops in this sort, and that the Monarch of Ireland in regard of his royall principalitie and title of honour with other priviledges belonging to his Monarchie, had negative voyce in the nomination of Bishops throughout his Realme. Secondly, how the Archbishop of Canterbury took of him that was so consecrated, a corporall oath of Canonicall obedience (as his predecessours formerly used) to him and his successors; and lastly, gave him letters testimoniall thereof to the Monarch and King of Leynster.

Cambrensis sheweth the reason of this consecration, namely, how that in Ireland as then, there was no Archbishop, but one Bishop consecrated another, untill that *Anno* 1148. *Iohannes Papiron*, a Priest Cardinall, sent from *Eugenius* 3. together with *Christian*, Bishop of Lismore, Legate of all Ireland, came to the land, and brought with them foures Paales. But of this more in another place.

The same *Flattesburie* writeth further, how that the said *Lanfranke* in like sort consecrated *Donatus*, Bishop of Dublin, *Anno* 1085.

About

About this time, *Godwin* and *Edmund*, ſonnes to King *Harold*, (my Author is *Thomas Walſingham*, Monke of Saint Albans) which formerly had fled into Ireland for ſuccour, unto *Dermotte Mac O Nell*, King of Ireland, returned with 66. ſaile, landed in Sommerſetſhire, (ſaith *Stow*) where *Brian*, the ſonne of *Eudo*, Duke of Brabant, met them and gave them battaile, wherein (ſaith *Stow*) the brethren gate the victory, and the Iriſh men with many great preyes out of Cornewall and Devonſhire returned into Ireland. But *Walſingham* (which ſeemeth more true) writeth that it was a bloudie battaile, wherein 1070. of the Engliſh and Normans, with certaine of the Nobilitie of the land, were ſlaine, and the enemies with aide of their ſhips, fled, and brought heavy newes home to their deereſt friends in Ireland.

It is very like that *William* the Conquerour immediately upon this, ſent great forces into Ireland, to bee revenged of them for relieving or aſſiſting his enemies: for *Stow* writeth out of *William* of Malmsbury, thus: *Lanfranck, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being in ſuch favour with King William, that the ſaid William thought not good to deny any thing that hee requeſted, procured by his induſtrie, that the ſaid King left his ill cuſtome of ſelling his priſoners which hee tooke in Ireland, which was a thing hardly granted unto him, and to Wolſtan, Biſhop of Worceſter, the gaine that the King had by the ſale of thoſe Iriſh men was ſuch.*

The Britiſh Chronicle reporteth how that *Anno* 1087. and the laſt yeere of *William* Conquerour, the ſonnes of *Blethlyn ap Convyn*, ſometime King of Wales, gathered their ſtrength together againſt *Rees ap Tyder*, who not being able to meete with them, fled to Ireland, and there he purchaſed to himſelfe great friends, and got an armie of Iriſh men and Scots, to whom hee promiſed great rewards when he ſhould obtaine his kingdome, & ſo landed in South Wales with theſe ſtrangers, and when his friends heard thereof, they drew unto him, and the other came in all haſte to vanquiſh him before hee had made a head, and gathered forces together; to bee ſhort, at Or Llechryd. Wechryd they gave battaile, where they were diſcomfited, and two of the brethren ſlaine, to wit, *Madoc* and *Kirid*, and the other fled and forſooke the country. As ſoone as *Rees* was in quiet poſſeſſion of his country, he ſent away the Iriſh men with great rewards.

All the Lords of the Iſlands ſent meſſengers unto *Murchard, alias Morogh O Brien*, King of Ireland, that it would pleaſe him to ſend them ſome worthy man of royall bloud to be their King, during the nonage of *Olaus*, the ſonne ſonne of *Godred*, King of Man. Whereupon he ſent unto them one *Dopnald Mac Tady*, whom hee deepely charged to governe that kingdome, which of right appertained not to him, with all kindeneſſe, love and modeſty; but hee was no ſooner warm in the kingdome, but he forgot his inſtructions, and the charge his Lord had given him, he poled, he pilled, and practiſed all kinde of tyranny,

tyranny, for the ſpace of three yeers. Then all the Lords of the Iſlands roſe in armes againſt him, and baniſhed him out of thoſe parts, ſo he fled into Ireland, of whom they never heard any further newes.

Stanihurſt findeth that *Anno* 1095. there came certaine Eſterlings to the North ſide of Dublin adjoyning to the Liffie, and ſeated themſelves there, ſo that of them to this day, the place is called Oſtomontowne, and corruptly, Oxmonton, and the Pariſh, Saint *Michans*, of one *Michanus* a Dane and a Biſhop which founded the Church, unto whom *Murchard*, or *Moragh* King of Leynſter, gave that parcell of land to that uſe. The faire greene or Commune, now called Oſtmontowne-greene, was all wood, and hee that diggeth at this day to any depth, ſhall finde the ground full of great rootes. From thence, *Anno* 1098. King *William Ruſus*, by licence of *Murchard*, had that frame which made up the roofe of Weſtminſter Hall, where no Engliſh Spider webbeth or breedeth to this day.

Saint *Michan* lived, *Anno* 1095.

Cambrenſis in his Itinerarie of Cambria, reporteth, how that King *William* ſtanding upon ſome high rocke in the fartheſt part of Wales, beheld Ireland, and ſaid, I will have the ſhippes of my kingdome brought hither, wherewith I will make a bridge to invade this land: *Murchard* King of Leynſter heard thereof, and after he had pauſed a while, asked of the reporter; hath the King in that his great threatning, inſerted theſe words, *if it pleaſe God?* No, then (ſaid he) ſeeing this King putteth his truſt onely in man, and not in God, I feare not his comming.

Samuel, Biſhop of Dublin.

Anno 1095. *Murchard*, (ſo writeth *Holinſhed*) *alias Morogh*, King of Leynſter, with the Clergie, and people of the Citie of Dublin, elected one *Samuel* a Monke of Saint *Albans*, an Iriſh man borne, to the governement of the Church, and Biſhops See of Dublin, and according to the antient cuſtome, preſented him by ſufficient letters of teſtimony unto *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of Canterburie, to be conſecrated by him, who (according to their requeſt) did ſo, and tooke of him an oath of Canonicall obedience after the uſuall manner.

Malchus, firſt Biſhop of Waterford.

Anno 1097. the Citizens of Waterford perceiving that by reaſon of the great multitude of people in that citie, it was neceſſarie for them to have a Biſhop, obtained licence of their King and Rulers, to erect in their Citie, a Biſhops See, and beſought them to write to *Anſelme*, Archbiſhop of Canterburie, to have his conſent therein, and permitted them to nominate a man meete for the place. Hereupon *Morogh* King of Leynſter, wrote unto *Anſelme*, informing him of the whole matter, wherein one *Malchus* was commended and preſented unto him to be admitted and conſecrated if he thought good; theſe letters were ſubſcribed by *Murchard*, King of Leynſter, *Dermotte* his brother, Biſhop *Dufnald*, *Idiman*, Biſhop of Meath, *Samuel*, Biſhop of Dublin, and *Ferdomnachus*, a Biſhop in Leynſter. *Anſelme* conſidering their requeſt to be honeſt and neceſſarie, examined

the man, gave him the oath of Canonicall obedience, and consecrated *Malcus* Bishop of Waterford.

About this time, to wit, *Anno* 1098. the Normans having slaine *Rees ap Twyde*, Prince of South-Wales, they bent their forces against *Griffith ap Conan*, Prince of North-Wales, by the conduct of *Hugh de Montgomerie*, Earle of Saloppe and Arundell, (called of the Welchmen, *Hugh Gough*,) and of *Hugh Vras*, Earle of Chester. *Griffith* the Prince fled to the mountaines, and sent for aide into Ireland, (saith *Caradoc*) where he received cold comfort, then to avoid farther mischiefe and treason, which hee suspected to have beene wrought against him, fled into Ireland. In the same season, *Magnus* King of Norway (so *Stow* calleth him) the sonne of *Olavus*, the sonne of *Harold Harvager*, came with great forces, and subdued the Iles of Orknay, with the Ile of Man, entred into Anglesey, incountred with *Hugh*, Earle of Salop, who withstood his landing, in the which skirmish, *Hugh* the Earle had an arrow shot in his face, which pierced his braine, of which he died; whereupon the Normans retraited. *Magnus* invadeth Ireland (saith *Saxo Grammaticus*) and *Griffith* the Prince of Wales returned to his country, and made peace with the Normans, and governed the same fiftie yeeres. Many things worthy of memory are recorded of this *Griffith ap Conan*. *Powell* writeth that hee was an Irish man by his mother, daughter of the King of Dublin, and also by his Grandmother, and that hee was borne in Ireland, and that he brought over with him out of that country into Wales, divers cunning Musitians, who devised in manner, all the instrumentall musicke upon the Harpe and Crowth that is there used, and made lawes of minstrelsee to retaine the Musitians in due order.

I have not yet done with *Magnus* the Norwegian, of him *Camden* writeth a worthy storie. *Magnus* (saith he) caused a fleete to bee in readinesse of an 160. saile, and sailed into the Orkeneys, the which he forthwith subdued, he passed through all the Ilands, made them subject unto him, and arrived in the Ile of Man; when hee beheld how pleasant the Iland was, he made choice thereof for habitation, fortified therein, which of him to this day beares his name. Hee so hampered the inhabitants of Galloway in Scotland, that hee made them bring him timber to his Port for the frame of his fortifications. Afterward he sailed to Anglesey in Wales, where he met with two *Hughs*, both Earles, the one he slue, the other he put to flight, and made the Iland subiect unto him. The Welsh men gave him many gifts and rewards, he bade them farewell, and so returned to Man. He sent to *Murchard, alias Morogh*, King of Ireland, his shooes, commanding him to hang them upon his shoulders upon Christmas day as he passed through his Hall, in the sight of his Embassadors, that thereby he might understand that he was subject to *Magnus* the king. When the Irish men heard thereof, they tooke it in ill part, and chafed

chafed exceedingly, but King *Morogh*, a wise and a sage Prince, smiling at the conceit, with great modesty and discretion gave this answer. I will not onely beare his shooes, but I had rather eate them, then that King *Magnus* should destroy any one Province in Ireland. Whereupon he fulfilled his command, honoured his Ambassadors, sent many Presents unto King *Magnus*, and concluded a league. The Ambassadors upon their returne, related all circumstances gave great report and commendation of the land, delivered how pleasant and fruitfull the soile was, the temperature of the ayre, and how healthfull the dwelling was. *Magnus* hearing this, immediately it ranne in his head to conquer all Ireland; he commanded a great fleet to be in a readinesse, and he himselfe going before with sixteene saile privily to espie and search out the strength of the land, and unadvisedly ranging from his shippes, was upon a sodaine compassed and hemmed in by the Irishmen, and slaine, with all in a manner that were with him. Thus *Magnus* is become *Minimus*, in fine, hee was buried in Saint *Patrickes* Church of Downe. So farre *Camden* in substance. The British Chronicle writeth, how that before this insolent attempt, he had procured for his sonne, a daughter of King *Morogh* in marriage, and that he made him King of Man, but I doe not finde that he enjoyed it.

Carodoc writeth, how that *Anno* 1101. *Robert de Mountgomerie*, Earle of Salop, and *Arnulph* his brother, Earle of Pembroke, rebelling against King *Henry*, *Robert* sent for aide to *Magnus*, but could get none, *Arnulph* sent *Gerald* of *Windesore*, his Steward to *Murchard, alias Morogh*, King of Ireland, to desire his daughter in marriage, the which hee obtained with promise of great succours, which did encourage him the more against the King; whereupon *Arnulph* went with all haste into Ireland for his wife and Irish forces. Earle *Robert* seeing himselfe disappointed, sent to the King, desiring him that he might forsake the Realme, which thing the King granted, and he sailed into Normandie. *Arnulph* received message from the King, that either he should follow his brother, and depart the land, or yeeld himselfe to his mercie, he chose to forsake the land, and fled into Ireland. Not long after, *Owen* the sonne of *Cadogan*, after hee had done great mischiefe and spoile upon the English, Normans, Flemings, and Welsh men, fled into Ireland to King *Morogh*, who joyfully received him, for he had beene there before, returned to Wales, and fled thither the second time, and in like sort the third time.

Anno 1113. or thereabout, *Griffith* the sonne of *Rees ap Twyder*, Prince of South-Wales, who for feare of the King, had beene of a childe brought up in Ireland, came to *Gerald*, Steward of Pembroke his brother in law, and others of his friends, to recover his country, whom the King by secret policies and practises pursued, so that hee was forced to flee againe.

In the time of King *Henry* the first, I finde that there was great stirre betweene *Murchard* or *Morogh*, King of Leynster, and the Citizens of Dublin, for it seemeth that hee used grievous exactions and tyrannies over them, so that the Dublinians in revenge of him, sent for *Godred*, King of Man, and the Ilands, so writeth *Camden*, and made him their King. *Morogh* mustereth his country, gathereth forces, procureth aide, marcheth against his enemies, pitcheth his campe at the towne of Coridelis, sent his brother (by the mother side) *Ofibell*, with three thousand horse well appointed to Dublin, where hee was slaine by *Godred*, and by the men of Dublin, and the rest discomfited and put to flight. *Godred* found himselfe well satisfied with spoiles, and returned to Man; they of Dublin likewise thought themselves in some sort reasonably well revenged of their King, quitted themselves for a while, and by mediation and intercession after many Presents and Gifts were reconciled. There was great banquetting and feasting, and ioy outward of all sides, but inward, lay venome and treason, like sparkles of fire covered with ashes, which broke forth not long after, as I am readie to deliver. *Stanihurst*, *Grace* and *Dowlinge* doe write, that the Councell of the Citie determining to establish and decree many good lawes and orders, for the publike weale of the towne, and commons of the same, appointed a solemne day of meeting, sent for *Morogh* their King, humbly craving with all loyall circumstances, his presence, counsaile, and assistance among them at the day appointed, the which hee granted; when the day came, and that they had debated many matters, the King as he sate merrily in his chaire, sporting himselfe, and reporting some pleasant historie, one suddenly stept unto him, and tooke away his weapon, the rest came upon him, and stabbed him to the death; they were not content with this, but they cast him into a base grave, and in further contempt and dispute of his person, they threw a dogge upon him, and earth upon them both, the which *Dermotte* his sonne revenged afterwards, as shall appeare in processe of the historie.

About the yeere 1134. after *Functius* his computation, one *Harold*, borne in Ireland, (so writeth *Saxo*) gathered forces, and became the terrour of Norway, affirming withall, that he was the sonne of *Magnus* the Dane that invaded Ireland, and for truth thereof, he would declare it by fire. When the time and place was appointed, with his bare feet he trode upon a fierie plate, and felt no hurt: the Norwegians admired, and would make him their King, which was the roote of many mischiefes in Norway. He was a man faire spoken, strong, hardy, and swift of foot, and it seemeth, after the manner of Ireland, that he went much bare, so that the soles of his feet were as hard as horne, and could not easily take harme by fire, by which meanes he deceived the Norwegians. *Nicholaus*, King of Denmarke, corrupted *Magnus* of Norway by secret meanes to cut him off.

Magnus

Magnus practised with *Ericus* a Danish Captaine, to dispatch him immediately after his Coronation. To bee short, *Ericus* came with great forces to Scypetors, (a Village where *Herald* was) in the night time, laid siege to his Pallace, and by the breake of day, pulled him and his sonnes forth by the head and shoulders, and put them to death.

In the time of *Henry* 1. King of England, flourished *Celsus*, Bishop of Armagh, and ended his dayes with the entrance of King *Stephen* to the Crowne. He descended of Noble Parentage in Ireland, whom Saint *Bernard* with others, for divers rare and singular gifts, highly commendeth; he had beene brought up in the Vniversitie of Oxenford, where in the liberall sciences, and profound literature, he excelled others of his time; when he perceived by the infirmities of his body, that age hastened to an end, and that his naturall course was in short time to be finished, he desired of them that were present, their favours, and prayed them to use meanes unto others that were absent, and especially unto the two Kings of Mounster, (so *Bernard* writeth) that *Malachias* might succeed him in the Bishopricke of Armagh. He was a married man, and died of great age, and lyeth buried with his wife and children in the said Church. *Celsus*, Bishop of Armagh.

Malachias in the time of King *Stephen*, succeeded *Celsus* in the Bishopricke of Armagh, whose life Saint *Bernard*, Abbot of Clarevallis, *Capgrave*, and *Congamus*, an Abbot of Ireland have written at large. He was borne in Ireland amongst barbarous people (saith *Bernard*) yet in his birth and native soile, hee sucked of them no more barbarousnesse, then the Sea fish take of the salt water. His Parents for wealth and might, were in great account in those dayes; he was brought up at Armagh, under *Imarius* the Anachorite, where *Celsus* made him both Deacon and Priest at the age of 25. yeeres, from thence with licence of *Imarius* and of *Celsus*, he went to *Malchus*, Bishop of Lismore in Mounster, a man of Irish birth, that had beene a Monke sometimes in the Abbey of Winchester in England, and from thence advanced to the Bishopricke of Lismore. And to make the historie plaine, there was at that time, great warres betweene *Cormacke*, King of Mounster, and his brother for the Soveraignty; the brother prevaileth, *Cormacke* fleeth to the Bishop of Lismore, and in his distressed estate, tooke a Monkes Cell, and led a private life. *Malachias* was appointed his Tutor, where *Cormacke* continued untill that a King there adjoyning, pittying his miserie, gathered forces, and restored him to his kingdome. *Malachias*, Bishop of Armagh.

Immediately after this, Letters came for *Malachias* in most earnest sort, that he should come to Armagh, where not farre off, an Vncle of his, a man of great command, a Lord of a country, rich and potent (that held in his hands all the wasted Monasterie of *Benchor*, *alias Bengor*) dwelled; of which Monasterie I have spoken before in

the raigne of King *Arthure*. *Malachias* upon his comming, reſtored theſe poſſeſſions, and reedifieth the old Monaſterie, and appointed one *Malchus*, brother to *Chriſtianus*, Abbot of Mellefont, governour of the place; when *Malachius* was thirty yeeres of age, he was made Biſhop of Conor, (Conorets ſaith *Bernard*) where hee met by his owne report, (more then I am willing to lay downe in writing) ſo rude and barbarous a people, as worſe could not be found upon the face of the earth, yet the holy man ceaſed not to travaile among them by preaching and teaching, and by all meanes poſſible to winne them; not long after, a certaine King of Vlſter deſtroyed Conor, and put the people to the ſword, burned and ſpoyled, and made havocke of all, whereupon *Malachias* with a hundred and twenty brethren, fled to Mounſter, where King *Cormake* gave him great entertainement, and ayded him greatly in the building of the Monaſtery of Ybrak. By this time, *Celſus* ſpoken of before, fell ſicke and dyed. The rude people thruſt in *Mauritius* that uſurped the place ſome five yeeres, then *Malchus*, Biſhop of Liſmore, and *Giſlebertus* the firſt Legate that came to Ireland, from the Pope, called the Biſhops and Princes of the land together, appointed *Malachias* for the place. And when death had ſwiftly cut off the intruder *Mauritius*, that damnable nation thruſt in *Nigellus*, but he proſpered not long, ſo that *Malachias* enjoyed it quietly. Of the injury done to that Church, and the abuſe of that time, heare *Bernard*, (as he learned of *Congamus* and others) report. The ſee of Ardmach (ſaith *Bernard*) for the reverence and honour of Saint *Patricke* the Apoſtle of that nation, which converted that whole land to the faith, in the which See living, he ruled, and in which dying, he reſted, is had of all men from the beginning, in ſo great reverence, that not onely the Biſhops and Miniſters of the Clergie, but the Kings and Princes of that nation, carry themſelves in all obedience unto their Metropolitane, ſo that he being one, ruleth all: but there crept in a moſt deteſtable cuſtome, through the diveliſh ambition of certaine mighty men, that the holy See was obtained by inheritable ſucceſſion, neither were any ſuffered to enioy the Biſhopricke, but ſuch as were of their tribe and familie, neither did this execrable ſucceſſion hold for a ſmall time, but for the ſpace of fifteene generations, now in this diabolicall malice elapſed. And ſo farre this wicked and adulterous generation had confirmed to it ſelfe this lewd intereſt, yea rather an injurie to be puniſhed with all manner of death, that if at any time there ſhould want Clerks of that race, yet never wanted Biſhops. To be ſhort, there were before *Celſus*, eight Biſhops married men, beſides himſelfe, without orders, yet learned men; from hence over all Ireland, iſſued that diſſolution of eccleſiaſtiall diſcipline, which *Malachias* found in Conor, the rooting out of godly cenſure, and the abandoning of religion; from hence every where in ſtead of Chriſtian meekeneſſe, was brought in cruell barbarouſneſſe, yea,

yea, paganiſme and infidelity under a Chriſtian name; for that which was not heard of from the originall of Chriſtianitie, without order, without reaſon, the Metropolitans at their pleaſure changed, and increaſed the number of Biſhops, ſo that one Biſhopricke contented not it ſelfe with one Biſhop, and no marvaile, for how could it fare well with the members of ſo diſeaſed a head? they poſſeſſed the Sanctuary of God in this ſort, the ſpace well neere of two hundred yeeres; hee meaneth unto the dayes of *Celſus* and *Malachias*. *Cambrenſis* in his itinerarie of *Cambria*, had relation no doubt unto this, where he with *Baldwin*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in viſitation about Wales, came to the Church called *Iure padaen vacor*, that is, *the Church of great Paternus*, miſ-ſtiled with the governement therof, for thus he writeth: *This Church, like as many more throughout Ireland and Wales, hath a Laye man to their Abbot, uſe hath prevailed, and a lewd cuſtome hath crept in, that great and mighty men in Pariſhes, have beene by the Clergie appointed Patrons and defendors; afterwards have uſurped unto themſelves the right thereof.* Immediately hee reporteth of a travailer that came hither out of little Britaine in France, that had for his further knowledge ſeene many countries, and faſhions of ſundry nations, and entring into the ſaid Church on the Sabbath day, wayted for divine Service, they rung the Bell, they tould, they waited long, at length came in the Abbot, with ſome twenty after him in armes, and wilde lookes, every one having (*ſon villuge*, ſo the Britaines termed it) a forreſt Bill on his ſhoulder; the travailer asked which is the Abbot, anſwer was made the formoſt, with the greateſt forreſt Bill; the travailer asked, hath he any other ornament, or doth he uſe any other weede? anſwer being made, no, then ſaid hee, I have travailed farre enough, I will ſee no more faſhions whilſt I live, after that I have ſeene an Abbot carry a forreſt Bill upon his backe. Now to returne whence I have made this digreſſion, for the abuſe of the Church cauſeth me to abuſe the reader.

Malachias, when he had peaceably enioyed Ardmagh ſome three yeeres, with the conſent of the three Biſhops and Princes, he reſigned his place to *Gelaſius*, and returned to his former Biſhopricke, not of Conor, but of Dune, for he had placed one in Conor before, to wit, *Oedanus* his diſciple; here *Bernard* noteth that where Dune and Conor were before this time united through ambition and covetouſneſſe, this man of devotion and conſcience, ſeparated them againe, dividing the Churches as they had beene of old, for the good will he bare to Armagh, he tooke his iourney towards Rome, landed in Scotland, came to Yorke, ſailed to France, and lodged at Clarevallis; hee came to Rome in the time of *Innocentius* 2. who made him his Legate of Ireland, in the roomth of *Giſlebert*, the old man ſpoken of before, which had made ſute to be removed. *Boniface* appointed Armagh to be a Metropolitane See, but did not effect it, and promiſed the pall which

which he did not performe; *Bernard* maketh mention of two Metropolitan Sees, one procured by *Celſus*, the other by *Malachias*; but where and how I finde no antient record. *Bale* is of opinion they were in *vocibus*, and not in *rebus*, for lacke of money to pay for them. Vpon his returne hee came to Clarevallis, thence to England, ſo to Scotland, (where King *David* moſt royally entertained him) and laſtly, to his Abbey of Benchor in Vlſter. Of his converſation, heare *Bernard*: *from the day of his birth, to the day of his death, hee lived ſine proprio*, without claiming propertie in any thing; he had neither men ſervants, nor maid ſervants, neither townes nor villages, neither any reuenue eccleſiaſticall or temporall in his Biſhopricke; for his proviſion, (*ad menſam epiſcopalem*) hee had no certainty allotted him whereupon a Biſhop might live, hee had no certaine Monaſtery or dwelling place, for hee daily went about all the Pariſhes, preaching the Goſpell, and living by the Goſpell, as the Lord had ordained, ſaying, the labourer is worthy of his reward; of his labours and ſuch as travelled with him, he carried about to relieve them all; to be ſhort, *Malachias* neither in dyet or rayment was diſcerned from the reſt of the brethren; wheu he went a preaching with footmen, he went on foot, being a Biſhop and a Legate: and here *Bernard* exclaimeth, when he entreth into the conſideration of the difference betweene him and his brethren, and the nephewes of the Apoſtles, ſo he calleth them. Towards his latter dayes, hee ſorrowed that Ireland had not the pall, and as oft as he thought upon *Innocentius* 2. his promiſe, he ſighed, who (as formerly I have delivered) had promiſed, not performed; when he heard that *Eugenius* his ſucceſſor was come unto France, he thought it a fit time to obtaine his purpoſe, he tooke ſhipping for Scotland, where King *David* received him as in times paſt, and thence unto England, where the jarre betweene the King of England, and the Pope, hindred his paſſage, yet he got into France, and ſtraight to Clarevallis, where hearing that Pope *Eugenius* was returned to Rome, he reſted himſelfe, fell ſicke of an ague, and there dyed, being of the age of 54. yeeres, *Anno* 1148. 4 *Nonas Novembris*, ſo farre *Bernard* in ſubſtance, yet *Antonine* ſaith hee dyed, *Anno* 1140.

In his time lived *Congamus*, Abbot of Benchor, who enformed *Bernard* of the whole life of *Malachias*, and wrote at large thereof himſelfe, inſerting many fabulous things, and ſaith *Nicholas Magwire*, he wrote not onely the life of *Malachias*, but alſo the life of *Bernard*. I finde him to be the Patron of Killaskin, otherwiſe called Killeſhin, in Monte Margeo, and the Barony of Marghagha in Leynſter, ſpoken of before.

In this time lived *Tundalus Magus*, ſo ſurnamed, becauſe ſuſpected for a Sorcerer, borne and brought up in Mounſter (in Caſhell, ſaith *Lepelo*, in the Weſt of Ireland) of Noble birth, and by calling a Knight:

Knight: *Antonius* out of *Vincentius* reporteth, that hee was fierce and cruell, and in the end became a Carthuſian Monke, for that order beganne as we may reade in the life of *Bruno*, the firſt founder thereof, upon ſome great extremity, (whereof the Proverbe roſe, *deſperatio facit Monachum*, deſperation maketh a Monke) it ſeemeth that he had in his life time committed ſome hainous offences, and was mightily tormented in conſcience, and fell into trances and extaſies; upon his recovery he delivered unto the world, ſtrange & damnable untruths, (ſaith *Bale*) of Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, and I wot not what, for a man diſtracted, knoweth not what he ſaith. *Bale* writeth, (*talia ad terrorem fingebant ſceleſtiſſimi; Nebolones* ſomewhat excuſing him, and extenuating his imbecillities and biddeth him farewell: *Clarint Stephano Rege in Anglia dominante; & ſatana apud Hybernos ſuas vires exercente*; hee flouriſhed when *Stephen* raigned over England, and the divell domineered over Ireland. Hee wrote a booke of Revelations, the which *Melchior Canus*, *Albertus Crantzius*, and *Gobelenus* have utterly condemned. He wrote alſo the life of *Vrſula*, and the 11000. Virgins, printed at Cullen, the which *Zazarias Lepelo* counteth for lyes and fables.

Anno 1142. the Abbey of Molyfont was founded by *Donatus*, *alias Donogh*, King of Louth, *alias Vriell*, ſome call him *Donogh O-carvell*; the firſt Abbot was *Chriſtianus*, who afterwards was Biſhop of Lyſmore, and Legate of all Ireland.

Anno 1144. *William*, Biſhop of Wincheſter, by authority of Pope *Celeſtine* 2. in a Councell held at London, brought in the uſe of curſing with Bell, Booke, and Candle, which liked the Iriſh Prieſts well, to terrifie the Laytie for their Tithes. *Foxe*:

Anno 1148. there fell great variance betweene *Owen*, ſurnamed *Gwyneth*, Prince of North-Wales, and *Cadwallader* his brother, they were both the ſonnes of *Griffith ap Conan*, Prince of North-Wales. This *Cadwallader* fled into Ireland, and hired to his aide, *Ocher Mac Ocher Curbell Mac Therulfe*, with a great number of Iriſh men, and red ſhankes, for 2000. markes, and landed at Abermeany in Carnarvonſhire, againſt whom, Prince *Owen* came with great power, but before the Armies met, there was a peace concluded betweene the brethren, which when the Iriſh men underſtood, they kept with them *Cadwallader*, as priſoner, for their pay formerly promiſed, ſo that hee was faine to deliver 2000. heads of Cattell, beſides many priſoners and ſpoyles that were taken in the country; but Prince *Owen* as ſoone as he knew his brother to be ſet at liberty, ſet upon the Iriſh men (his ſtomacke was full of revengement) ſlue a great number of them, and recovered all the Cattell, with the priſoners, and other ſpoyle, ſo that in the end, as many as eſcaped with life, returned to Ireland with ſorrow, ſhame, and loſſe, and made no boſt of their voyage; ſo writeth *Carodoc*.

The

The same yeere, *Anno* 1148. *Iohn Papire* a Priest Cardinall, together with *Christianus* Bishop of Lismore, the Popes Legate over the whole Land, being sent by *Eugenius*, came into Ireland. And in *Anno* 1151. saith *Mathew Paris*, but by the consent of most Writers, *Anno* 1152. summoned a Councell, where in the presence of the Bishops, Abbots, Kings, Dukes, & the Antients of Ireland, by the Apostolike authoritie, Colledge of Cardinals, & consent of the Bishops, Abbots, & others there present, they ordained foure Archbishopricks in Ireland, and gave them foure pales, to wit, Ardmach, Dublin, Cashell, and Tuam. In Ardmach, then sate *Gelasius*, in Dublin *Gregory*, in Cashell *Donatus*, in Tuam *Edanus*; these were the first Archbishops of Ireland. The records from that time to this day, of the foure Provinces, the foure Archbishoprickes with their Bishops and Suffragans, in Latine, and vulgar speech, with their titles of Saints and Patrons, together with the unions of them in processe of time following, I finde thus,

Anno 1151. these Abbies were founded, *de Beatitudine*, *de duillio*, *de Magio*, *de valle salutis*, and happily the Monasterie which *Mathew Paris* and *Polychronicon* spake of upon this occasion. There was a Knight (say they) called *Owin*, of Irish birth, which had long served King *Stephen* in his warres, got licence to repaire unto his native soile, and to visit his friends; when hee came to Ireland, hearing the fame of *the Purgatory of the second Patricke the Abbot, and not the Bishop*, so *I* reade in *Polychronicon*, it came in his minde to visit the same, he being in the Cave, and concavities under ground, saw strange sights, and making report thereof unto King *Stephen*, obtained licence of him thenceforth to leade a religious and solitary life: he obtained also of King *Stephen*, (so *Mathew Paris* writeth) a parcell of ground in Ireland to build a Monasterie called Luden, an Abbey of white Monkes, where *Gervasius* became the first Abbot, and where *Gilbert* a Monke trayned up *Owen* in the order thereof. This *Gilbert* (saith mine Author) wrote as *Owen* told him all the reports that are now extant of that Purgatory, so that it seemes to be no antient matter, but a late device, first found by this *Owen*, in the late dayes of King *Stephen*.

The battaile of Monad more.

Anno 1152. was the battaile of Monad-more fought in Ireland, betweene Leinster and Mounster men, where (saith *Holinshed*) the flower and chiefest personages of Leinster and Mounster were slaine, and saith *Iohn Plunket*, Mounster lost the field, *Anno* 1154. *Terdelach*, King of Connaght dyed, there succeeded him, *Rorie Oconochor Rowag*, commonly called *Roderic*, who slue his owne brother that aspired to the kingdome of Connaght, and in this succesſe, attempted further, and became Monarch of Ireland.

Henry 2 was crowned King of England, 1154.

Henry 2 King of England, the sonne of *Mathilda* the Empresse, subdued Scotland, Ireland, Orchades, and the furthest Ocean Ilands; hee

he was Protector of France, and was offered the kingdome of Ierusalem: this Noble *Henry* was crowned King of England, *Anno* 1154. he married *Elenor*, daughter and heire of *William*, Duke of Aquitaine, the which *Elenor* had been formerly married to *Lewis*, King of France, and upon dislike, divorced, under pretence that they were within the fourth degree of consanguinity: he was knighted by *David*, King of Scots, and after many broyles, & much bloudshed, adopted by King *Stephen* for his sonne, and consequently proclaimed heire apparant to the Crowne of England, and thereupon after the discease of *Stephen*, crowned with great ioy and applause of the people.

Anno 1154. the same yeere that *Henry* the second was crowned, the Abbey of Kyrie-eleeson was founded.

Anno 1155. saith *Mathew Paris* and *Fabian*, and the first or second of *Henry* 2. raigne, (though *Stow* referre it to the 7. and *Anno* 1160: the King cast in his minde to conquer Ireland, hee saw that it was commodious for him, and considered that they were but a rude and savage people, for so the historiographers doe write, whereupon in his ambitious minde, he sent unto *Adrian*, Bishop of Rome, one *Iohn Salsbury*, (who by the said Bishop afterwards was made Bishop of Carnolum in France) with others, delivering his sute to that effect. *Adrian* being a man of English birth, heard his Ambassadors the more willingly, considered the matter advisedly, together with his colledge of Cardinals, and granted him his request, as followeth: *Adrian the Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his most deer sonne in Christ, the Noble King of England, sendeth greeting and Apostolike benediction: your magnificence hath beene very carefull and studious how you might enlarge the Church of God here in earth, and increase the number of his Saints and elect in heaven, in that as a good Catholike King, you have and doe by all meanes labour and travell to enlarge and increase Gods Church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and Christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting up the weedes of sinne and wickednesse. And wherein you have, and doe crave for your better furtherance, the helpe of the Apostolike See (wherein more speedily and discreetly you proceed) the better successe we hope, God will send, for all they which of a fervent zeale and love in religion, doe begin and enterprise any such thing, shall no doubt in the end, have a good and prosperous successe: And as for Ireland, and all other Ilands where Christ is knowne, and the Christian religion received, it is out of all doubt, and your excellencie well knoweth, they doe all appertaine and belong to the right of Saint Peter, and of the Church of Rome, and we are so much the more ready, desirous and willing to sow the acceptable seede of Gods word, because we know the same in the latter day will be most severely required at our hands: you have (our welbeloved sonne in Christ) advertised and signified unto us, that you will enter*

into

into the Land and Realme of Ireland, to the end to bring them to obedience unto Law, and under your ſubjection, and to root out from among them, their foule ſinnes and wickednesse, as alſo to yeeld and pay yeerely out of every houſe, a yeerely penſion of one penny to Saint Peter, *and beſides alſo will defend and keepe the rites of thoſe Churches, whole and inviolate: We therefore well allowing and favouring this your godly diſpoſition, and commendable affection, doe accept, ratifie, and aſſent unto this your petition; and doe grant that you (for the dilating of Gods Church, the puniſhment of ſinne, the reforming of manners, planting of vertue, and the increaſing of Chriſtian religion) doe enter to poſſeſſe that land, and thereto execute according to your wiſedome, whatſoever ſhall be for the honour of God, and the ſafety of the Realme: and further alſo we doe ſtrictly charge and require, that all the people of that land, doe with all humbleneſſe, dutifulneſſe, and honour, receive and accept you as their Liege Lord and Soveraigne, reſerving and accepting the right of holy Church to be inviolably preſerved: as alſo the yeerely penſion of Peter pence out of every houſe, which we require to be truely anſwered to Saint* Peter, *and to the Church of Rome. If therefore you doe minde to bring your godly purpoſe to effect, indevour to travell to reforme the people to ſome better order and trade of life, and that alſo by your ſelfe, and by ſuch others as you ſhall thinke meet, true, and honeſt in their life, manners, and converſation, to the end the Church of God may be beautified, the true Chriſtian religion ſowed and planted, and all other things done, that by any meanes ſhall or may be to Gods honour, and ſalvation of mens ſoules, whereby you may in the end receive of Gods hands, the reward of everlaſting life, and alſo in the meane time, and in this life, carry a glorious fame and an honourable report among all nations.* The King upon the receit hereof, was very glad, and let it lye dorment by him, untill better opportunity was offered, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Anno 1166. *Moragh Mac Cocholan*, King of Ireland, called a great Councell at Dublin, gave battaile to the King of Leinſter, and killed him, and ſhortly after was himſelfe ſlaine by *Ororic*, which ſucceeded in the ſoveraignty; the ſame yeere ſaith *Guttyn Owen* in his Britiſh Chronicle, *Henry* 2. being at Cheſter, hired many ſhippes out of Ireland for his ayde, againſt North-Wales, but hee diſcharged them immediately, for his purpoſe tooke no good effect, in as much as the preſent troubles of Normandy called him away. In this paſtime (ſo the old Engliſh delivereth) or rather the hurly-burly of the world, amids the warres of France, Flanders, and England; Ireland was all in armes, the occaſion was as followeth.

Dermot Mac Moragh, King of Leinſter, was a long time enamoured with the wife of *Ororike*, King of Meth, ſome call him *Morice*, ſome other *Mordich*, ſhe was the daughter of *Omalarghlan*, whom nature had made faire, the world a Queene, and luſt a Harlot: the booke of *Howth*

Howth reporteth at large, how *Ororic* was old, his Queene young and wanton, and that in deriſion, when he came from hunting, and being an hungred, ſhe gave Apples to eate, which had beene in ſome undecent place of her body to be ſpoken of, ſo that the ſcent of them was ſtrong, whereat ſhe ſmiled; her Lord and husband having ſecretly learned her lewd practiſe, tooke with him the day following, two of her foſter brothers a hunting, gelded them, baked their ſtones, brought the Pie hot to his Lady and her Gentlewomen, when hee had commended the rareneſſe of the meat, the fond wantons and giglets, fell to it, when they had ſatisfied themſelves, ſaith *Ororic*, how like you this Pye, excellent good meat ſay they; it is (ſaith hee) the meat which you love raw and roſted, what is that (ſay they) the ſtones of your two foſter brethren; with that ſhe caſt up a wilde look, and never beheld him cheerefully againe. *Ororic* her Lord and husband being in purſuit of kerne theeves and outlawes that had mightily annoyed his people in the furtheſt part of his country, ſhe with all celerity, ſuppoſing it a fit time, ſent for her lover *Dermotte*, the meſſage was no ſooner delivered, but hee was a horſe backe, poſting to the Harlot; to be ſhort, he tooke her away with him, at which time (O falſe heart) ſhe ſtrugled, ſhe cryed, as though ſhe were unwilling, and that hee forced her. *Ororic* immediately heard of it, gathered his forces together, muſtred his people, craved ayde, and among others, wrote unto *Roderick*, Monarch of Ireland as followeth.

Though I am not ignorant, (moſt renowned Prince) that humane cauſes are to be weighed in the balance of patience, and that a man endued with vertue, will not effeminate himſelfe by reaſon of the unconſtant and mutable minde of a Harlot, yet in ſo much this horrible crime, (whereof I am fully perſwaded) came to your eares before my meſſenger could deliver his letters, a thing heretofore not heard of, as farre as I remember, not practiſed againſt any King of Ireland; ſeverity cauſeth me to call for juſtice, when charity admoniſheth me not to ſeeke revengement. If thou behold the ſhame, I confeſſe it redoundeth to me alone; if you weigh the cauſe, it is common to us both; what confidence ſhall we repoſe in our ſubjects that are bound unto us in regard of our Princely command, if this effeminate adulterer, or rather queller of chaſtity, ſhall eſcape unpuniſhed for ſo abhominable a fact? for the unchaſtiſed offences of Princes, notoriouſly committed in the ſight of al men, breed a moſt pernitious imitation, as precedents unto the people; in ſumme you have ſufficient experience of my good will and affection towards you, you ſee mee wounded with the cruell darts of fortune, vexed with infinite diſcommodities, and now extremely driven to my utter ſhifts: It remaines, (ſeeing I am wholly yours) that not onely with counſell, being requeſted, but with armes, being urged, you revenge my quarrell: this when you will, and as you will, not onely I aske, but require at your hands. Farewell.

The Monarch for ſome former quarrell againſt *Dermot* was all on fire, and joyning forces with *Ororic*, entred Leinſter with fire and ſword, the people cry woe and alacke (*O hone in Iriſh*) now are wee puniſhed for the lewdneſſe of our Prince. *Dermot* lulling himſelfe in his lovers armes, heareth the newes, ſtarteth upon a ſodaine, beholdeth his Lady, hath no power to ſpeake, runneth forth, calleth his men, cryeth for aid, throughout his country, none gave eare unto him; the country thought now (whereas they could not) that God will be revenged on him for his exactions, cruelty, tyranny, and all other villanies practiſed upon his ſubjects, and eſpecially for defloureing another mans wife: when he ſaw himſelfe quite forſaken, voyd and deſtitute of all ayde, he betooke himſelfe to the ſea, and fled for England, but what became of the Harlot I cannot learne; belike ſhee hanged her ſelfe when ſhe had ſet all the country in uproare. *Anno 1169.* (*Iohn Clin* and *Iohn Stow* are mine Authors) now that *Dermot* is fled, I am to inſert a ſtory out of the Britiſh Chronicles of Conwey and Strotflur Abbeyes, afore I diſcourſe of him, which was in the ſame yeere, that he tooke the ſea, how that *Owen Gwyneth*, Prince of North-Wales, had a ſonne called *Ryryd*, who in the right of his wife, as it ſeemeth, was Lord of Clochran in Ireland, and another ſonne begotten vpon an Iriſh woman, called *Howell*, and a third ſonne called *Madoc*. This *Madoc* finding his country in great contention, and his brethren at civill warres, prepared certaine ſhips with men and munition out of Wales and Ireland, and ſought adventures by ſeas, he ſailed weſt from the coaſt of Ireland, ſo farre north, that hee came to a land unknowne, where he ſaw many ſtrange things. This land in the opinion of *Humphrey Lloyde*, the great Antiquary of Britaine, muſt needs be ſome part of that country, of which the Spaniards affirme themſelves to be the firſt diſcoverers ſince *Hannos* time. For by reaſon and order of Coſmographie, this land to the which *Madoc* came, muſt needs be ſome part of Nova-hiſpania, or Florida; whereupon it is manifeſt that the ſame country was long before diſcovered by Britaines and Iriſh men, afore either *Columbus* or *Americus Veſpatius*, led any Spaniards thither. Of the voyage and returne of this *Madoc*, there be many fables, the which I will not report. He prepared ſhips for a ſecond voyage, and tooke with him men and women to inhabit that land, therefore it is to be preſuppoſed that he and his people inhabited part of thoſe countries, for it appeareth by *Francis Loves*, that in Acuſanus and other places, the people honoured the Croſſe, whereby it may be gathered, that Chriſtians had been there before the comming of the Spaniards: but becauſe this people were not many, they followed the manners of the land, and uſed their language. I am of opinion with others, that the land whereunto *Madoc* came, was ſome part of Mexico; firſt of all, for that the inhabitants of that land report, their Rulers to have deſcended from a ſtrange nation

nation that came from a far country, which thing is confeſſed by *Mateſuma*, King of that country, in his orations made for quieting of his people at his ſubmiſſion to the King of Caſtile, *Hernando Curtecius* being then preſent, which is laid downe in the Spaniſh Chronicles, of the conqueſt of the Weſt-Indies; ſecondly the britiſh words and names of places uſed in that country to this day, doe argue the ſame, as when they talke together, (they ſay) *Gwrando*, which is *hearken* or *liſten* in Britiſh. Alſo if you peruſe Sir *Humphrey Gilberts* diſcovery, they have a Bird, which they call Pengwin in Brittiſh and Corniſh, a white-head, but the Iland of Corroeſo, the Cape of Britaine, the river of Gwyndoor and the white rocke of Pengwyn, be Britiſh or Welch words: whereby it appeareth, that it was that country which *Madoc* and his people inhabited: now remembring my ſelfe that my pen hath not carryed me ſo far unto forraigne countries by ſea, but that I expect *Dermots* returne by ſea and by land into Ireland. *Dermot Mac Morogh* came to *Henry* 2. in Normandie, made his moane (as formerly in ſubſtance is delivered) craved aide for his reſtitution into his country, being a King exiled, although diſtreſſed and void of comfort, unleſſe hee might obtaine it at his Majeſties hands; the Kings hands being full of warres, he granted him his favourable letters as followeth.

Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjow, &c. unto all his ſubiects, Engliſh, Normans, Welch, and Scots, and to all nations and people being his ſubiects, greeting; whereas Dermot *Prince of Leinſter moſt wrongfully (as he enformeth) baniſhed out of his owne country, hath craved our ayde, therefore for ſo much as we have received him unto our protection, grace and favour, whoſoever within our Realmes, ſubiects unto our command, will ayde and helpe him whom wee have embraced as our truſtie friend, for the recovery of his land, let him be aſſured of our favour and licence in that behalfe.*

Dermot returned ioyfully with theſe letters, and came to Briſtoll, where at that time, *Richard*, ſurnamed *Strangbow*, Eare of Penbroke and Chepſtow lay, hee ſhewed his letters, cauſed them at ſeverall times, publikely to be read, conferred with Earle Richard, and concluded to give the Earle his ſole daughter and heire in marriage, and his whole intereſt in the kingdome of Leinſter after his deceaſe. *Richard* undertooke of the other ſide to effect all his deſire. As *Dermot* wayted for a winde, it came in his minde for the ſhorter cut into Ireland, to goe by land into Saint *Davids*, where he was refreſhed, and greatly pitied by the Biſhop there, and concluded in like ſort (as with the Earle before) with *Robert fitz Stephens*, and *Morice Fitz Gerald*, by the mediation of the good Biſhop there, to reſtore him unto his kingdome, upon condition that hee ſhould give them and theirs for ever, the towne of Wexford, and two cantreds of land next adioy-

adjoyning; upon this hee tooke shipping, secretly came to Fernes, and lived privately among the Clergie all that winter, expecting performance of promises out of England. *Anno* 1170. *Abbatia de Castro Dei*, was founded in the same yeere, and the first day of May, (so writeth *Stow*) *Robert Fitz Stephens*, with *David Barrie*, and *Hervie de Monte*, *Marisco spie* of *Strangbow* his nephew, according to his promise, with thirty Knights, threescore Esquires well mounted, and three hundred foot, being Archers well appointed, of his owne kindred, and trayning up in feates of armes, and the choice souldiers of all Wales, landed at the Bann, not farre from Wexford; hereupon the rime runneth:

At the Creeke of Baggambun,
Ireland was lost and wonne.

Here some allude unto the blinde Prophecie of *Merlin*, that hee should meane this noble Warrior and worthy Knight, where he saith; *A Knight biparted shall first enter with force of Armes, and breake the bounds of Ireland:* this they would have understood of *Robert Fitz Stephens*, an English man, borne in Normandie, and of *Nesta* his mother, daughter to *Rees ap Tuyder* Prince of South-Wales; so I finde in *Cambrensis*; but if *Merlin* had foresight in this, I had rather take his Prophecie verified in respect of his Armes and Enfignes, which were biparted, being of two sundry changes, namely, *party par pale gules and ermine, a faltier counterchanged*; for commonly all Prophecies have their allusions unto Armes, and by them they are discovered, though at the first not so apparant, before the event thereof take place.

The next day after, in the same place, landed *Morice Prendergast*, whom *Stanihurst* calleth *Prendelgast de Rosensi Wallia Demetia Provincia*, as *Cambrensis* writeth; the which I take to be about Milford in South-Wales, accompanied with ten Knights, and a great number of Archers in most gallant sort in two ships. Immediately, *Robert Fitz Stephens* directeth his letters to *Dermot*, who could scarce reade them for joy of their arrivall, and sent forthwith his base sonne *Donald* with five hundred men to salute them, and hasteneth after himselfe with all speed; off goeth his poore mantle wherein hee obscurely shrowded himselfe, on goeth his princely attire; the Irish men follow him, the fame thereof is spread over the whole land: such as before in his distressed state flatly forsooke him, now runne and flatter, and fawne upon him; to be short, they meete, they confirme the former leagues with oathes, and joyne forces together, and they march towards Wexford, to lay siege to the towne; the townesmen a fierce & wilfull people, (to the number of 2000.) sally forth with full purpose to give them battaile in the field, but when they heard the Trumpets

Trumpets sound, the horses neyghing, and beheld their glittering Armes, the ratling of their furniture, horse and men in compleat Armes, and all most comely in battaile array, (the like of them not formerly seene, neither heard of) they alter their mindes, they retire into the towne, they make fast their gates, and fire the suburbs. *Fitz Stephens* came to the wals, filled the trenches with armed men, and appointed his Archers to levell at the wals and turrets, if occasion were offered: the townesmen manfully defended themselves, threw over the wals great stones and pieces of timber, hurt many, and made them voyd the place, among whom, a couragious Knight, called *David Barrye*, adventured to scale the walles, but with a great stone which fell upon his head-piece, he was cast downe to the ditch, and carried away by his fellowes with safeguard of his life, upon this they goe to the sea strand, and fired all the ships and vessels which they found there.

The next day after, upon better advice and deliberation, they approach unto the wals, and gave a new assault, the townesmen within beganne to distrust their state, being upon this sudden arrivall of the strangers, not sufficiently provided of men, munition, and victuals, to encounter with them, and remembring againe, how most unnaturally they had rebelled against their Prince and Soveraigne, they sent messengers to *Dermot*, to intreate for peace, (alas it was farre from the heart) the which was granted, and tooke of them pledges and hostages for the performance thereof. Lastly, *Mac Moragh*, according to his former promise gratified these first adventures, hee gave unto *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Morrice Fitz Gerrald*, who was as yet in England, the towne of Wexford, and the territories thereunto adioyning, and unto *Hervie de Monte Morisco*, two cantreds on the sea side, betwixt Wexford and Waterford.

Dermot Mac Moroch and his company now take heart, they encrease their Army with Wexford men, and become 3000. strong. The next iourney they bend their course towards Ossory, where one *Donald*, or *Mac Donell* was Prince, whom *Dermot* hated deadly, and for this cause *Donald* suspected *Dermots* sonne and heire to have much familiaritie with his wife, and therefore in his jealous humour, apprehended him, imprisoned him, and pulled out both his eyes, (but say they) though sight failed him, his feeling did not, for she loved him the more, in so much that she satisfied his lust, and ranne away after him. When *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and the Gallants of Britaine entred the country, they found neither dastards, nor cowards, but valiant men with horse and foot; they found the country fast with woods, bogges, and paces trenched and plashed; yet the valour of the adventurers was such, presuming upon former fortunes, to have the like future successes, with loose wings drove them out of the woods and bogges, into the plaine and champion land, where the

horſemen with their ſpeares overthrew them, and the foote finding them groveling, runne them thorow, and ended their dayes; the Gallowglaſſes followed, and cut off their heads. And here *Dermot Mac Morogh* is mightily condemned, he being originally for exaction, extortion, cruelty, tyranny, and other damnable offences, iuſtly exiled, now ſheweth no Princely ſtomacke, but a baſe Wolviſh minde; for when 300. of the Oſſory mens heads were throwne at his feete, (alas they had not offended) hee viewed them all, and finding one whom he knew, and mortally hated, he held him by the head and eares, and moſt brutiſhly with his teeth, bit the noſe and lips of the dead, whom without the ayde of the Britaines, hee durſt not behold in the face. In this bloudy courſe, *Dermot* directed theſe worthy warriours, they more affecting the prey for their preſent maintenance, then the bloud of any perſon, to ſpoyle, burne, waſte the country, and murther the poore and ſeely people, which God wot, meant no harme: whereupon *Donald*, Prince of Oſſory, deſpiſing *Dermot Mac Morogh*, by the advice of his Councell and friends, ſent to *Robert Fitz Stephens* in writing as followeth: Sir Knight of Noble race, renowned for martiall proweſſe, *Donald* Prince of Oſſory ſendeth greeting: *Dermot* that damnable adulterer in his owne perſon, with the King of Meths wife, and in his ſonnes perſon with my wife, have drawne thee and thoſe Gallants, (moſt worthy Knights) into this poore country and naked people: I will yeeld my ſelfe (it is for the good of my poore followers) into thy hands, peace I crave, and peace let me have. *Robert Fitz Stephens* acquainted *Dermot Mac Morogh* with the premiſes of all ſides, the Iriſh diſſembled, (as hereafter ſhall further appeare) peace they granted, and they acknowledged *Dermot* for their Lord and Soveraigne. In all this ſervice, I may not conceale what *Cambrenſis* delivereth. *David Barry* and *Meilerius*, effected ſingular exployts, and deſerved no leſſe commendations. As ſoone as the good ſucceſſe of *Dermot*, and the ſtrangers lately arrived, was ſpread abroad, *Rory Oconochor, alias Roderick*, King of Connaught, Monarch of Ireland, called the Princes and Nobles of the land together, and layeth before them the dangerous eſtate and imminent perill of the whole land, how *Dermot* guilefully had trayned in ſtrangers, how hee and the ſtrangers were like to ouer-runne all, unleſſe with all expedition, this miſchiefe were prevented; in ſumme they concluded, that every man ſhall to his Armes, and make ready horſe and foot, and ſet upon theſe invaders.

Dermot Mac Morogh, having certaine knowledge of this great ſeparation and miſchiefe intended, and his falſe harted ſubjects, that lately fawned vpon him were fled to the enemies, fearing the puiſſance of the Monarch, and the forces of the whole land, called *Robert Fits Stephens*, and ſaid vnto him; *Fortune is fickle, our ſtate is an ague that commeth by fits, my friends fleet away, and argue falſe hearts, no marvaile*

marvaile though I bee diſquieted, if you ſtick not to mee I am undone: Robert Fitz Stephens replied, *Wee have left behind us our deare friends and our native ſoyle, wee have fired all our ſhippes, not upon intent to runne away, wee haue already in armes ingaged our lives, fall out as fall out may, wee will live and dye together, bee you true to us, wee will not bee falſe to you: Dermot* hereupon gathering his ſpirits together, got him and his followers to a certaine faſtneſſe, not farre from Fernes, where hee intrenched and plaſhed himſelfe, being invironed with woods, hils, rockes, bogges and waters, a place to mans ſeeming inacceſſible and invincible, to endure for a while wandring clowds, and threatning ſtormes of his adverſaries, to vaniſh and bee caried away with waving winds of fortune and unfortunate warres: Whoſe foreſight and ready wit *Robert Fitz Stephens highly commended, Immediatly there came a Meſſenger from Roderic the Monarch unto Robert Fitz Stephens with this meſſage: The Britans may not by the Lawes of Armes, diſplay their Banners and Enſignes in forreine poſſeſſions, and diſpoſe the lawfull heires of their inheritance, but they are with licence of the Iriſh to pack home whence they came: It is a blemiſh for the Britiſh nation, iniuriouſly to giue aide to a ſhamefull fact, neither may the lechery of Dermot, be mantled under Britiſh cloaks, wherefore depart and forſake him that is forſaken of God and man. And here by my meſſenger receive to defray your charges, and tranſport you to your native ſoyle. Robert Fitz Stephens anſwereth, your preſent I will not accept, faith and troth I have pawned to my friend Dermot, I will not breake: hee forſakes not me, I will not forſake him, neither leave him diſtreſſed; you ſpeake of lechery, what is that among martiall men? I heare you have Baſtards your ſelfe, to what end is your embaſſie? If Roderick give councell, we need it not; if he Prophecie, we credit not his oracle; if he command as a Prince, we obey not his autority; if hee threaten as an enemie, a figge for his Monarchy.* The meſſenger returned with ſmall welcome, going and comming; *Roderic* bethought himſelfe againe, and ſent letters to *Dermot*, perſwading him to be at peace with his country people, and to baniſh the ſtrangers out of the Land; he rejected his councell and deſpiſeth the meſſenger: *Roderic* ſeeing that his private practiſes tooke ſmall effect, put himſelfe in armes, aſſembleth his forces, and delivereth unto them theſe ſpeeches: *You right worthy and valiant defenders of your Country and liberty; Conſider with what people and for what cauſe wee are now to fight and wage battell, the enemy of his owne Country, the tyrant over his owne people, the exile fugitive, behold hee is returned backed with ſtrangers, and purpoſeth to deſtroy us and the whole Nation; hee being an enemy, hath brought in thoſe enemies, which have beene ever hatefull unto us all, and are moſt greedy to have the Soveraignty and Dominion over us all, proteſting openly and firmely avouching, that by fatall deſtiny they are to bee Commanders*

over

over this land. And ſo farre hath he poured out his venome, that there is no favour, nor mercy to be looked for at his hands. O cruell beaſt, (yea more cruell then ever was beaſt) who lately bit with his owne teeth, the noſe and lips of the dead: he to ſatisfie his inſatiable malice and bloudy minde, ſpareth neither man, woman, nor childe: he deſerveth well to be hated of all, that oppoſeth himſelfe an enemy to all; wherefore my loving and deere country men, be well adviſed, looke about you, and conſider adviſedly, how by the like meanes, (I meane civill warres) all Realmes and nations for the moſt part have beene overthrowne and brought to utter ruine. Iulius Cæſar *attempted the invaſion of Britaine, was twice foyled, and indured the repulſe, but when* Androgeus *Duke of London fell at variance with the King, to be revenged, ſent for* Iulius, *who thereupon returning, ſubdued the land. The Britaines being at diſcord, and hating their vicious King* Careticus, *the Saxons finding opportunitie to over-runne all, ſent for* Gurmundus *the arch-Pirate and terror of the Ocean ſeas, who ioyning forces together, foyled the Britaines, and baniſhed their King: not long after,* Iſembert *aſpiring to the Crowne of France, procured the ſaid* Gurmund *to his ayde: behold the end,* Gurmund *was ſlaine,* Iſembert *overthrowne, and his whole practiſe came to nought. Wherefore let us with one minde, like thoſe valiant Frenchmen in our rightfull cauſe, in the defence of our country, and ſafeguard of the lives of our wives and children, couragiouſly give the onſet upon our enemies. And whiles theſe ſtrangers are but few in number, let us ſtoutly iſſue out upon them. The fire while it is but in embers and ſparkles, may eaſily be covered with aſhes, but if it breake into flames, it is hard to be quenched. wherefore it is expedient we ſtoppe beginnings, and prevent ſickneſſe when it creepeth leaſt; when it takes roote, it will hardly be cured: wherefore cheere my hearts, wee fight for our country and liberty, let us leave unto our poſterity an immortall fame, let us march on, and luſtily aſſault them, that the overthrow of a few, may be a terrour to many, and that it may be a preſident unto all forraigne Potentates, never to attempt the like againe.*

Dermot Mac Morogh and his men receive intelligence of this march, and the approach of the enemy, and beholding his men, ſomewhat diſmaid, turned him to them with loving countenance: yee men of Leynſter, my naturall ſubjects, of my fleſh and bloud, whom loyalty, truth and kindred hath hitherto lincked together; let us live together, and dye together, in the defence of our perſons and country; you ſee how that wicked and ambitious minded *Rodericke*, the Author of many miſchiefes, not contented with his owne country and kingdome, ſeeketh now the ſoveraignty and dominion over the whole land, the which, I hope, God will not permit. You ſee his glory, his pride, and audacious attempts, how he lifteth up his head, and looketh aloft: he truſteth to his multitude, doubt you not but that God is on our ſide, and the rightfull cauſe ours, though wee of country birth,

birth, to you Leinſter men I ſpeake, bee not ſo many as they are, neither ſo well appointed, it forceth not, for victory is not meaſured by multitude, but by valour and courage, and oftentimes, we know, that a few ſtout and hardy men have foiled troupes of ſluggards, daſtards and white liverd Souldiers: If you miſtruſt any defect in your ſelves, behold a preſent ſupply at your back and elbow.

Doe not you ſee theſe Worthy Knights, theſe Valiant Warriers theſe Noble gallants, the flowre of Brittaine? their valour in part you have ſufficiently tryed, their furniture excelleth, their order and aray is moſt comely, they have forſaken their native ſoyle, their friends and kindred, and all for our ſakes; will they fly? no, they have burned their Ships, the Land will yeeld them neither ſuccour nor refuge, neither will the bloody tyrant Roderic *ſhew any mercy; wee are ſworne the one to the other, while breath laſteth and life endureth. If the enemy pretend with the ſword to chaſtiſe us for our ſinnes, as it appeareth by their ſlanderous & ſhameleſſe reports; alas, what have you done? God knoweth, your conſciences are cleare, your cauſe honeſt, to take Armes in defence of your Prince, and Countrey? Why doe they not behold the blemiſhes, nay the hainous enormities and villanies that raigne among them? Their carrows, their kerne, their theeves, their murders, their ſwearing, their lying, their drunkenneſſe, their whordome and bloody minds who reſormeth? The Tyrant* Roderic *hath murdered his owne naturall brother, hee hath three wives alive, he hath eleven baſtards by ſeverall women: O villaine, to behold a mote in our eye, and cannot ſee a beame in his owne. If the tyrant make challenge and pretend title to Leinſter, becauſe the ſame hath ſometimes beene tributarie to ſome one King of Connoght; by the ſame reaſon alſo may wee demand and challenge all Connaght; for our anceſtors have beene ſole Governours of both, and Monarchs of all Ireland. The Lawes of all Nations doe permit, and allow to reſiſt and withſtand force and injury, with force and ſtrength; Let us be of good courage, wee ſtand upon a good ground, our ſeat is naturally very ſtrong of it ſelfe, & now by our induſtry made more defenſive; feare nothing, quit your ſelves like men. When* Dermot *had made an end of his Iriſh Oration,* Robert Fitz Stephens *in the Britiſh tongue turneth him to the Brittaines. You my companions in martiall affaires, you luſty young gallants that have endured with me many perils, yet ſtill retaine your noble and valiant courage; conſider whence wee came, what wee are, and the cauſe we have in hand; we are lineally deſcended from Troy, whoſe fame hath filled the whole earth, and now lately ſome of us out of Normandy, have ſeated our ſelves in Brittaine, and have to our wives, children, and kindred of the ancient and noble Britiſh race; of the one we cary our valiant and noble mind, of the other wee learned the experience in feates of Armes; wee are not come hither as pirats and theeves, to robbe and ſpoile (as it is well knowne unto you) wee had our native ſoile to inhabit, wee had our kindred about us,*

and

and the countenance of great persons, wee came after the course of the World, as Marshall men (but in an honest cause) to take our adventures. Heere wee are, our friends are with us, our foes are in armes against us, wee are well appointed, the enemy is but a wilde, naked, rascall and savage people: feare nothing, our cause is good; Dermot *sought us, we sought not him, hee loveth our nation, and our friends in former times have found friendship in his Countrey, hee is a Prince lately exiled, whose fall is more to be pitied then envied; we are to comfort him, to aide him, and to restore him to his Kingdome. It is more honorable to make them to be a King, and to restore them to exile: he is a Prince of a bountifull mind, hee hath promised large for us and our heires after us, hee hath in part already most faithfully performed, his yeeres are many, and his daies are but few; after him wee shall enjoie his, and if we overcome the enemy, wee shall possesse all: feare not death; it is but a short delay betweene transitory and eternall life, it is but a short passage from vaine and temporall delights, to certaine and perpetuall joies, if we conquer here, wee shall inherit here, and purchase unto us immortall fame; if we misse here, we are sure of a Kingdome in another world.* *Roderic* considering with himselfe, the events of warres how doubtfull and uncertaine they are, wrought all meanes to intreat for peace, being timerous to adventure battaile with strangers, whose force hee mightily feared, and whose puissance and valour being renowned, he was loth to encounter withall; he sent messengers unto *Dermot Mac Morogh*, promising him that hee and his heires should in peace and quietnesse enjoy all Leinster, and acknowledge him for his chiefe King and Monarch, and to yeeld unto him the service and homage that to that belonged; and that he should deliver him his sonne *Cunthurus* (*Cnothurinus* saith *Stanyhurst*) for pledge and hostage. And if the peace were truly kept and performed, *Roderic* promised to give him his daughter in marriage, and in the end when Leinster should bee quitly setled and reduced to the old Irish order, *Dermot* should drive away the Brittans and strangers, and procure no more into the Land; all this was concluded vpon, and solemnely undertaken by oathes on both sides, yet all was but flat dissimulation. In the nock of this, landeth at Wexford *Maurice Fitz Girald*, brother to *Robert Fitz Stephens* by the mothers side, in two ships, having in his company, tenne Knights, thirty horsemen, archers and foot a hundred, whereof *Dermot* was very glad and mightily encouraged on everie side. And immediately tooke with him *Morice Fitz Girald*, and bent his forces towards *Dublin*, to be revenged on them, for many wrongs, and especially for the death of his father, whom they murthered in their Councell house, as formerly hath beene delivered, and after for more despite buried him with a Dog: They left *Robert Fitz Stephens* behind busily imployed in building of a Fort or a strong hold some two miles from Wexford, in British and Irish called the Carricke

ricke. As they drew neere Dublin, they preyed, they spoyled, they burned all before them. Dublin trembled for feare, the townesmen intreated for peace, the which was granted upon the delivery of certaine pledges and hostages.

In the meane while, no small stirre arose betweene *Roderic* the Monarch, and *Donald*, Prince of Limerike for chiefery. Whereupon there arose deadly hatred and martiall warres. *Roderic* drew all his forces against him; *Dermot Mac Morogh* sent to *Robert Fitz Stephens*, that in all haste he should draw forces to the ayde of *Donald* Prince of Limirike his sonne in law, which was accordingly effected, where *Roderic* was foyled, lost his chiefery, and with shame enough returned to his own country. Now *Dermot Mac Morogh* is puffed up with these prosperous successes, and whereas a while agoe, he would have contented himselfe with Leynster alone, now Connaght and all Ireland seeme little enough unto his aspiring minde. Secretly hee acquainteth *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Maurice Fitz Gerald* with his purpose, and offereth any of them his daughter and heire with his inheritance after, upon condition, that they should send for supplies of their kindred and country men, to effect his enterprises; they modestly thanked him for his offers, and refused his daughter, for that they were both already married, and withall wished him to write for *Richard Strangbow*, with whom he had formerly concluded to that effect, unto whom he addresseth his messenger, and directeth his letters in this forme:

Dermot Mac Morogh, *Prince of Leinster*, *to* Richard *Earle of Chepstow, the sonne of Earle* Gilbert, *sendeth greeting. If you doe well consider the time of men and matters, as we doe which are distressed, then would you regard whether we have cause to complaine of men, or to maligne and curse the infortunate time. Even as the seely Storkes and Swallowes with their comming, prognosticate the summer season, and with westerly windes are blowne away: we have observed times and seasons fit for your arrivall and transportation, if your affaires had correspondently accorded unto our expectations. East and West no doubt would have fitted our purpose, but hitherto being frustrated of your long desired presence and promises, unlesse the most valiant Knights of your country birth, (whose valour and prowesse my penne is not able to paint unto the posterity) had upheld our state and dignity. We beseech you againe and againe, in the league and amitie of Princes, not to use further delayes; our successe hitherto hath beene to our hearts desire. Leynster is our owne, your comming will inlarge our bounds, the speedier it is, the more gratefull; the hastier, the more joyfull; the sooner, the better welcome.* *Richard Strangbow* was pleased with these letters, glad of the successe of *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and cast with himselfe, how hee might speedily passe for Ireland: He repaired to King *Henry* 2. humbly beseeching him, either to restore him to such possessions, as by

right

right of inheritance did belong unto him, or to give him Passe to seek adventures in some forraigne country, and among some strange nation. *Stanihurst* excellently conceited, layeth downe the Kings answer: *Henry smiling within himselfe, saith, Loe, whether and where thou wilt goe and wander for me, it shall be lawfull for thee, take* Dedalus *wings and flye away. Strangbow* betweene ieast and earnest, takes this for a sufficient licence, and makes ready for Ireland, and sends before him, *Reimond le Grosse*, nephew to *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Morice Fitz Gerald*, sonne to *William Fitz Gerald*, the elder brother, which land at Dundorogh, commonly called Dundenold, West of Wexford, with tenne Knights, forty Esquires, and fourescore Archers and foot; whereupon *Omolaghlin Ophelin*, Lord of the Decies, raised the country, consulted with the townesmen of Waterford, and concluded that it stood them upon, with all expedition, to set upon the strangers; they made ready 3000. men by land, they runne up and downe the shore, they row; their song was kill, kill, kill, *Reimond* straight upon his arrivall, had fortified himselfe, the Waterfordians march against him in battaile array, the Britaines being but sixscore and ten, came forth to make good the field against 3000. *Reymond* perceiving in the skirmish that the enemy over-laid them, retired to his Fort, the Irish perswading themselves at that instant to give the Britaines an utter overthrow, thicke and thinne, with all haste pursued them, and the formost entring at the foote of the last Britaine into the Fort, had his head cloven in two with *Reymonds* sword, immediately saith *Reymond*, strike the drumme, follow mee fellow souldiers; the Irish being disordered, and out of battaile array, and discouraged with the death of one man, flie away; then they which in this doubtfull skirmish were like to be vanquished and quite overthrown, became victors, conquerours, & wan the field; they chased the Waterfordians that were out of order, & at their wits ends, & slue of them, saith *Cambrensis*, above 500. persons, and being weary of killing, they cast a great number of those whom they had taken prisoners, headlong from the rocks, into the sea. In this service, Sir *William Ferand*, a Knight, deserved singular commendations, and was the onely man of all the Britaines, saith *Stanihurst* that was slaine: Thus fel the pride and rash attempt of Waterford, thus decayed their strength and force, and thus became the ruine and overthrow of that Citie, which, as it bred a great hope and consolation to the Britaines, so was it the cause of a great desperation and terrour to the enemy. They tooke 70. of the best men in Waterford prisoners, they enter into consultation, and call a martiall court, what was to be done with them. *Reymond* full of pittie and compassion, delivereth his opinion; *you my noble and valiant companions, and fellow souldiers,* for the increase of whose honour, vertue and fortune, wee presently seeme to contend, let us consider what is best to bee done with these our prisoners,

prisoners and captives: for my part I doe not thinke it good, nor yet alow that any favour or curtesie should be at all shewed to the enemy, but understand you, these are no enemies now, but men, no rebels, but such as be vanquished and cleane overthrowne, and standing in defence of their country by evill fortune and hard destiny, are subdued; their adventures were honest, and their attempts commendable, and therefore they are not to be reputed for theeves, factious persons, traitors, nor yet murtherers; they are now brought to that distresse and case, that rather mercy for example sake is to bee shewed, then cruelty to the increase of their misery to be ministred: surely our ancestors in times past, (although indeed it bee very hard to be done) were wont when fortune favoured, to temper their loose mindes, and qualifie their unruly affections, with some one discommoditie or other: wherefore let mercy and pitty, which is in man most commendable, worke so in us, that we that now have overcome others, may subdue our owne mindes, and conquer our owne affections. For modesty, moderation, and discretion, are wont to stay hasty motions, and to stoppe the course of rash devices. O how commendable and honourable is it to a Noble man, that in his greatest triumph and glory, he counteth it for a sufficient revenge, that hee can revenge, and be wreaked! *Iulius Gæsar*, whose conquests were such, his victory so great, and his triumphs so many, that the whole world was noysed therewith, he had not so many friends who reioyced for the same, but he had many more enemies that maligned and enuied his successes, not onely in slanderous words, and evill reports, but many also secretly conspired, devised and practised his death and destruction; And yet he was so full of pitty, mercy, and compassion, that he never commanded nor willed any to bee put to death for the same, saving onely one *Domitius*, whom he had of meere clemency for his lewdnesse before pardoned, for his wickednesse released, and for his treachery acquitted. And thus as his pitty did much increase his honour, so did it nothing hinder his victories. Oh how beastly then and impious is that cruelty, wherein victory is not ioyned with pitty! for it is the part of a right Noble and Valiant Conquerour, to count them enemies, that doe wage the battaile, contend and fight for the victory, but such as be conquered, taken prisoners, and kept in bounds and captivitie, to take and repute them for men; that hereby fortitude and force may diminish the battell, and end the quarrell, as also humanitie may increase land, and make peace. It is therefore a great commendation and more praise worthy, to a noble man in mercy to be bounteous, then in victory to be cruell. For the one onely lyeth in the course of fortune, but the other in vertue. And as it had beene a great increase of our victory, and an augmentation of honour, if our enemies had beene slaine in the field, and overthrowne in the battaile; so they being now taken and saved, as it were men returned from

 rebels

rebels to the common ſociety, and fellowſhip of men. If wee now ſhould kill them, it will bee to our great ſhame, diſhonor and reproach for ever. And for as much as by the killing and deſtroying of them, wee ſhall bee never the neerer to have the command of the country, and never ſooner to be Lords of the Land) and yet the ranſoming of them very good for the maintenance of the Souldiers, the good fame of us, and the advancement of honour) wee muſt need thinke that it is better to ranſome them, then cruely to kill them; for as it is requiſite, that a Souldier in the field fighting in armes, ſhould then thriſt for the blood of his enemy, trie the force of his ſword, and valiantly ſtand to his tackle for victory; ſo when the fight is ended, the warres ceaſed, and the armour laid downe, and all ſtrongneſſe of hoſtility ſet apart, then in a Noble man muſt humanity take place, pitty and commiſeration muſt be ſhewed, and all kindneſſe of curteſie muſt be extended.

With this they were all drawen to ſome mildneſſe and remorſe, and ready to ſhew favour in hope of friendſhip againe. *Henry de Monte Mariſco*, who came thither to ſalute *Reimond*, ſtands vp in oppoſition, bent to blood and villany, in whom there was neither manhood in battell abroad, nor mercy in conſultation at home, and ſpake as followeth: *Reimond* hath very exquiſitly diſcourſed of pitty and mercy in ſet ſpeeches, uttering his eloquence hath ſhewed his mind, and declared his opinion, perſwading and inducing us to beleeve that a ſtrange land were to be conquered ſooner by mercy and fond pittie, then by fire and ſword; but I pray you, can there bee a worſe way then to hold that courſe. Did *Iulius Cæſar* or *Alexander of Macedonia*, by ſuch meanes or in ſuch order conquer the whole world; did the Nations from out of all places runne to ſubmit themſelves under their command, and imperie in reſpect of their pitty and mercy, and not rather compelled ſo to doe for feare and perforce? For people whilſt they are yet proud and rebellious, all pitty and mercy ſet apart, are by all manner of meanes and wayes to bee ſubdued: but when they are once brought under ſubjection and bondage, & ready to ſerve and obey, then they are with all curteſie to be intreated and kindly dealt withall, ſo that the ſtate of the Government be in ſafety and void of dãger, herein & in this point, muſt pitty be uſed; but in the other ſeverity or rather cruelty is more neceſſary: here clemency is to be ſhewed, but in the other rigour without favour is to be miniſtred. *Reimond* perſwadeth that mercy is to bee extended as upon people already ſubdued and ſubjected, or as though the enemies were ſo few and of ſo ſmall a number, as againſt whom no valiant ſervice nor chivalry can be exploited; and yet they are ready to joine with us, whereby our force may bee increaſed, and our power augmented: but alas, doe not we ſee, how that the whole notion and people of Ireland are fully bent and (not without cauſe) altogether conſpired againſt us? ſurely me thinks *Reimond* is contrary to himſelfe, for why? his coming hither was not to diſpute of pitty, nor to reaſon of mercy, but to conquer the nation, to ſubdue the people: Oh what an example of impious pitty were it then, to neglect our owne ſafety, and to have remorſe and compaſſion vpon others diſtreſſes! moreover wee have here in the field and in armour, more enemies then friends, we are in the middle of perils and dangers, our enemies being round about us in every corner: and ſhall wee thinke this to be nothing, but that we muſt bee alſo in the like diſtreſſe and danger among our ſelves: Round about us our enemies are infinit, and within our ſelves, ſome there be which practiſe and work our deſtruction: And if it ſhould happen that our Captives and Priſoners ſhould eſcape, and breake looſe out of their bonds, which are but very weake and ſlender, no doubt they would forthwith take our own armour and weapons againſt us; well, well, the Mouſe is in the cubbord, the Fire is in the lappe, and the Serpent is in the boſome, the enemie is at hand ready to oppreſſe his adverſarie, and the gueſt is in place with ſmall curteſie to requite his hoſt. If our enemies, when they come in good array, and well appointed to give the onſet, and to wage battel againſt us; if they ſhould happen to have the victorie, & the vpperhand over us, would they deale in pitty and mercy? would they grant us our lives? would they put us to ranſome? Tuſh, what needs many words, when the deeds are apparent; our victory is to bee uſed, that the deſtruction of theſe few may bee a terror to many, whereby all others, and this wild and rebellious nation may take example, and bewar how they meddle and encounter with us; of two things we are to make choice of one, for either we muſt valiantly and couragiouſly ſtand to performe what we have taken in hand, and all fond pitty ſet aſide, boldly and ſtoutly to overthrowe and vanquiſh this rebellious and ſtubborne people, or (if we ſhall after the mind and opinion of *Reimond* altogether be pittiful and full of mercy) we muſt hoiſe up our ſailes, and returne home, leaving both the Country, and all that we have already gotten, to this miſerable and wretched people. When *Herveie* had made an end of his ſpeech, they put it to voyces, and the voyces went on *Herveis* ſide; whereupon the Captaines (as men condemned) were brought to the Rockes, and after their Limbs were broken, they were caſt head long into the Seas, and drowned every mothers ſonne.

Vpon the 23. of *Auguſt*, being Saint *Bartholomewes* Eeve, and yeere aforeſaid, to wit, *Anno* 1170. *Richard*, ſurnamed *Strangbow* Earle of Strigulia (whoſe original and of-ſpring in another place hereafter (if God permit) ſhall bee laid downe) landed in the Haven of Waterford, where *Dermot Mac Morogh*, *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Maurice Fitz Gerauld*, and *Reimond le Groſſe* met him, and joyned their forces together? *Reimond le Groſſe* was made generall of the field, they tooke ſmall reſt after their arrivall; for upon *Bartholomew*

day being tuesday, with Banners displayed, in good aray they assaulted the City by water and by land, the townesmen manfully defended themselves, and gave them two repulses: *Reimond* having compassed the towne, espied without adjoyning unto the towne wall (where now standeth a strong Bulwarke) an old Cabban, propped with old timber, and entred into the old wall, the which proppes they sawed asunder; then downe falleth the cabban, and withall a great part of the wall: the breach thus made, the Brittains doe enter, and in the streets kill man, woman and child, and there left them in heapes: In *Reignald* tower, upon the wall of the tower they found one *Reignald* (I take it the tower beareth the name of him) and *Omalaghlin Opheliu*, Lord of the Decies, whose lives *Dermot Mac Morogh* saved: they found there other two, whom they put to the sword, they rifled the houses, they ransacked the City, they made havock of all, lastly they left there a strong ward. Then according to precedent covenants, *Dermot* gave his daughter *Eva* in marriage to *Richard Strangbow*, and after solemnity thereof, they all marched with their forces towards Dublin: For *Dermot* bare them a deadly hatred, and hitherto winked at them, untill further oportunity served, for the villany and cruelty they shewed to his father; the townsmen of Dublin foreseeing his revenging mind, procured to their aid as many as they could throughout the land, they trenched, they plashed in paces, streets and narrow places, all the wayes along to Waterford, to hinder their march. *Dermot* was not ignorant thereof, whereupon he led the army from out the common and beaten way, through the Mountaines of *Glandelogh*, and came safe to the walles of Dublin. There the Citizens sent messengers to intreat for peace, and amongst others, *Laurence O Toole* Arcbishop of Dublin: while they parled without for peace, Sir *Remond le grosse*, and Sir *Miles Cogan* scaled the wals; for, saith *Cambrensis*, *they were more desirous to fight under Mars in the field, then in the Senate to sit with Iupiter in Councell*; they made a breach, they enter the Citie, they put all to the sword: in the meane while, *Hastulphus* the Commander of the City, with a great many of the better sort, with their Riches and Iewels, escaped and fled by the Sea to the North Ilands.

When the Earle had spent a few daies in the towne, he left *Miles Cogan* Governour therof, and by the perswasion of *Dermot Mac Morogh*, he drew his forces into Meth to be avenged of *Ororicke*, whom some call *Morice*, some *Murdich*, who was the cause of his exile, and whose wife *Dermot* had formerly taken away. The Earle no sooner entred the Countrey, but the Army was given wholly to the spoile; they robbed, they spoiled, they burned, and wasted all before them: *Roderic* King of Conoght and Monarch of Ireland, seeing his neighbours house set one fire, thought it high time to looke to his owne, and wrotte to *Dermot Mac Morogh*, contrary to the order of Peace, for-

formerly concluded, thou hast procured and allured a swarme and multitude of strangers, to invade this land; all the while thou didst containe thy selfe within compasse of thine owne territories, we winked at thy proceedings, but forasmuch as now thou not caring for thy oath, nor regarding the safety of thy hostages, hast so fondly and falsly passed thy bounds, I require thee that thou wouldest retire, and withdraw these excourses and inrodes of strangers, or else, to begin, I will not faile to cut off thy sonnes head, and send it to thee with speed.

Dermot despised the messenger, and would scarce vouchsafe to reade his letter; upon the messengers returne, *Roderic* was mad, and in his rage, caused his pledges head, the sonne of *Dermot Mac Morogh* to be cut off. In this troublesome time, the Primate of Armagh called the Prelates and Clergie to a Synod; at Armagh, assembled a Councell; where, according to their wisedomes, they endeavoured to finde out the cause of these miseries that fell upon the land, they inquired not whether the Bishops had bought their Bishoprickes for money, whether their Parsons did pray, whether their Ministers were lettered; what whoredome, symony, or lechery, with other enormities, raigned among the Clergie, but simply, like themselves, posted over all to the Laytie, and concluded (*insipienter*) that the iust plague fell upon the people, for merchandizing of the English nation; for then they bought and sold of the English birth, such as they found, and made them bondslaves; so they served Saint *Patricke*, called the Apostle of Ireland, who was a bondman sixe yeeres in Ireland, but *Patricke* preached Christ, and the English nation reformed the land. Here the sacred letters reconcile all, *the stone which the builders refused, is become the corner stone, and why so? the answer followeth, it is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.* But I may not so leave my Prelates, they synodically decreed as followeth: *that all the English men within the land, whatsoever they were, should bee manumised*; a worshipfull piece of worke, and no thanke to them all, for the English sword was then ready to cut off the Irish heads: this reformation was but a sweeping of a house with a Foxes tayle.

The prosperous successes of Earle *Richard*, surnamed *Strangbow*, were no sooner effected, but fame flyed abroad, and flatterers carried it to *Henry* the seconds eares, and made him jealous, as Kings commonly are, that a subject as *Richard* was, should not onely in the right of his wife, content himselfe with Leinster, but most presumptuously without licence, as the King alledged, attempt the conquest of a kingdome, where he formerly by grant of *Adrian*, was interessed. Whereupon the King in his jealous rage, indeavouring to stop the Springs and Water-courses, proclaimed: We, *Henry, &c. Forbid and inhibit, that from henceforth no shippe from any place of our dominion, shall trassique or passe into Ireland; and likewise charge that all our subjects upon their dutie of allegiance, which are there commo-*

rant, ſhall returne from thence into England before Eaſter next following, upon paine of forfeiture of all their lands, and the perſons ſo diſobeying, to be baniſhed our land, and exiled for ever.

The Earle ſeeing himſelfe in this diſtreſſe, being in perill to loſe his friends, and to want his neceſſaries out of his native ſoile, by entercourſe of Merchants, calleth a Councell; where it was agreed and concluded, that Sir *Reimond Legroſſe* ſhould bee ſent over to pacifie the King (who then was in Aquitaine) with theſe letters: *Moſt puiſſant Prince, and my dread Soveraigne, I came into this land with your Majeſties leave and favour (as farre as I remember) to aide your ſervant Dermot Mac Morogh; what I have wonne, was with the ſword, what is given me, I give you, I am yours, life and living at your command.*

Vpon the receit of theſe letters, there fell of all ſides, three diſaſters, the King was mightily incenſed againſt Earle *Richard*, and therefore delayed Sir *Reimond Legroſſe*, and gave him no anſwer; ſecondly, the death of *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury troubled him exceedingly, and to helpe the readers memory with the time, it was as the rime delivereth,

Annus millenus, centenus ſeptuagenus
Primus erat, primas quo ruit enſe Thomas.

The third was, that *Dermot Mac Morogh* a moſt bountifull Prince, died and was buried at Fernes.

Anno 1171. *Haſtulpus*, late Governour of Dublin (of whom I have formerly ſpoken) returneth, and entreth the haven of Dublin, with threeſcore ſaile to his aide, of Ilanders, Norwegians, and Eſterlings, they forthwith landed, and unſhipped themſelves, and had to their Captaine, ſaith *Cambrenſis*, one *John Wood*, ſome call him mad *John*, for the pranks he playd, for wood and mad beare one ſenſe. *Staniburſt* calleth him *Pewood*, *Douling*, *Heywood*. They were all mighty men of warre, and well appointed after the Daniſh manner, being harneſſed with good Brigandines, jackes and ſhirts of maile; their Shields, Bucklers, and Targets, were round, and coloured red, and bound about with iron, and as they ſeemed in armes, ſo were they no leſſe in mindes; iron-ſtrong and mighty; they marched in battaile array towards the Eaſt gate of the Citie. *Miles Cogan* the Governour, with a faire company (yet but a handfull to the number of the enemy) ſallied forth, and gave them battaile, where both ſides loſt many a tall man. *Miles Cogan* ſeeing himſelfe overlaid with the furious rage and multitude of his adverſaries, gave backe, and retired into the towne; by this time, *Richard Cogan* his brother had ſecretly iſſued out with a good company, at the South poſterne gate, compaſſed the Danes, and being at the foot of the rereward, made mighty cry

cry and ſhout, whereat the Danes were amazed, and the two brethren had the killing of them before and behinde. The Danes brake their array, threw their Armes away, fled towards their ſhips, where many alſo for haſte were drowned. In this skirmiſh, *John Wood* was ſlaine, and *Haſtulphus* taken priſoner, and put to his ranſome. The prodigalitie of this *Haſtulphus* was ſuch, that he contented not himſelfe with life, but braved and bragged of his exploits, in the hearing of *Miles Cogan*, and therewithall delivered, that that attempt was nothing, but a taſte or prooſe of the Iriſh valour, and ſhortly, they ſhould ſee another manner of forces aſſault them; *What* (ſaith *Miles Cogan*) *is it not enough for him to have his life, but he muſt threaten us with further rebellion; goe, take him, and cut off his head.* And thus the blabbe of his tongue, turned to his confuſion.

Shortly after, the Iriſh and country birth, lying aloofe, wayting for all opportunities, and underſtanding of ſome unkindneſſe and diſpleaſure conceived by King *Henry* the ſecond, againſt Earle *Richard*, and in that quarrell generally againſt all the Britaines and invaders of Ireland; they put their heads together, they plot, they draw their draughts and devices, to lay ſiege to recover the Citie of Dublin, and the chiefeſt inſtrument was *Laurence O Toole*, Archbiſhop of Dublin, who wrote unto *Roderic*, King of Connaght, & unto *Gotred*, *alias Godfrey*, King of Man, and to all the Princes of Ireland, that it would pleaſe them (ſome in regard of neighbourhood, otherſome in regard of naturall affection unto their native ſoile and diſtreſſed country men of Iriſh birth) put to their helping hand, ioyne their forces together, lay ſiege to the Citie of Dublin by ſea and by land, relieve their brethren, rid them from the Britaines hands, and reſtore them to their former liberty. The Biſhop for the good opinion that was held of his learning, gravitie, and ſanctitie, prevailed, inſomuch, that *Gotred*, King of Man, came into the harbour of Dublin, with thirty ſaile. *Roderic* the Monarch and forces of Ireland came by land, and incamped within ſight of the towne. Within the towne, were Earle *Richard Strangbow*, *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, *Reimond Legroſſe*, lately arrived from out of England, *Miles Cogan*, *Richard Cogan*, with other worthy men and Citizens, to the number of thirty thouſand fighting men. As they were prepared for battaile, (as commonly one miſchiefe falleth in the necke of another) *Donald*, the baſe ſonne of *Dermot Mac Morogh*, came in poſt to the Earle, and delivered how that *Robert Fitz Stephens* in his Fort of Carreck by Wexford, was beſieged with three thouſand men of Wexford and Kinſele, by the conduct of *Donald*, Prince of Limeric, ſonne in law to *Dermot Mac Morogh*, who before time in his extremity, and in the warres betweene him and *Roderic* the Monarch, for chiefery, (at the requeſt of *Dermot Mac Morogh*, was relieved by *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and ſo aided, that he foiled his enemy; and thus good is recompenced with evill. In

this

this perplexitie and doubtfull danger, *Maurice Fitz Gerald* full of courage, turneth him to the Earle, and the martiall men in theſe words: you moſt valiant men, wee came not into this land, neither were we procured hither to be idle, or to live deliciouſly, but to try fortune, and to ſeeke adventures; wee ſtood ſometime upon the top of the wheele, and the game went of our ſide, now mee thinkes fortune wheeles about, let us not be diſmaid, for that which is low now, will be up againe, and ſo we muſt tarry and take our time; ſuch is the mutability among the ſonnes of men, the fickle and uncertaine courſe of humane cauſes, ſo that proſperitie and adverſitie, enterchangeably doe follow the one after the other. After day, commeth the night, and when the night is paſſed, the day dawneth againe; the ſunne riſeth, and ſpreads his beames over the face of the earth, holdeth his courſe to his fall, paſſeth the night ſeaſon, and riſeth againe; we who before this time have made great triumphs, and had the wings of fortune to flye withall, and are now clowded and incloſed by our enemies on every ſide, our victuals are ſcant, the King our Soveraigne Lord frowneth upon us, we are barred of releaſe by ſea and by land, our friends cannot helpe us, our enemies are ready to devoure us: plucke up your hearts, if God be with us, we care not who is againſt us; but alas my brother *Fitz Stephens*, whoſe valiantneſſe, and noble enterpriſe brake the yce, and made way for us into this Iland, is now ſhut up in a weake hold, and feeble place, with wife and children, too weake and ſlender to keepe out ſo great a force. O trayterous *Donald* of Limiric, O trecherous and halfe-hearted people of Kenſele and Wexford! peace is war, truſt is trechery, and truth is falſhood among them: why then doe we tarry, why doe we linger? is there any hope of reliefe from our native ſoile? no, no, the matter is now otherwiſe, and we our ſelves are preſently in a worſe caſe, for as our nation at this preſent is odious and hatefull unto the Iriſh men, ſo are we alſo miſ-led with ſome diſgrace in our country, wherefore in ſo much as fortune favoureth the forward and couragious, and diſcourageth the daſtard and faint-hearted, while our wits are freſh, while our bodies are able, while wee are all on heart, let us give the on-ſet; though we are not ſo many in number as they are, our courage and valour is knowne to exceed theirs, they are but naked wretches, and unarmed people. *Reimond Legroſſe* immediately breaketh out in theſe ſpeeches. My Vncle *Maurice* hath gravely delivered his minde, he hath pithily adviſed us, and prudently councelled us: this is no time to ſit in councell, to ſpend time in ſpeeches, or to uſe delayes, the danger is at hand, the enemy is at the doore, wee are compaſſed by ſea and by land, there is no flying, we muſt fight it out; our proviſion is ſpent, England dares releeve us no more, Ireland defieth us, the Kings Maieſtie (I know) diſpraiſeth not our actívities, and yet graceth not our ſucceſſes; he diſcommendeth not our valour, yet envieth all

all our glory, though in words he reporteth well of our ſervice, yet in deeds ſecretly hindereth the courſe thereof; laſtly, he feareth that which we meant not, and doubteth of that which we thinke not of; wherefore all doubts and delaies ſet apart, let us, as becometh men of our ſort, try the courſe of fortune, and proue the force of the enemy; let that appeare unto them which is knowne unto us; of what race we came, and of what ſtock wee are diſcended. *Camber* the firſt King of Cambria our native Country, was our Anceſtor, and the ſonne of that Noble *Brutus*, the firſt and ſole Monarch of Brittaine, whoſe Anceſtor was *Troos*, the founder of that moſt antient City of Troy, who deſcended from *Dardanus* the ſon of *Iupiter*, from whom is derived unto us, not onely the ſtemme of antient Nobility, but alſo a certaine naturall inclination of valiant minds, and couragious ſtomachs reſolutely to follow all exploits of proweſſe and chivalry; and ſhall we now like ſluggarts, degenerate from ſo noble a race, and like a ſort of Cowards, be afraid of theſe naked and unarmed Raskals, in whom there is no valour, by reaſon of knowledge or experience in Armes? Shall ſuch a rable of ſavages pinne us up within the wals of little Dublin? When in times paſt all the Princes in Greece kept warres the ſpace of ten yeeres and odde months, againſt our Anceſtors in the famous City of Troy; and could not preuaile againſt them, untill they uſed treaſons, and practiſed treacheries which bred unto them a more infamous victory, then a glorious Triumph? Let it never be ſaid, that the blood of the Trojans ſhall be ſtained in our puſillanimity, and receive reproach by our peeviſh daſtardy: Fortune, though ſhe be pourtraied to be blind, as ever void of right judgement, and to ſtand upon a rolling ſtone, as being alwaies flitting and unconſtant; yet for the moſt part, ſhee helpeth ſuch as be of couragious minds, & valiant ſtomachs; you wil ſay, we are but a few, and the enemy infinit in number; what then? Victory conſiſteth not in multitudes, neither conqueſt in numbers: Did not *Thomiris* the *Scythian* Queene, with hundreds, overthrow *Cyrus* with thouſands, and tooke him and ſlew him? Did not *Laomedes* the Spartane encounter (having but foure thouſand Souldiers) with mighty *Xerxes*, who brought five hundred thouſand to the field, and overthrew him? Did not *Alexander* with a few Macedonians ouerthrew *Darius*, the great Monarch of Perſia? Did not he take him, his wife, and daughters priſoners, and make a Conqueſt of Perſia? Have not wee in our perſons (all praiſe be given to God, the giver of Victory) even you, right honorable Earle at Waterford, my uncle *Fitz Stephens* at Wexford, my ſelfe at Dondorogh with a few given many the foile; what remains, ſith time ſhall ſooner faile then matter want? let us like men ſhew reſolute minds in this ſervice. And to conclude, my mind then and opinion is, that we doe iſſue out upon them as ſecretly and as ſuddenly as we may, and give the onſet.

And

And for ſo much as *Roderic* of Conoght, is the generall of the field, in whom lyeth the chiefeſt force, and on whom all the reſt doe chiefly depend, it ſhall be beſt to begin with him, and if we can giue him the overthrow, all the reſt will flie, and we ſhall obtaine a glorious victorie; but if we ſhall fall into their hands and be ſlaine, yet ſhall we leave an honorable report and an immortall fame to our poſteritie. He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, but every man armed himſelfe to goe forth, and give the onſet: They divided the Army in three battailes; and although at the firſt, they contended for the Vanguard, yet quickly they were accorded and marched forward. *Reimond le Groſſe* reſolutely given, with twenty Knights, and ſouldiers well appointed, tooke the Vanguard. *Miles Cogan* with thirty Knights, and many a worthy warriour, kept the maine battaile. Earle *Strangbow*, and *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, with fourty Knights, Gentlemen and common ſouldiers, took the Rereward, in every ward were placed ſome of the Citizens, and other ſome with martiall men, left at home for the guard and ſafety of the City: early in the morning when the enemy was unarmed & out of order, little thinking that ſo few within durſt attempt to give the onſet to ſo many without, they fell upon them, killed without mercy, and the rere was ſo forward, that they came with the Vanguard by wheeling about to the ſlaughter of the enemie: *Roderic* all this while truſting to his troupes and multitude of people, feared nothing, he took his eaſe and pleaſure, and was bathing himſelf; but when the larum was up, & that he ſaw his men on every ſide fall to the ground, never tarried, called for man nor Page to array him, but tooke his mantle and ranne away all naked, and hardly eſcaped with life. The Britaines purſued after, and had the killing of them all that day, in the evening they returned into the Citie, not onely with the honour of the field, but rich booties, and praies of victuals, armour and other pillage, as muchas man and beaſt could cary: Immediatly, alſo the rumor hereof, the other Campes were diſperſed, namely, *Laurence* the Archbiſhop (whom it had beſeemed better to have beene at home with his porthouſe, then in Campe with rebels) *Mathelan Machalem*, *Gillemichelmocus*, *Otuetol*, *Ororic* Prince of Meath, *Ocarol, alias Ocarvell* Prince of Vriell, *Machfalin*, *Ochadeſe*, with many other great Commanders, where every man ſhifted for himſelfe; of *Gotred, alias Godfray* King of Man that came by Sea, I find nothing, for upon this diſaſter he tooke him to the ſeas the next day, without any further deliberation; *Miles Cogan* is left to governe Dublin, and the Earle with his Army marched towards Wexford, to raiſe the ſiege at the Carreke, to relieve *Robert Fitz Stephens*; as he paſſed by Odrone, the forces of Leinſter, by the conduct of *Donole Obrene* Prince of Limerik, and *Donald Prince Oſery* ſet upon him, and fought a cruell fight, but he went on with the loſſe of one man. As he came to the borders of Wexford, certaine meſſengers met

met and informed him of the miſchance that happened to *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and the firing of the Towne of Wexford; adding moreover, that the Wexfordians were fully determined, if the Earle came any further towards them, they would cut off all the heads of *Fitz Stephens* and all his company, and ſend them unto him; whereupon with heavy cheere and ſorrowfull heart he changed his mind & turned to Waterford. But afore I proceede any further, I am to deliver the manner of the treachery and villany ſhewed unto *Robert Fitz Stephens*: *Donold* of Limric, ſonne in Law to *Dermot Mac Morogh*, while his father lived, he was one that favoured the Brittains, and not without cauſe; but now forgetting humanity returneth to his vomit, bends his courſe towards Wexford, and while other ſtates of Ireland by Eaſt and by North, with might & maine practiſed the rooting out of the Brittains, he flies to the South, and raiſeth Wexford, & Kenſile to lay ſiege to the Carreke, the fort of *Robert Fitz Stephens*. Firſt they begin with force, and ſeeing that failed them, they fall to guiles and ſubtilities under color of peace, pretending nothing but pure love, tender affection and ſafeguard of his perſon, and all that were with him; they bring with them two Biſhops, the one of Kildare, the other of Fernes, in their formall moods, with other Religious perſons (O damned Prelats) and they had with them the Maſſe Booke, the hoſt, with certaine Reliques; upon theſe they take corporall oathes, and ſweare with great ſolemnity and proteſtations as followeth: (*For the good will and affection wee beare unto you*) whom we have alwaies found a curteous and bountifull Prince, we are to ſignifie unto you this much; how that Dublin is taken, *the Earle Strangbow*, *Maurice Fitz Girald*, *Reimond le Groſſe*, *Miles Cogan*, with all the Engliſh are put to the ſword, and now *Roderic* the Monarch, with all the power of Conoght and Leinſter poſteth hither to raſe even with the ground, all the Forts, Holds, and Caſtles, which the Engliſhmen have, and eſpecially to apprehend you *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Willam Net*, that were the forerunners into this Land of all this miſchiefe; wherefore take this for truth and be well adviſed what to doe, if they take you there is no mercy; if you will put your ſelfe with your company and goods into our hands, in the faith of Chriſtianity we ſweare we will ſafely tranſport you and yours unto Wales, ſo ſhall you not loſe ſo much as a haire of your head; wherefore the great Army being at hand, yeeld, come forth and ſhippe your ſelfe for Wals. *Robert Fitz Stephens* (who would not in this caſe give credit) yeelded himſelfe into their hands, immediatly (more like Iewes then Chriſtians) they ſtrippe them out of all that ever they have, they hang one, they throw another over a rocke, they breake anothers necke, one hath his eyes puld out, another hath his tongue cut, ſome they ſcourge with thongs, other ſome they take, and with ſledges breake their Armes and thighes, the greateſt kindneſſe they ſhew

ſhew is iron and imprſonment, the which *Robert Fitz Stephens* endured; now leaving theſe bloody Maſſacers and themſelves, I will turne to Waterford after Earle *Strangbow*: When Earle *Strangbow* came to Waterford, he found there *Hervie de Monte Mariſco* newly arrived out of England, with letters from the King, requiring him forthwith to repaire unto his Majeſty. *Strangbow* together with *Hervy* tooke the firſt wind and went for England, and found the King at Newham not farre from Gloceſter, where he was in readineſſe with a great Army to ſaile out into Ireland, whereafter ſundry alterations paſſed betweene them, at length (as they ſay) by meanes of *Hervy*, the Kings diſpleaſure was appeaſed, and it was agreed that the Earle ſhould ſweare alleageance to the King, and yeeld and ſurender unto him the City of Dublin, with the Cantreds thereunto adjoining, as alſo ſuch Townes and Forts as were bordering upon the Sea ſide, and as for the reſidue he ſhould have and reteine to him and his heires, and holding the ſame of the King and his heires.

Strangbow was no ſooner knowne to be in England, and *Reimond* at Waterford, but *Ororic Monoculus*, the one eyed Prince of Meath, muſtred a great number of Souldiers, and laid ſiege to the City of Dublin. *Miles Cogan* the Governour withall his company (while the enemy was careleſſe) upon a ſudden iſſueth out and fell upon them unawares and made a great ſlaughter of them, among whome both *Ororic* and his ſonne were ſlaine.

In the Britiſh Cronicles copied by *Owen Cretten* out of the Abbies of Couldey in North-wales, and *Stratflur* in South-wales, I find recorded that when King *Henry* the 2. made preparation for the conqueſt of Ireland, *Richard Strangbow* Earle of Strigale, Marſhall of England, being reconciled to the King, had all his Lands in England and Normandy reſtored unto him againe, and thereupon the King made him Seneſchall (Steward, ſaith he of Ireland) Then came *Rees* prince of South-wales, and offred the King to further his Conqueſt, 300. Horſes, 400. Oxen, and for performance of all ſervices gave him 14. pledges; when they were preſented the King made choice of 30. principall Horſes, gave backe all the reſt, confeſſing himſelfe greatly pleaſured at his hands.

Anno 1172. upon Saint *Lukes* day the 18. of *October*, *Henry* the 2. the 17. yeere of his raigne, the 41. of his age, entred the Haven of Waterford ſo writheth *Cambrenſis* that lived then, and being landed to the harty joy of the Engliſh and fained welcome of the Iriſhmen, had by them of Wexford formerly ſpoken of *Robert Fitz Stephens* in irons preſented before him, whom the Wexfordians (herein I commend *Stanihurſts* indifferent dealing) rather of malice & cankard ſpight, then for juſt cauſe, did charge with many hainous crimes. The King adviſed to pacifie the rage of furious people, for the

for the preſent time, committed him to priſon, whence ſhortly after, he was with honour and credit, diſcharged, and advanced to his great preferment.

After that the King had a little reſted himſelfe, and the meſſengers ſcattered themſelves with newes over the land, the Princes were amazed, they knew the Kings greatneſſe was ſuch, if faire meanes would not, force ſhould conſtraine them, and therefore in policie reſolved themſelves to yeeld allegiance, homage and fealtie. Whereupon *Dermot Mac Carty*, Prince of Corke, began, became tributarie, ſware faith, truth, and loyaltie to the King of England. And the King thereupon gave the kingdome of Corke to *Robert Fitz Stephens* and *Miles Cogan* as hereafter more at large ſhall appeare.

From Waterford the King raiſed his army, and marched towards Liſmore, where he tarryed two daies, and from thence he marched to Caſhill, not farre from the Shure, and thither came to him, *Donald O Bren*, Prince of Limric, who ſubmitted himſelfe, became tributarie, and ſwore fealty; whereupon the King as hee had formerly done with Corke, appointed a Governour for Limric: then alſo came in *Donall*, Prince of Oſſorie, and *Omelaghlen Ophelin*, Lord of the Decies, with all the chieftaines of Mounſter, ſubmitting themſelves, as others had formerly done, ſurrendring unto the Kings hands, their territories, and holding them againe at his pleaſure. Thence the King returned to Waterford, left there his houſhold, and *Robert Fitz Barnard*, governour of the towne, and marched with his army towards Dublin. In his iourney there came unto him of the chiefeſt commanders of the land, *Omathelan*, *Machelan*, *Ophelan*, *O Mac Chelweie*, *Gille Mac Helemoc*, *Otuell helly Ocathdheſſy*, *O Caraell* of Vriell, and *Roric* the ſonne of *Monoculus* of Meth. But *Roderic* the Monarch came no neerer then the Shanon, where *Hugh de lacy*, and *William Fitz Aldelme*, by the Kings command met him, and hee deſiring peace, ſubmitted himſelfe, ſwore allegiance, became tributarie, and did put in (as all others had done) hoſtages and pledges for the performance of the ſame. Thus was all Ireland, ſaving Vlſter, brought in ſubjection, and every Prince of the other parties, in his owne perſon, ſaving *Roderic* King of Connaght, ſubmitted himſelfe: but he ſubtilly alledged, that he ſubmitted Connaght, but not the command of all Ireland, the which he reſerved for the Monarch and his ſucceſſors: but of this hereafter if God permit.

Chriſtmas drew on, which the King kept at Dublin, where hee feaſted all the Princes of the land, and gave them rich and beautifull gifts, they repaired thither out of all parts of the land, and wonderfull it was to the rude people to behold the Majeſtie of ſo puiſſant a Prince, the paſtime, the ſport, and the mirth, and the continuall muſicke, the masking, mumming, and ſtrange ſhewes, the gold, the ſilver, and plate, the precious ornaments, the dainty diſhes, furniſhed

with all ſorts of fiſh and fleſh, the wines, the ſpices, the delicate and ſumptuous banquets, the orderly ſervice, the comely march, and ſeemly array of all officers: the Gentlemen, the Eſquires, the Knights, and Lords in their rich attire (ſuch as rugged Mantles and Iriſh Trooſſes were never acquainted withall) the running at Tilte in compleat harneſſe, with barb'd horſes, where the ſtaves ſhivered and flew in ſplinters, ſafer to ſit, then upon an Iriſh Pillion that playeth croſſe and pile with the rider, the plaine honeſt people admired, and no mervaile: but now to more ſerious matters. *Henry* 2. having thus conquered Ireland (with the envy of the French and forraigne Princes) without one drop of ſweat, without drawing of ſword, or ſhedding of one drop of Engliſh bloud, (as it became his Princely calling) turned himſelfe to reforme the ſtate Eccleſiaſticall, and the miſdemeanours of holy Church, whereof *Cambrenſis* writeth: *In the yeere of Chriſts incarnation* 1172. *and in the firſt yeere, when* Henry *the moſt Noble King conquered Ireland,* Chriſtianus, *Biſhop of Liſmore, and Legate of the Apoſtolike See;* Donatus, *Archbiſhop of Caſhill;* Laureance, *Archbiſhop of Dublin; and* Catholicus, *Archbiſhop of Tuemond, with their Suffragans, and fellow Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Deanes and Archdeacons, and many other Prelates of the Church of Ireland, by the commandment of the King, did aſſemble themſelves, and kept a Synod at Caſhill, and there debating many things concerning the wealth, eſtate, and reformation of the Church of Ireland, did provide remedies for the ſame. At this Councell, in behalfe of the King,* (*whom he had ſent thither*) *there were* Raffe, *Abbot of Baldeway,* Raffe, *Archdeacon of Landaffe,* Nicholas, *the Kings Chaplaine, with divers other Clerkes; ſundry good ſtatutes and wholeſome lawes were there deviſed, which were after ſubſcribed and confirmed by the King himſelfe, and under his authority, which were theſe that follow.*

Firſt, it is decreed that all good and faithfull Chriſtian people throughout Ireland, ſhall refraine and forbeare to marry with their neere kinsfolkes and couſins, and match with ſuch as lawfully they might doe.

Secondly, that children ſhall be catechized without the Church doore, and baptized in the Font appointed in the Church for the ſame purpoſe.

Thirdly, that every Chriſtian doe truely and faithfully pay yeerely, the tithes of his Cattell, Corne, and all other his increaſe and profits, to the Church or Pariſh where he is a pariſhioner.

Fourthly, that all the Church lands and poſſeſſions throughout all Ireland, ſhall be free from all ſecular exactions and impoſitions, and eſpecially that no Lords, Earles, or Noble men, nor their children nor family, ſhall export or take any cony and livery, coſheries or cuddies, or any other like cuſtome from thence, forth, in or upon any of the Church land and territories; and likewiſe that neither they, nor any other perſon,

ſon, doe thenceforth exact out of the ſaid Church lands, old wicked and deteſtable cuſtomes of cony and livery, the which they were wont to extort upon ſuch townes and villages of the Churches, as were neere, and next bordering upon them.

Fifthly, when any ſatisfaction or compoſition is made among the laye people, for any murther, that no perſon of the Clergie, (though he be a kinne to any of the parties) ſhall contribute any thing thereunto, but as they bee guiltleſſe of the murther, ſo ſhall they be free from paying of money for any ſuch releaſe for the ſame.

Sixtly, that all and every good Chriſtian, being ſicke and weake, ſhall before the Prieſt and his neighbours, make his laſt Will and Teſtament, and his debts and ſervants wages being paid, all his moveables to be divided, (if he have any children) into three parts, whereof one part to be to the Children, another to his Wife, and the third part to be for the performing of his Will; and if ſo be that hee have no children, then the goods to be divided into two parts, whereof the one moytie to be to his Wife, and the other to the performance of his Will and Teſtament. And if he have no Wife, but onely Children, then likewiſe the goods to be divided into two parts, whereof the one to himſelfe, and the other to his children:

Seventhly, that every Chriſtian dying in the Catholike faith, ſhall be reverently brought to the Church, and to bee buried, as appertaineth.

Eightly and laſtly, that all the divine Service in the Church of Ireland, ſhall be kept, uſed, and obſerved in the like order and manner as it is in the Church of England; for it is meet and right, that as by Gods providence and appointment, Ireland is become now ſubject, and under the King of England: ſo the ſame ſhould take from thence, the order, and rule, and manner how to reforme themſelves, and to live in better ſort.

Gelaſius, Primate of Armagh, was not at this Synod, but at his comming to Dublin, hee concurred with his Collegues, and confirmed the premiſes. He was a man of great learning, godly life, and great age; when by reaſon of age, ſight, and ſtrength, and ſtomacke failed him, as he travailed, he had with him alwaies, a white Cow, that gave him milke, and was his onely ſuſtentation. *Gilbert* ſucceeded this *Gelaſius* in that See. The Antiquaries of that time have recorded, that the winter during the Kings abode in Ireland, there roſe ſuch ſtormes and tempeſt by ſea and by land, that no newes could be heard either out of England or Normandie, neither Shippe or Barke croſſe the ſeas, untill mid-Lent, at what time with an eaſterly winde, there came out of England, and Aquitaine in France, newes unto the King, how that there came into Normandy in France, two Cardinals from *Alexander* the third, to wit, *Albertus* and *Theodinus*, to enquire of the death of *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury: Where-

Whereupon the King ſent in poſt before him, to ſignifie that he was returning with all ſpeede, and that he would conferre with them in Normandie. And leaving Ireland, hee was very ſorry that time and leiſure ſerved not to lay things in better order for the ſtay of the land. And alſo ſuſpecting the greatneſſe of *Richard*, Earle *Strangbow*, whom at that time he tooke with him into England; hee appointed to governe Dublin, *Hugh de Lacy*, to whom he had given in Fee, the territorie of Meth, with twenty Gentlemen to his Guard. *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Morice Fitz Girald*, with twenty others to attend their perſons. Likewiſe he left Governours over Waterford, *Humfrey de Bohune*, *Robert Fitz Bernard*, and *Hugh de Graunt devil* with forty perſons to their guard. Laſtly, hee aſſigned over Wexford, *William Fitz Adelme*, *Philip de Brueſa*, and *Philip de Haſtings*, with twenty to their guard, and tooke ſhipping at Wexford, Munday in Eaſter weeke, by ſixe a clocke in the morning, with full ſaile, and landed the ſame day about noone, at Saint *Davids* in Wales; ſo writeth *Cambrenſis* in his vaticinall hiſtorie, and in his Itinerarie of Cambria. What time the King was in Ireland, there fell a great plague in his army, which was ſome cauſe of his departure from Dublin to Wexford. *Cambrenſis* out of the mouth of the common people, attributeth it unto certaine Archers, ceſſed at Finglas, that cut downe the trees of the Church-yard, and therefore were they iuſtly puniſhed, and left their bones there every one; but the Britiſh Chronicle, and *Holinſhed* alſo, more likely to be true, affirmeth that there fell a plague among the Kings ſouldiers in Ireland, by reaſon of the change of the ayre, and victuals, and concourſe of people, corrupting the ſame.

The names of the men of account orderly as they came to the conqueſt of Ireland.

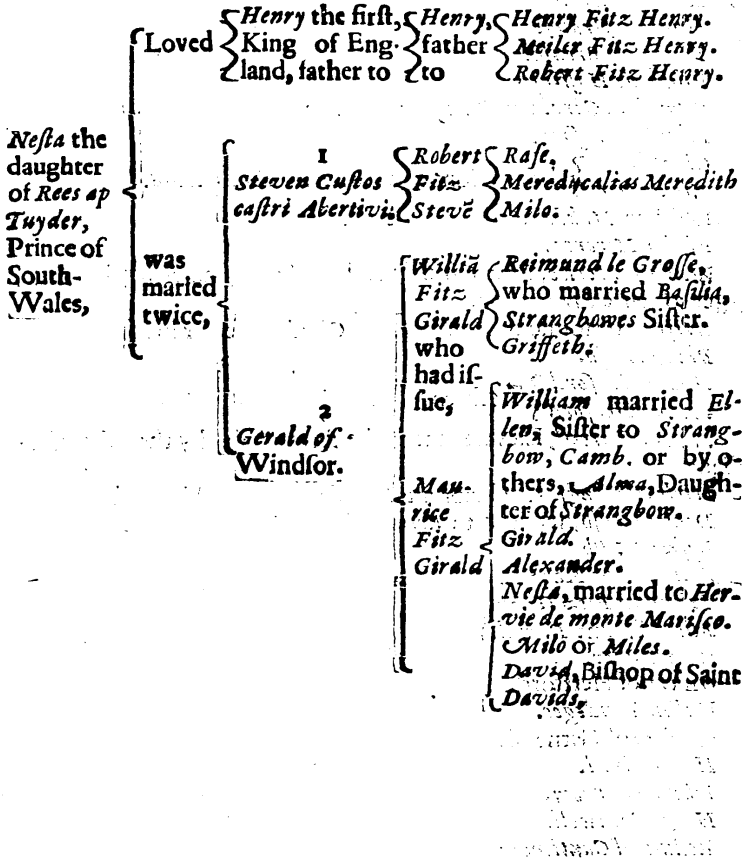
Dermot Mac Morogh, Prince of Leinſter, after his returne out of England, wintred at Fernes, expecting the comming of theſe Conquerours.

Anno 1170. *Robert Fitz Stephens*, the Kings Conſtable at Abertivy:
David Barry.
Hervie de Monte Mariſco, married *Neſta*, daughter to *Maurice Fitz Girald*.
Willin Nott.
Maurice Prendregaſt.
Meilerus.
Maurice Fitz Girald.
Reimond le Groſſe, nephew to *Robert Fitz Stephens*, married with *Baſilia*, the ſiſter of Earle *Strangbow*.
William Herrand.
Richard Strangbow, Earle of Penbroke.
Miles Cogan. } brethren & nephewes to *Robert Fitz Stephens*,
Richard Cogan. } and *Maurice Fitz Girald*.

Henry

Henry 2. King of England, &c. Anno 1172.
Hugh de Lacy.
William Fitz Adelme.
Raffe Abbot of Bulldewa in Normandie.
Raffe, Archdeacon of Landaff.
Nicholas, the Kings Chaplaine.
Humphrey de Bohune.
Robert Fitz Bernard.
Hugh de Grandevilla.
Philip de Brenſa.
Philip de Haſtings.
Silveſter, *Giraldus*, *Barry*, *Cambrenſis*.
Iohn Ridensford.
Girald. } the two ſonnes of *Maurice Fitz Girald*.
Alexander. }
William Makrell.
Philip Mercros.
William Morice, *Fitz Girald* his eldeſt ſonne, married with *Elen*, ſiſter to Earle *Strangbow*.
Griffin the ſonne of *William Fitz Girald* the elder brother.
Philip Welſh.
Adam Herford. } brethren.
..... *Herford*. }
..... *Purcell*, Lievetenant of the Army, ſlaine by the Waterfordians.
Nich. Wallingford a Prior, afterwards Abbot of Malmesburie.
David Welſh, nephew to *Reimund*.
Ieffrey Welſh.
Reimund of Kantan.
Reimund Fitz Hugh.
Milo of Saint *David*.
Robert Poer.
Osbert of Hertford.
Willin Bendegee.
Adam of Gernemie.
Hugh Tirell.
Iohn de Courcey.
Hugh Cantwell.
Redmond Cantimore.

Alliance of the chiefe Conquerours of Ireland.



Not

Not long after the Kings departure out of Ireland, *Ororic* of Meth craved a parlee, with *Hughe Delacy*; pretending reformation of abuses, and establishing of perfect love and amity; but meant nothing else, saving falshood, treason and villany: the place being appointed (*Cambrensis* calleth it *Ororics* Hill, I take it to be the Hill of *Taragh*) and oathes taken of each side, with conditions that all armes should be laid aside, and few persons approach to the place, *Ororic* contrary to the covenants, laid an ambush, that upon a signe or token given by him, they should forth with issue out of the bushes, and ditches, and effect his traiterous devices: The night before the parly, *Griffith* the nephew of *Robert* and *Morice*, being the sonne of *William* the elder brother, dreamed in his sleepe, that he saw a great heard of wild hogges, rush upon *Hugh Delacy*, and his uncle *Maurice*, and that one of them being more furious and raging then the rest, had rent them with his tuskes, and tore them in pieces, if he had not with his force rescued them, and killed the Bore: this dreame troubled him exceedingly, wherewith he acquainted his company, and made him and the rest be the more upon their keeping, to prevent treachery: The houre of parlee came, they met and confered together. *Griffith* not forgetting his dreame, made choice of seven tall men of his owne kindred, in whom he reposed great trust and confidence, well mounted, with swords, sparthes, and sheilds; raunged the fields (as nigh the Hill as they might) and made sundry Carreers and brave Turnaments, under pretence of recreation and pleasant pastime; yet alwaies casting an eye to the Hill, to see the end of this parlee.

Hughe Delacy and *Ororic*, being somewhat long together, *Ororic* to worke his treason, stept aside, faining to make water, upon the signe he gave his men brought him his horse, and sparth, the which he taking upon his shoulder, ment therewith to have cloven *Hughe Delacy* his head, if the interpreter had not stept betweene, whose arme was cleane cut off and himselfe wounded to the death.

Maurice Fitz Girald and *Griffith* his nephew rush in, the traitours of the one side, the true men of the other are together by the eares; when *Ororic* the traitor tooke horse to runne away, *Griffith* with his launce runne him through, and killed him and his horse and three of his men, cut off his head and sent it to the King of England: this was the end of *Orirics* treason, and the effect of *Griffiths* dreame.

Immediatly upon this, Earle *Richard* (being formerly upon reconciliation made with the King, appointed Seneschall of Ireland) is now sent out of Normandy, by especially commission from the King, with *Reimond le grosse* his brother in Law, in joint commission to governe the whole land, & to be his Lieutenant in Ireland; where he found the Irish faith *Cambrensis*, constant in inconstancy, firme in wave-

wavering, and faithfull in untruthes: he found emulation betweene *Hervy* and *Reimond*, and the Army in a mutiny, for lacke of pay at *Harveies* hands; whereupon he made *Reimond* Lievetenant of the forces. *Reimond* immediatly muſtred his men, drew them forth to the Decies among the Rebels, where they preyed and ſpoiled. Secondly, they marched to Liſmore, where they did the like. Laſtly, along the Sea coſt, they goe with their booties, preyes and rich pillage towards Waterford; and finding at Dunganan ſome thirteene botes out of Waterford and other places, they lade them with their preys, intending by water to ſaile for Waterford; while they waited for wind, Corke men envyed their ſucceſſe; prepared 32. Barks, manned and furniſhed them out out of their Towne, to overthrow *Reimond* and the Engliſh men, and to recover the preyes; they met, they fought cruelly; Corke men are overthrowne, and their Captain *Gilbert Mac Turger* was ſlaine, by a valiant Knight *Philip Welſh*, and finally *Adam Herford* withall his charge, ſafely arived in Waterford. *Reimond* was not at this skirmiſh, but by the way he met with *Dermot Mac Corty* Prince of Deſmond, who with great power was come to the aid of the men of Corke. They likewiſe skrimiſhed and fell to a cruell fight, where *Dermot* forſooke the field with ſmall credit, and *Reimond* went to Waterford with foure thouſand head of cattell.

Immediatly upon this, newes came out of England unto *Reimond*, that *William Fitz Girald* his father, was departed thisliſe; whereupon he ſailed to Wales, and *Hervey De monte Mariſco* was appointed by the Earle, Lieutenant of the forces. This *Hervey* to advance his credit, purpoſed to worke ſome exploits, and drew out of Dublin the Earle to Caſhil; there alſo after conſultation by mandat from the Earle, he appointed the Souldiers that were at Dublin to meet him: When they came as farre as Oſſorie, *Donald* Prince of Limirik, having by his eſpecials before hand intelligence thereof, ſtole upon them in the morning; ſlue of them foure Knights, whereof *O Grame* an Iriſh man was one, and foure hundred ſouldiers; with this the Earle was diſcouraged, and went to Waterford; the Iriſh gathered heart and determined to roote out al the Engliſhmen. So that *Roderic* Prince of Gonoght tooke this opportunity, paſſed the Shannan, and waſted all to the walles of Dublin. The Earle being in this perplexity wrote unto *Reimond*, that was in Wales. *As ſoone as you have read thoſe our letters, make all the haſte you can to come away, and bring with you all the helpe and force you can make, and then according to your own will and deſire, you ſhall aſſuredly enjoy that which you long looked for.* Immediatly he prepared himſelfe, together with his couſin *Meilerius*; ſhipped 30. young Gentlemen of his own kindred. 100. horſemen, with 300. archers & foot, of the beſt & choſen men of all Wales; and in 20. Barkes arrived in Waterford: It was at ſuch time as

as the Waterford men had determined to kill every Engliſh man within the walles; but when they ſaw the Barkes come in with flags, and banners diſplaid, they were aſtonied, and ſtaid their courſe.

Reimond entreth the towne of Wexford, ſetteth all in order, taketh the Earle with him, and all their forces, and went to Wexford; hee had left behinde him one *Purcell* his Lievetenant to guard the town, whom the Waterfordians ſlue, and put to the ſword, of Engliſh birth, man, woman and childe; but ſuch as had fled to *Reynolds* towre, plagued them ſore afterwards, drove them to intreate for peace, the which they obtained with hard conditions: And, ſaith the booke of *Houth*, the Waterfordians were ever after the leſſe beleeved. For all the troubles in England and Normandie, and theſe treaſons and rebellions in Ireland, the King was not unmindefull to quiet the people, and to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his heires in the kingdome; firſt, he ſent Embaſſadors to Rome to cleere himſelfe of the death of *Thomas* of Canterbury: ſecondly, he ſent meſſengers thither concerning the ſtate of Ireland, whereunto *Alexander* the third, anſwered as followeth, *Alexander the Biſhop, the ſervant of the ſervants of God*, to his dearely beloved ſonne, the Noble King of England, greeting, grace and Apoſtolike benediction. Foraſmuch as things given and granted upon good reaſon, by our predeceſſors, are to be well allowed of, ratified and confirmed; wee well conſidering and pondering the graunt and priviledge for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to us appertaining, and lately given by *Adrian* our predeceſſor; we following his ſteps, doe in like manner confirme, ratifie and allow the ſame, reſerving and ſaving to Saint *Peter*, and to the Church of Rome, the yeerely penſion of one penny out of every houſe, as well in England, as in Ireland; provided alſo that the barbarous people of Ireland by your meanes be reformed and recovered from that filthy life, and abhominable converſation; that as in name, ſo in life and manners they may be Chriſtians; and that as that rude and diſordered Church, being by you reformed, the whole nation may alſo, with the profeſſion of the name, be in acts and deeds, followers of the ſame. And ſaith the booke of *Houth*, *Alexander* the third beſought the devill to take them all that gaineſayed this Kings title, *Amen*. *Henry* 2. ſent this priviledge to Ireland by *Nicholas Wallingford*, a Prior, afterwards Abbot of Malmesbury, and *William Fitz Adelme*. And then being at Waterford, they cauſed an aſſembly, and a Synod of the Biſhops and Clergie within the land to be gathered together, where, in open audience, this priviledge of *Alexander*, and the other of *Adrian* (formerly ſpoken of) were read, and publiſhed, and ratified. *Reimond* having ſetled his affaires at Wexford, marched towards Dublin, the noyſe of his comming drave *Roderic* the rebell of Connaght away; he was no ſooner come to Dublin, but the newes of the rebellion of Limric followed after, where *Donald O bren* having

having ſworne faith and fealty unto *Henry* 2. is now revolted and turned to his vomit. *Reymond* maketh preparation, muſtereth his men, choſe out 26. gallants, 300. horſemen, and 300. Archers, and foote, and commeth to Lymeric, where he found the Bridges drawn, the river ſwift and impaſſable, the townesmen upon the walls, with all manner of defence for their ſafeguard. *David Welſh*, a luſty Gentleman, maketh no more adoe, but putteth ſpurres to his horſe, and with good guiding thereof, croſſeth the river, and got to land; immediately he calleth to his company, come, I have found a Ford: yet for all that, none would follow, but *Ieffery Welſh*, and *Mcilerius Fitz Henry*. Then *Reimond* turneth him to the army with theſe words: *You worthy men, who of nature are valiant, and whoſe Proweſſe we have well tryed, come away, the way heretofore not knowne, and the river hitherto thought not paſſable, by our adventures, a foord is now found therein; let us therefore follow him that is gone before, and helpe him being now in diſtreſſe; let us not ſuffer nor ſee ſo worthy a Gentleman thus for our common cauſe and honour, oppreſſed, to periſh, and to be caſt away before our eyes, and in our ſight, for want of our help, and by meanes of our daſtard cowardize. It is no time to uſe many words, the ſhortneſſe of the time, the preſent neceſſitie of this Noble Gentleman, and the ſtate of our own honour, urgeth expedition, and requireth haſte.* And even with the words, he put ſpurres to his horſe, and adventureth the river, after whom, followed the whole company, every one ſtriving who might be formoſt. And as God would, they paſſed all over ſafe, ſaving two ſouldiers, and one *Gwydo* a Gentleman: when they had recovered land, the enemy fled, whom they purſued, and in the chaſe ſlue a number of them, they entred the towne, got great ſpoyles and riches, but greater honour and fame. When all was quiet, *Reimond* left there a ſtrong Garriſon, and *Miles* of Saint *Davids*, Lievetenant over them, and returned to the borders of Leinſter.

Envy hardly ſleepeth, but is ſtill deviſing of miſchiefe; *Hervie de monte Mariſco*, though now by marriage allyed unto *Reymond*, yet by malice worketh his overthrow, enuying his honour and proſperous ſucceſſe, ſendeth ſecret letters to the King againſt him, which are not worthy to be recorded, being but the ſinke of ſecret malice. The King, (as the nature of Princes is to be jealous and ſuſpitious of any greatneſſe) is eaſily brought to credit *Hervie*, and thereupon ſendeth foure of his ſervants to Ireland, *Robert Poer*, *Osbert* of Herlotte, or Hereford, *William Bendeger*, and *Adam* of Gernemie; two of them to ſtay with Earle *Richard*, and the other two to bring *Reimond* away with them; as *Reymond* was ready to goe for England, newes came that *Donald*, Prince of Lymeric had beſieged the towne, and that the garriſon was greatly diſtreſſed, and in want of victuals: the Earle, with *Reimond* and the foure Gentlemen, fell to conſultation, what courſe to hold; they found in the army a ſecret mutiny, where the ſouldiers ſaid

ſaid flatly, they would not ſerve that way, unleſſe *Reimond* were their Captaine; to be ſhort, it was concluded that *Reimond* ſhould undertake the ſervice; when he had muſtered and made choice of horſe and foot, he marched towards Lymeric: *Donald*, Prince of Oſſory, who bore private grudge to *Donald* of Lymeric, *Morogh* of Kencile, with other Iriſh men, then ſerved and attended upon *Reimond*. By the way a Poſt came, and certified *Reimond*, that *Donald* of Lymeric had raiſed his ſiege, and was come to the pace of Caſhill to give him battaile; this pace of it ſelfe was naturally very ſtrong, but by trenching, and hedging, and plaſhing of trees, it ſeemed invincible. When of each ſide they were ready to joyne battaile, *Donald*, Prince of Oſſory being deſirous to ſee his enemy of Lymeric and Thomond overthrowne, turneth him to the Engliſh men with theſe words: *You worthy, Noble, and valiant Conquerours of this land, you are this day valiantly to give the onſet upon your enemies, which if you doe after your old and accuſtomed manner, no doubt the victory will be yours; for we with our ſpartes, and you with your ſwords, will ſharpely purſue them, as they ſhall very hardly eſcape our hands, & avoid our force, but if it ſo fall out (which God forbid) that you be overthrowne, and have the worſe ſide, be you aſſured that wee will leave you, and turne to our enemies, and take part with them: Wherefore be of good courage, and looke well to your ſelves, and conſider that you are now farre from any Fort or place of refuge, and therefore if you ſhould be driven to flye, the ſame will be long and dangerous unto you. As for us, ye may not truſt to us, for we determine to ſticke to them who ſhall have the victory, and will purſue and be on the jackes of them who ſhall flye and runne away: and therefore be no longer aſſured of us, then whilſt yee be Conquerours: Meilerius*, who had the foreward, being ſomewhat moved and warmed with thoſe words, ſuddenly, like a blaſt of winde, entred the Paſſe, pulled away the buſhes, brake downe the hedges, the Pioners filled the trenches, and ſpeedily made plaine the way, with no ſmall ſlaughter of the enemies, and ſo they marched without any great perill to Lymeric, where they releeved the army, and ſet things in order, and reſted a ſhort time. *Roderic* of Connaght, and *Donald* of Thomond finding themſelves weake, craved a parlee, it was granted them: *Roderic* would needs keepe on the water, and *Donald* kept the wood. Who would truſt them that would truſt no other? *Reimond* choſe the midſt betweene them both; to be ſhort, a peace was concluded, they both ſubmitted themſelves, gave hoſtages, made fealtie, and ſwore to be true thenceforth for ever to the King of England, and to his ſucceſſors after him. This ſervice was no ſooner performed, but there came meſſengers to *Reimond* from *Dermot Mac Carty* Prince of *Deſmond*, humbly craving his aide, againſt his eldeſt ſon *Cormac O Lechan*, who was in armes againſt his natural father: with the advice of his Councell; *Reimond* granteth aide, hee

marcheth

marcheth towards Corke and ſubdueth the rebell, the ſonne diſſembleth with the father and clapt him in priſon: the father requiteth the ſonne with like: he got him in under colour of peace, clapt him in priſon and cut off his head.

And not long after, ſaith *Cambrenſis*, the men of Corke at a parlee not farre from the Towne, ſlew their Prince *Dermot Mac Carty*, and moſt of his company.

Anno 1177. (ſo writeth *Holinſhed*) *Henry* the 2. held a Parliament at Windſore, where *Laurence* Archbiſhop of Dublin was preſent; as what time *Roderic* King of Conoght ſent thither the Archbiſhop of Tuam, the Abbot of Saint *Brandon*, with one *Laurence* his Chaplen; offring all ſubmiſſion and loyalty. The King willingly heard them, and gladly concluded a Peace at the importunate ſuit of his Meſſengers to avoid further trouble; injoyning *Roderic* to pay him in token of ſubjection, a tribute of Cow hides, the Charter of agreement was drawne and ſubſcribed as followeth.

A Charter of agreement betweene *Henry* 2. King of England, and *Roderic* King of Connoght.

Hic eſt finis & concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windeſore, in Octabis Sancti Michaelis, Anno gratiæ 1175. *Inter Dominum Regem Angliæ Henricum ſecundum; & Rodericum Regem Conaciæ, per Catholicum Tuamenſem Archepiſcopum & Abbatem C. Sancti Brandani, & Magiſtrum Laurentium Cancellarium Regis Conaciæ.*

1. *Scilicet quod Rex Angliæ concedit predicto Roderico Ligio homini ſuo Regnum Conaciæ quamdiu ei fideliter ſerviet, vt ſit Rex ſub eo, paratus ad ſervitiũ ſuũ, ſicut homo ſuus & ut teneat terrã ſuam, ita bene & in pace ſicut tenuit antequam Dominus Rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam; reddendo ei tributum: & totam illam terram & habitatores terræ habeat ſub ſe, & juſticiæ ut tributum Regi Angliæ integrè perſolvant, & per manum ejus ſua jura ſibi conſervent, & illi qui modo tenent, teneant in pace, quam diu manſuerint in fidelitate Regis Angliæ, & fideliter & integre perſolverint tributum & alia jura ſua quæ ei debent, per manum Regis Conaciæ, ſalvo in omnibus jure & honore Domini Regis Angliæ & ſuo.*

2. *Et ſi quis ex eis Regi Angliæ, & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia jura Regis Angliæ, per manum ejus ſolvere noluerint, & a fidelitate Regis Angliæ receſſerint, ipſe eos juſtitiet & amoveat, & ſi eos perſe juſtitiare non poterit; Conſtabularius Regis Angliæ & familia ſua de terra illa juvabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, quum ab ipſo fuerint requiſiti, & ipſi viderint quod neceſſe ſit, & propter hunc finem reddet predictus Rex Conaciæ Domino Regi Angliæ tributum ſingulis annis; ſcilicet, de ſingulis decem animalibus, unum coriũm placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra ſua quam de aliena.*

3. *Excepto quod de terris illis quas Dominus Rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio ſuo, & in dominio Baronum ſuorum nihil ſe intromittet: Scilicet Duvelina cum pertinentijs ſuis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentijs*

nentijs ſuis, ſicut unquã Murchart Wamai Leth Lachlin, *eam melius & plenius tenuet, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Weſefordia cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, ſcilicet cum tota Lagenia, & excepta Waterf. cum tota terra illa quæ eſt a Waterf. uſque ad Dungarvan; ita ut Dungarvan ſit cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, infra terram illam.*

4. *Et ſi Hibernenſes illi qui aufugerint redire voluerint ad terram Baronum Regis Angliæ, redeant in pace reddendo tributum predictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua ſervitia quæ facere ſolebant pro terris ſuis, et hoc ſit in arbitrio Dominorum ſuorum, et ſi aliqui eorum redire noluerint, Domini eorum et Rex Conaciæ accipiat obſides, ad omnibus quos ei Cõmiſit Dominus Rex Angliæ ad voluntatem Domini Regis et ſuam, et ipſe dabit obſides ad voluntatem Domini Regis Angliæ illos vel alios, et ipſi ſervient Domino de Canibus et Avibus ſuis ſingulis annis de preſentis ſuis, et nullum omnino de quacunque terra Regis ſit, retinebunt contra voluntatem Domini Regis. Hijs teſtibus Richardo Epiſcopo Wintoniæ, Gaufrido Epiſcopo Elienſi, Laurentio Duvelinenſi Archepiſcopo, Gaufrido, Nicolao, et Rogero Capelanis Regis, Guilelmo Comit. Eſſex, et aliis multis.*

Moreover at that Parliament, the King gave an Iriſhman named *Auguſtine*, the Biſhopricke of Waterford, which was then voyd, and ſent him unto Ireland, with *Laurence* the Archbiſhop of Dublin, to be conſecrated of *Donatus* Archbiſhop of Caſhill.

Anno 1176. *Bertran de Verdon* founded the Monaſtery of *Crokiſdan*. As *Reimond* marcheth towards Leinſter, newes came unto him from the Lady *Baſilia* his wife, that *Strangbow* was dead, the which hee concealed with good countenance; and called a ſecret councell of the wiſer ſort and truſtieſt friends, how to diſpoſe of the State of the Land, afore the Iriſh were acquainted therewith: it was agreed upon for that the enemy were many, the forces but few, they ſhould ſtrengthen all their holds upon the Sea coſt untill the K. pleaſure were further knowne, and withdraw the midland garriſons to ſupply and compleat the ſame. And among others they thought good to take the garriſon out of Lymerik and deliver the Towne to the charge of *Donald Obrien* of Thomond Prince of Lymericke; he being ſent for, came in poaſt, underſtanding *Reimonds* pleaſure, was the gladdeſt man that might bee, and undertooke the charge, *Viz.* to keepe the Towne to the Kings uſe, and at his pleaſure to redeliver it, as alſo in the meane time to keepe the peace: this he undertooke with Corporall oathes, and ſolemne vowes; and thereupon delivered hoſtages. But the Engliſhmen were no ſooner over the one end of the Bridge, but *Donald* broke the other end, and ſet fire in the foure quarters of the Towne, ſaying there ſhall no Engliſh race reſt here any longer: This they beheld with their eyes, to their no ſmall griefe of mind. *Cambrenſis* inveyeth againſt this *Donald Obrien* calling him traitour, wicked, impudent, perfidious, perjured and what

not? This was in *Anno* one thouſand, one hundred, ſeventy ſeven.

Earle Strangbow left behinde, one daughter of tender yeeres, and lyeth buried in the Church of the bleſſed Trinity in Dublin, over againſt the Pulpit, in the body of the Church, whoſe exequies, *Laurence O Toole*, Archbiſhop of Dublin did ſolemnize with great reverence; whereupon the King ſent into Ireland, *William Fitz Adelme* to be his Lievetenant, with the allowance of twenty Gentlemen of his houſhold, and joyned with him in commiſſion, *Iohn de Courcy*, with the allowance of tenne men to attend his perſon. *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Miles Cogan*, who had nobly ſerved him in his wars two yeers, with the allowance of twenty men to attend their perſons; at which time, ſaith *Holinſhed*, the Iriſh men paid the King a tribute of twelve pence yeerely for every houſe, or elſe for every yoke of Oxen, (*alias* plow) which they had of their owne.

Richard, ſurnamed *Strangbow*, had to his father, *Gilbert*, likewiſe ſurnamed *Strangbow*, for his valour & ſtrength; this *Gilbert* was E. of Ogye in Normandie, & Lord of Totenhã, Alverdiſton, & Wolaſton in England, ſo created by *Henry* 1. *William* the ſon of *Osbert*, a Norman, E. of Ogie in Normandie, had iſſue, *Richard*, E. of Ogie, this *Richard* had iſſue *Walter* & *Gilbert*, aforeſaid father to *Richard* E. *Strangbow*; *William Fitz Osbert* came into England in the ayde of *William* the Conquerour. And as far as I can learn, *Walter* was the firſt Earle of Penbroke (the Britaines call it Penbraich More, the head of an arme of the ſea) whence both the Countie, and the moſt noble Earldome have their denominations. *Arnulph de monte Gomerik*, the yonger ſonne of *Roger de montegomerik*, that was by *William* the Conquerour created Earle of Arundell and Shrewsbury, builded the Caſtle of Penbroke, where *Henry* the ſeventh was borne; *William* the Conquerour gave him Divet and Cardigan, hee was Earle of Ogie, and the ſecond Earle of Penbroke, and married the daughter (by the mediation of *Girald de Windſore*, Conſtable of his Caſtle) of *Morogh*, King of Leinſter in Ireland. *Gilbert*, ſurnamed *Strangbow*, was created by King *Stephen*, the third Earle of Penbroke, hee was Earle of Ogie in Normandie, Lord of Totenham, Alverdiſton, Wolaſton, and Cardigan, and in England ſucceeded *Arnulph*. *Henry* the firſt made him Earle of Strigule, now called Chepſtow, and gave him Cardigan; this *Gilbert* builded Caſtrogie, *alias* Caſtrum Ogie, in Gwent, and the Caſtle of Stratmirike.

Richard, ſurnamed *Strangbow*, ſucceeded his father *Gilbert*; his ſtile as I take it is thus. *Richard*, ſurnamed *Strangbow*, Lord of Totenham, Alverdiſton, Wolaſton, and Cardigan; in England, Earle of Penbroke, Earle of Strigule, *alias Domonius de Chepſtow* in England, *Earle of Ogie in Normandie, Earle of Leiceſter, Earle Marſhall of England, Vicegerent of Normandie, Lord Lievetenant of Ireland, and Prince of Leinſter in the right of Eva his wife, ſole heire of Dermot Mac Morogh, King of Leinſter.* This

This *Richard* had iſſue by his firſt wife, a ſonne, a fine youth, and a gallant ſtripling, who following his father with ſome charge in battaile array, as he paſſed by Idrone in Leinſter, to relieve *Robert Fitz Stephens* in Wexford, upon the ſight and cry of the Iriſh men, when his father was in cruell fight, gave backe with his company, to the great diſcouragement of the hoſt, yet the Earle got the victory, and commanded with the teares in his cheekes, that his ſonne ſhould be cut in the middle with a ſword for his cowardize in battaile; he was buried in the Church of the bleſſed Trinitie in Dublin, where now his father reſteth by his ſide, and cauſed the cauſe of his death for an Epitaph to be ſet over him.

Nate ingrate mihi pugnanti terga dediſti,
Non mihi, ſed genti & regno quoque terga dediſti.

My ſonne unkinde didſt flye the field, the father fighting hard,
Nor me, nor Engliſh birth didſt weigh, nor kingdome didſt regard.

How the ſonne pleaded with his father for the place of ſervice, and how the father anſwered, *Stanihurſt* hath many circumſtances hereof, and delivered, that his owne father in his fury, and in the face of the enemy, cut him off, and marvaileth that *Cambrenſis* would conceale it, and in the end taketh it as a matter of truth, both by the teſtimony of the Tombe in Chriſt Church, as alſo by the induſtry of Sir *Henry Sidney*, Knight, a great favourer of Antiquities, in preſerving the ſame, to the knowledge of the poſterity.

Richard Earle *Strangbow* by his ſecond wife *Eva*, the daughter of *Dermot Mac Morogh*, had iſſue, one daughter, *Iſabell*, whom *Richard* the firſt gave in marriage to *William Maxfield*, Lord *Maxfield*, Earle Marſhall of England, of whom (God willing) I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeake further, when I come to his time.

The ſame yeere that *Strangbow* dyed, *viz:* 1177. (ſo *Holinſhed* writeth) *Iohn de Courcy* entred Vlſter, diſcomfited the Iriſh, and wanne the Citie of Dune, where the body of Saint *Patricke*, Saint *Colme*, and Saint *Brigide* the Virgin reſts, whom *Courcy* calleth *tria jocalia Hiberniæ, the three jewels of Ireland*. At the winning of Dune, *Roderic* King of Connaght, and Monarch of Ireland, (at ſeverall times before ſworne to the King) raiſed a mighty army againſt *Courcy*, where *Roderic* was overthrowne, and the Biſhop of Dune taken priſoner among other rebels; the which Biſhop, at the requeſt of Cardinall *Vinian* (then preſent) was ſet at liberty. This Cardinall, ſaith mine Author, intitled *Sancti Stephani de monte Celio*, was ſent from *Alexander* 3. and comming into England without licence, was pardoned by *Henry* 2. and permitted to goe into Scotland, and the north parts, where his commiſſion directed him; when he had ended

his businesse in Scotland, he passed over into Man, where he held his Christmas with *Gotred*, King of Man, and after the Epiphanie, sailed from thence into Ireland, and came thither (saith *Newbrigiensis*) the same time that the English men invaded the country, and was entertained by *Roderic*, and the Bishop of Dune, and others, with great reverence.

The Irish men aske councell of *Vivian* the Legate, what in that case he thought best to be done, whether they should fight, or yeeld unto the English nation; he gave counsell, forgetting what *Adrian* 4. and *Alexander* 3. had formerly granted and said, *fight in defence of your country*. This Legate (craftily preventing all mishaps) took the Church of Dune for his sanctuary, and had in readinesse the Popes commission, and the King of Englands Passe unto the Captaines of Ireland for his safe conduct: From thence he went to Dublin, called the Prelates, held a councell, and filled his bagges with the sinnes of the people; the English Captaines understanding of it, gave him in charge, either to depart the land, or to goe to the warres, and serve for pay with them, and no longer to receive money for nought.

In the booke of *Howth* it is further alledged, how that this Legate in his Synod at Dublin (whether it were to curry favour with the English men, and to colour his other prancks, it forceth not greatly) shewed and published openly the King of Englands right to Ireland, with the Popes grant and confirmation, and accursed all those that gainesaid the same.

Now to the true history of Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, as worthy a Knight for martiall prowesse, as ever trode upon Irish ground, whom *Cambrensis* lightly overskipped, partly upon private grudge, for that Sir *Iohn de Courcy* allowed him not for Vicar generall in Ireland, and Secretary to the State, partly in favour of Sir *Hugh Delacy*, who maligned and envied the honor and renowne, and prosperous successes of *Courcy*; lastly for feare of King *Iohn*, into whose displeasure *Courcy* fell, through the false accusation of *Lacy* and his faction, yet the certainty of his exploits hath beene preserved, and in Latine committed to Paper by a Fryer in the North, the which booke *Oneil* brought to Armagh, and was translated into English by ..... *Dowdall*, Primate there, *Anno* 1551. He was by father a Norman, by mother a Cambrian or Britaine, and married the daughter of *Gotred*, King of Man; he was a Gentleman descended, as it seemeth by his coate, of an antient house, of whom the Irish men hold that *Merlin* prophecied, where he wrote: *A white Knight sitting on a white horse, bearing birds in his shield, shall be the first which with force of Armes, shall enter and subdue Vister.*

He served King *Henry* the second in all his warres, and in France he met with a worthy Knight, Sir *Americus Tristeram*, who married *Courcy* his sister, and whether it was derived of the Ladies name, or

or for that they were married on Saint *Laurence* day, ever after hee and his posterity after him, was called Sir *Amoricus de Sancto Laurentio*, whence the Noble house of *Howth* is lineally discended, whereof hereafter in another place more at large. These two Knights became sworne brethren in the Church of our Lady at Roane; where solemnely they vowed to serve together, to live and dye together and equally to divide betweene them what they wanne by the sword, or should be given them in regard of their service: Thus they continued in France, Anjou, Normandy, and England; and when Sir *Iohn de Courcy* was joyned in commission with *William Burgh*, *Fitz Adelme* and others; Sir *Amoricus de Sancto Laurentio*, accompanied him into Ireland, where *Courcy* received a graunt of the King, by Patent for him and his heires or assignes after him, to enjoy in that Land all that he could Conquer with the sword, reserving to the King homage and fealty; they landed at Houth and there fought a cruell fight by the side of a Bridge, where Sir *Iohn de Courcy* being sickly, taried abord the shippe. Sir *Americus* being Chiefetaine and Generall of the field by land, behaved himselfe most worthily; many were slaine on both sides, but Sir *Americus* got the victory, with the losse of seven of his owne blood, sonnes, uncles and nephewes, whereupon for his singular valour and good service there performed, that Lordship was allotted unto him for his part of the conquest, with other things which Sir *Iohn de Courcy* gave him. Immediatly, Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, Sir *Amoricus de Sanct Laurentio*, and Sir *Roger Poer*, so well appointed as then contented them, directed their course towards the North; the principall cause that moved them (besides their valour) was the hard government of *William Fitz Adelme*, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whose conditions *Cambrensis* who then lived and was conversant with him, delivereth in this sort. He was covetous, proud, malicious, envious, a favorite of wine and women, and good to none, but to his back and belly: and by his backe he understood his kindred, and by his belly he ment his children, for he opposed himselfe, most enviously, against the *Garraldins*, *Fitz Stephens* and *Barries*, the first most valiant Conquerors of the Land, and against their posterity, &c.

While *Courcy* is on his way, give me leave, gentle Reader, to eternise the Memoriall of *Maurice Fitz Gerald*: As he was of birth and parentage nobly & worshipfully descended, so was he in condition and for martiall prowesse every way renowned. *Cambrensis* his kinsman commendeth him greatly, and no lesse then he deserved. He left this world to the great griefe of all the true harts in Ireland, and lieth buried in the Monastery of grey Friers without the walles of Wexford, his ..... sonnes whom *William Fitz Adelme* maligned, builded the Castle of Fernes. In his time, (saith *Cambrensis*) at Wirlo, where *Maurice Fitz Girald* dwelled, there was a Monster, begotten by

by a wicked man of that nation upon a Cow, a vice (ſaith he) at that time too common among that nation. It had the body of a man, but all the hinder parts of an oxe, from the anckles of the legges, and the wriſts of the armes, he had the hooſes of an oxe; his head was all bald ſaving a few ſmall and thinne haires; his eyes, great, round, and blacke like an Oxe; noſe he had none, but two holes; ſpeake hee could not, but onely bellow like a Cow: this Monſter did daily reſort to the houſe of *Maurice Fitz Girald* about dinner time, and ſuch meat as was given him, he tooke it in his hooſes, and put it to his mouth, and ſo fed himſelfe. Diviners in thoſe daies conſtrued this of the government of *Fitz Adelme*, the which in their opinion was monſtrous, but there I leave, and returne to *Courcy*.

Iohn de Courcy after foure dayes, ſome miles come to Daud without reſiſtance, and unlooked for, contrary to all mens expectation, the which in a word hath beene ſpoken of before: ſtrange it is to ſee what a ſudden feare will worke. *Dunlenus*, (whom I take to be *O Donell*) no baſe nor meane Commander of that place, fled away, left armes, men and munition behinde, happy was hee (in his owne opinion) that he had eſcaped the hands, he wiſt not of what enemy; the trumpets ſounded, the armour ratled, the women clapt their hands, the children cryed, the townesmen to goe, the leaders entred, the ſouldiers ryfled, the towne upon a ſodaine was ranſacked, doores, windowes, cupboards, cheſts flew open, the army after long march, and ſore travaile, being in great want and weakeneſſe, had their houſing, firing, dyet, and fare of the beſt, bedding, cloathing, gold, ſilver, plate, and rich booties, without checke or controulement of any, and reſpite for certaine daies to breath, reſt, and recreate themſelves. In the necke of this out of Scotland, the winde blew one *Vinianus* a Cardinall (ſpoken of before) which tooke upon him to intreate a peace betweene the two nations, but could not prevaile. After eight dayes, *Roderic* the Monarch, and *O Donnell*, King of Duune, had muſtred their men, gathered forces, gotten great ayde, and prepared an hoaſt of tenne thouſand fighting men, and came to beſiege the City. Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, having but ſeven hundred, thought beſt not to bee cooped within, nor caged like a Bird, prepared to give them battaile abroad, marched forth, and ordered his army as followeth; he divided his men into three companies, the horſemen being ſeven ſcore, were ſet in a winge on the left hand, under the leading of Sir *Americus de Saint Lhuruntio*, every horſeman having a bowman behinde him. On the right hand, Sir *Roger Poer*, who had married Sir *Americus* Neece, led the foot company, cloſe by a bogge ſide, in the midſt came Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, with his company; the way was narrow where they ſhould encounter, and the Engliſh men had the vantage of a great hedge and ditch of the one hand, and a bogge on the other to gall the enemies horſes, where no horſe could enter within

within them. *Odonell* ſeeing the Horſmen to be but a few, commanded his foot and maine battaile to make a ſtand untill hee ſent them word to march on, meaning to make ſhort worke with the Horſemen, and ſo to breake the necke of the ſtrength of the battaile; the Horſemen joyne battaile, the Archers gall *Odonels* horſes with arrowes, whom the Engliſh launce ſlew not, the horſe unſadled, and when the Engliſh quiver was empty, the archer with his ſword haught the horſes and diſpatched the men that were unhorſed and caſt to the ground. *Odonels* horſemen being ſomewhat diſcomfited retired, Sir *Americus* cals upon *Courcy* and *Poer*, to bring on the foote, who metting with the foote and maine battaile of the Iriſh (that expected newes from *Odonell*) fought moſt fiercely: No inſtrument of Warre could be heard, the cry of both ſides pierced the clouds, the gald horſes grievouſly complained, the maimed ſouldiers grouveling on the ground and gaſping for breath gave pittifull groanes; the Iriſh flang darts and ſtones, the Engliſh ſhoote arrowes, the Iriſh with ſparthes and galloglaſſe axes, the Engliſh with ſpeares and ſwords encounter on both ſides moſt valiantly; the ſplints of broke ſtaves fly about their eares, and eyes, ſparkles of fire from their ſwords and targets, and the blowes upon their helmets yeelded the ſound of hammers working upon aaviles, both ſides deſerved honor and ſingular commendations; the ſlaughter was great on both ſides, and continued long; many of the Engliſh were ſlaine, and a number of the Iriſh were left alive, they determined to make an end of the Engliſh that day; the rere of the Iriſh march couragiouſly, the Engliſh had the bog of the one ſide, and the ditch of the other, and the entrance to them was ful of heads, legs, and armes, dead corps, armor and horſes dead, and lying a long ſtriving with death, that they could not approch, whereupon they broke their battaile aray, diſperſed themſelves, and from the paces entred the plaines. Sir *Amoris* watching his opportunity, called *Ieffrey Montgomery* his ſiſters ſonne and ſtandard bearer, and ſaid: *Have not we quitted our ſelves like men this day, and ſhall wee diſhonour the field ſo much as to ſuffer yonder company to eſcape our hands; come, advance your Standard, let us wheele about and give the on-ſet: Montgomery replied, it ſeemes ſtrange unto mee, to ſee your ſtomach paſſe your ſtrength, we have wonne honour adviſedly, and ſhall we now raſhly loſe it? of ſeven ſcore, we have but forty horſes left, the reſt are wounded, tired and not fit for ſervice: then ſaid Amorich give me the Standard, I will beare it my ſelfe; if that be your pleaſure (ſaith Mountgomery) you ſhall not hereafter charge me with cowardiſe, under this Standard have I got honour, and under this Standard (if God ſo ſo pleaſe) I will dye.* With this they wheeled about and overtoone the foot of the Iriſh, being loden with armes, and wearied with fight, with their launces they ſtrooke them to the ground, they gave the on-ſet a freſh upon the horſemen which were about 200. and had

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Connor O Laghlin to their leader, who retreated in battaile array, ready to anſwer the fight. Sir *Amoricus* in that skirmiſh was twice vnhorſed, and by his men liftup againe, afterwards in a filthy foord he was unhorſed againe, and his horſe ſlaine under him: whereupon ſome of his troope lighted, ſtood very ſtoutly by him, tooke weapons out of the dead mens hands that lay along the way, & kept the Foord from horſe and man, untill Sir *Iohn de Courcy* came to the reſcue, at which time many of the Iriſh were ſlaine, and the reſt fled away: thus in the end God gave the victory unto the Engliſh men, after the loſſe of many a brave man, and eſpecially *Lyonell Saint Laurence*, nephew to *Amoricus*, whoſe death was greatly lamented. When they had buried their dead, and gathered their armes, they returned to Dune.

The Midſummer following, *Courcy* fought the ſecond battaile nigh the walles of Dune (ſaith *Stanihurſt*) and overthrew fifteene thouſand men in Vlſter. And ſaith the booke of *Houth*, after that field, Vlſter men had ſmall ſtomacke to give any onſet upon the Engliſh men: yet I finde the field to have beene bloudy of both ſides, and that Sir *Amoricus* was ſore wounded, laid under a hedge, eating hony ſuckles for his reliefe, where he left much bloud, and was carried away betweene foure men; his wounds were ſo many, and ſo dangerous, that no Phyſitian or Surgeon could promiſe life the ſpace of nine dayes, yet in the end, recovered. Next unto him was his ſonne Sir *Nicholas Saint Laurence*, a moſt valiant Knight ſo ſore wounded in nine ſeverall places, that he was once left for dead, but at length recovered, to the great comfort of his friends.

The third battaile that Sir *Iohn de Courcy* fought, was in Ferng, againſt eleaven thouſand Iriſh men: the occaſion was thus, *Courcy* had builded many Caſtles throughout Vlſter, and eſpecially in Fern, where *Mac Mahon* dwelled; this *Mac Mahon* with ſolemne proteſtations vowed to become a true and faithfull ſubiect, gave *Courcy* many gifts, and made him his Goſhip, which is a league of amitie highly eſteemed in Ireland. Whereupon *Courcy* gave him two Caſtles with their demeanes to hold of him. Within one moneth after, this *Mac Mahon* returning to his vomit, brake downe the Caſtles, and made them even with the ground. Sir *Iohn de Courcy* ſent unto him to know the cauſe that moved him to fall to this villanie: his anſwer was, that he promiſed not to hold ſtones of him, but the land, and that it was contrary to his nature, to couch himſelfe within cold ſtones, the woods being ſo nigh, where he might better warme himſelfe, with other ſlender and ſcorneſull anſwers. *Courcy* to be revenged of him, ſaw no better courſe then to prey his country, muſtred his men, entred the land, and ſwept all the cattell before him. The prey was ſo great, that it could not be driven, unleſſe it were divided into three parts, and to that end, this company in like ſort was proportioned

portioned betweene the foremoſt of the vaward, and the laſt of the rereward, there was three miles diſtance; the paces were narrow, the way miry and boggy, with thicke buſhes on either ſide, the Iriſh being (as I ſaid before) eleven thouſand in number, ſtood upon all advantages, had their eſpials upon them, divided themſelves likewiſe, and ſtept in betweene every of the Engliſh companies, and upon a ſudden, made ſuch a cry, and gave ſuch a ſhout, that the woods rang thereof, and the Cowes ranne like divels upon the drivers, and overthrew horſe and man, ſo that there were more ſlaine and trode under foot in the mire and dirt, of the Engliſh men, by the Cowes, then by the ſword of the rebels. Vpon this cry, all the Cowes were loſt, and the men fell to blowes, where the Iriſh being acquainted with every blinde way, made better ſhift then the Engliſh. *Courcy* and his brother *Amoricus*, with ſuch as were alive, haſtened out of the woods, and came to a Plaine, where they viewed each other ſome quarter of a mile diſtant. Sir *Amoric* turned backe, and caſt up his eyes, and ſaw Sir *Roger Poer* that had married his Neece, about a ſevenight before, pulled and halled by the Iriſh, and carried away priſoner; follow me, ſaith he unto his company, I will reſcue him, or I will dye on the place; he ſuddenly comming upon their heeles, ſet upon them, and carried away Sir *Roger Poer*; with that, the Iriſh gave ſuch a ſhout, that all the reſt of their company that were diſperſed and ſcattered among the buſhes, gathered themſelves together to that place, to anſwer the cry, and ſtept betweene Sir *Amoric* and Sir *Iohn Courcy*, ſo that with great perill of their lives, and loſſe of many men, they came together to that place; when they met, they bewailed their loſſes, and being environed with bogges and mariſhes, they forſook their horſes, and fell to kill them, and ſhifted for themſelves; the Iriſh moſt eagerly purſued them, and at length, one *William Lawyard* overtooke *Courcy*, hee with his company turned their faces, fought a cruell fight, wherein (ſaith mine Author) there were ſlaine of the Iriſh men, ſixe ſcore. After this skirmiſh, followed *Arte boy*, with three hundred, and ſet upon *Courcy*, who ſlue of the Iriſh, nine ſcore: laſt of all, *Mac Mahon*, the ground of all this miſchiefe, came blowing, and ſet upon *Courcy*, with whom the baſe ſonne of Sir *Amoricus* encountred, ſlue him, and foureſcore of his men, and drove the reſt to flye; the day being thus ſpent, the night made an end of that battaile: as the night fell, Sir *Iohn de Courcy* by good hap, lighted upon an old Fort of his owne, moted or trenched about, where there was a good watch kept, he being glad of them, and they of him, camped there with his forces that night, and the enemy within halfe a mile of them, as it appeared by the great fires they made after their travaile. Sir *Amoric Saint Laurance* after a ſhort nap or ſlumber, tooke a few with him, went to eſpie the enemies campe, and made a ſpeedie returne, he preſſed upon his brother *Courcy* and the campe, to wake them, and

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delivered unto them theſe ſpeeches: *I have ſcouted abroad, and ſpared you in your heavie ſleepe, I viewed the enemies campe, whom I take to be* 5000. *ſtrong, and that by the ſcope of their cabbins; wee are but* 500. *fighting men, all wearied with ſore fight, long travaile, and ſomewhat diſcouraged with hard fortune, not fit to make any great enterprize, or to performe any worthy exploit; nay a worſe matter, there are among us ſuch as have deadly wounds, but the dead ſleep ſuppreſſeth their complaints, and further, our men watch without ſufficient releaſe, and the enemy hath his fill every way; our caſe is deſperate, if the enemy ſet upon us to morrow, we are not able to withſtand him, wee ſhall be ſlaine every mothers ſonne; wherefore I thinke beſt that we now ſet upon them that are now feaſting and ſleeping, voyd of all feare of us, whom in their opinion, they hold for men quite overthrowne, and never able to make a head againe, and that we leave ſome of our ſicke men here to ward, and take ſome of the freſh men with us.* When hee had ended his ſpeech, there was ſilence for a certaine ſpace, wherein one looked upon the other. Then Sir *Iohn Courcy* ſpake, I looked all this while for ſome of theſe young gallants, and your fellow ſouldiers to deliver their courage; but one thing further, Sir *Amoric*, where are their horſes beſtowed? he anſwereth, your white horſe, and my blacke gelding, I have cunningly conveyed away, and the reſt I can point you to with my finger. Then ſaith Sir *Iohn Courcy*, this is mine advice: Let two men ride theſe two horſes, and gather their horſes together, and orderly in each ſide drive them upon the enemy, all wee in armes will come after, and ſuddenly give the ſhout upon them in their ſlee pes, and ſerve them with their horſes, as they ſerved us with our kine: Every man liked well of this courſe, and when they came to the place, they had the killing of them at their owne deſire. There the Engliſh came, victualled, apparrelled, armed, and horſed themſelves, never better in their lives. Of 5000. Iriſh, there eſcaped not above 200. which ranne ſo faſt, (ſaith my Author) that a horſe could not hold them. Of the Engliſh, the day before, 400. men were miſſing, but in that mornings worke, onely two. Laſtly, Sir *Iohn Courcy*, with ſome hearts eaſe, returned to his old Fort, where hee had camped that night, reſted there a while, and ſent to Dublin and elſewhere among his friends, for ſupplies of men and other neceſſarie proviſions. There are ſome out of the ſchoole of envy, with grace, to diſgrace *Courcy*, (whom I have in part touched before) that report the ſtory otherwiſe, which deliver not wherein he was to be honoured, but wherein he was foyled, *fortuna de la guerra*, that hee was driven with eleven perſons in armes, to travaile a foot ſome 30: miles, for the ſpace of two dayes, the enemy ſtill purſuing, (the which they lay not downe) all faſting without any reliefe, untill hee came to an old Caſtle of his owne, which favoureth not altogether of truth, but forwards with the hiſtory.

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The fourth battaile that Sir *Iohn Courcy* fought was in Vriell, for this cauſe: *Courcy* had ſent certaine of his ſervants into England, for victuals, munition, and divers neceſſaries; the ſhip was by foule weather driven into a creick in Vriell, cald Torſhead; *O Hanlan* with others being acquainted with all circumſtances, bord the ſhip, put men and mariners to the ſword, and make a prize and havocke of all: *Courcy* hearing of this, gathered his forces together; draweth towards the Nury to come into Vriell to be revenged of them for this injury; by the way he was given to underſtand, that all the Iriſh of thoſe parts were in armes prepared for him in their defence, to juſtifie their doings, and that they had camped by South of Dundalke, and by North of the river Dondoygon. *Courcy* having marched to a place within a mile and a halfe of the Iriſh campe, made a ſtand, cald his brother *Amoric*, Sir *Roger Poer*, with others, and conſulted what courſe was beſt to be held. Sir *Roger Poer* being full of courage, begins: I thinke beſt to hold ſtill with us the favour of Fortune; they are many, we are but few, the longer we behold them, the worſe wee ſhall like them; the ſouldiers would be ſet a worke, and the more we linger, the more doubts and buzzes will enter his braine; for often wee ſee, that the ſight maketh, and the ſight marreth.

Next, Sir *Amoric* delivereth his opinion: we came not hither to make haſty worke, but adviſedly to performe ſervice; true it is, as you have delivered, they are manie we are but few in compariſon of their number; afore we give battaile, there are 3. things (as I take it) requiſite to be conſidered, the cauſe wherefore we fight, the number of both ſides, that they be ſomewhat equally matched, and the place where both joyne battaile together. I would not have any of my ſpeeches drawn to diſcourage or diſmay any valiãt mind. To the firſt, our parentage is knowne, we are no baſe people, our valour is tryed, our enemy hath the proofe thereof; we come not to ſteale, but to be revenged of the theeves that murthered our men, & robbed us of our neceſſary proviſion. Secondly, where we find our company ſmall, and our ſide weake, and the ground not fitting us for any advantage, where force cannot further, let policie take place; my advice is that a begger or a Frier ſhall goe from us to the Iriſh campe, and informe them, that Sir *Hugh Delacy* came yeſternight with a great force, to Drogheda, and that he ſaw two miles off a great army of horſe and foot, ſomewhat weſterly of him, which he ſuppoſeth to bee the Engliſh Army, that marched all night from Tradaf towards Dundalke; in the meane while, my ſonne *Nico:* with twenty choice horſemen, together with our lackies and horſeboies, for the greater ſhew upon our hackneis and garrans, ſhall wheele Weſtwards on the right hand, that it may concurre with the Fryers tale, and give us a ſigne what we ſhall doe, and we will march after to ſee the event; when the ene-

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my hath diſcried us, we ſhall perceive by his ſtirring what he meanes to doe; if they turne face to us and offer fight, our foot ſhall recouer Dondalke afore theirs, and with our horſes wee will ſo handle the matter, that we ſhall ſuſtaine no great loſſe: if they fly and take the river, the ſea comes in, we ſhall overtake them afore halfe paſſe over. All were well pleaſed with his device, and followed the direction. *Nico. Saint Laurence* with his company, wheeles before, Sir *Iohn de Courcy* a looſe followeth after, Sir *Roger Poer* takes the rereward; the enemy having diſcried them takes the river: Sir *Nico.* gave the ſigne, whereupon the Engliſh Army give a great ſhout and followeth their heeles; the Iriſh breake their araie, they tumble one upon another in the water: the cariage drowns ſome, the ſea and the ſwiftneſſe of the tyde take others away; ſuch as would not venter the water, were ſlaine by the Engliſh; *Othanlan* and his company that had paſſed the water, ſeeing the ſlaughter of his men, could not come to the reſcues, by reaſon of the ſalt water: the Engliſhmen having quitted that place, were directed by the Fryer to a foord on the left hand, where they paſſed over, and purſued the reſt: The Horſemen overtooke the Foot of the Iriſh, and skirmiſhed with them, untill Sir *Iohn de Courcy* came by that time; the ſea likewiſe had ſtopped the Iriſh from flying, at a great water, a mile from the Lurgan on the Southſide of Dundalk. The Iriſh ſeeing themſelves in this ſtrait, turne their faces, chooſe rather to dye with the ſword like men, then to be drowned in the ſeas like beaſts. There were in that place, ſome 6000. Iriſh, and about 1000. Engliſh, there was no advantage of ground, it booted not to fly on any ſide; the coward muſt in that caſe try himſelfe a man, the fight was ſore, no mercy but dead blowes: The foot of the Engliſh drew backe, Sir *Iohn de Courcy* their leader, was left in the midſt of his enemies with a twohanded ſword, waſhing and laſhing on both ſides, like a Lion among ſheepe (ſaith my Author) *Nicolas* poſteth to his father *Amoric*, that was in chaſe of ths ſcattred horſemen of the Iriſh, and cried, alas father, mine uncle Sir *Iohn* is left alone in the midſt of his enemies, and the foot have forſaken him; with that Sir *Amoric* lighted, killed his horſe and ſaid, here my ſonne take charge of theſe horſemen, and I will lead on the foot company, to the reſcue of my brother *Courcy*; come on fellow ſouldiers ſaith he, let us liye and dye together: He gave the on-ſet upon the foot of the Iriſh, reſcued Sir *Iohn Courcy* that was ſore wounded, and with cruell fight in manner out of breath; with the fight of him, the ſouldiers take hart and drive the Iriſh to retreit; the ſlaughter on both ſides was great, few of the Iriſh and fewer of the Engliſh were left alive: The Iriſh got them to the Fewes, and the Engliſh to Dundalke; but who got the beſt there is no boaſt made.

Not long after, *Sir Iohn de Courcy* went into England, where the King

King in regard of his good ſervice, made him Lord of Conoght and Earle of Vlſter; upon his returne (ſaith *Stanihurſt*) which was in the Canicular daies, he fought at the Bridge of Ivora a cruell battaile, and proſtrated his enemies, with great honour; and for that I find litle written thereof, I thought good thus lightly to paſſe it over, as others before me have done: After this he builded many Caſtles in Vlſter, made bridges, mended high wayes, repaired Churches, and governed the Country in great peace, untill the dayes of King *Iohn*, where I ſhall have further cauſe to diſcourſe of him.

Amids theſe tumults in the North, *Miles Cogan* beſtirred himſelfe, in the Weſt; he paſſed the Shannon into Conoght with 540. men, where (ſaith mine Author) never Engliſhman entred before, whereupon the Conoght men, drove before them, all their cattle into the faſtneſſes, carried with thē as much as they could, fired the reſt, with their Townes, Villages, Houſes and Cottages. *Milo* marched as far as Tuam, where he reſted 8. dayes, and finding man and beaſt fled, and the Country barren of victualls, he returned towards the Shannon, and by the way met with *Roderic* the Monarch, which lay in ambuſh with three Companies waiting his comming: At their meeting, they skirmiſhed a long while, and fought a cruell fight, where the enemy loſt many, and *Milo* but three men, then hee paſſed the river and came ſafely to Dublin.

Anno *William Fitz Adelme*, the Kings Lievtenant is called into England: Hee was a man that did no honour to the King, neither good to the Country, whom every good man in his life time deteſted, and all Iriſh Chronicles after his death have defamed. In his roome the King appointed *Hugh Delacy* Deputy of Ireland, and joyned in Commiſſion with him *Robert Poer* Seneſchal of Wexford and Waterford.

Not long after, the King ſent into Ireland *Miles Cogan* and *Robert Fitz Stephens* with others, and gave them (in regard of their ſervice) all South *Mounſter*, to wit the Kingdome of Corke in Fee for ever, to be equally divided betweene them, except the City of Corke, and one Cantred thereunto adjoyning; alſo he gave unto *Philippe de Bruſe* all North *Mounſter*, to wit the Kingdome of Lymerick. After they had pacified *Dermot Mac Carty*, Prince of Deſmond, quieted the Country, and divided their territories, they conducted *Philippe de Bruſe* to Lymerick to take poſſeſſion of the Kings graunt given him in thoſe parts.

As they came to the walles of Lymerick, the Citizens of ſpight in ſight of them all, to the end that no Engliſhman ſhould rooſt there, ſet the Town on fire. *Philippe de Bruſe* was therewithal diſcouraged, and his Company, in ſo much that when *Robert Fitz Stephens* and *Miles Cogan*, offred to adventure their lives in the recovery of the Kingdome of Lymerik, with all their aide and aſſiſtance; he refuſed

it, and returned with them to Corke, esteeming it farre better to lose Lymric, and with safetie to dwell among his lovers and friends, then to lose life and kingdome by dwelling among such Iewes, as will fire their owne houses, and cut all English throats.

In a while after, *Miles Cogan*, and *Raffe* the sonne of *Robert Fitz Stephens*, who had lately married *Miles* daughter, went towards Lismore to parlee with Waterford men, and determined that night to lodge with one *Mac Tyrid*, who had solemnly invited them. As they waited in the field, expecting the comming of the Waterfordians, this *Mac Tyrid* unawares stealing upon them, most traiterously slue them, and five of their company, whereupon the whole country was in uproare, insomuch that *Dermot Mac Carty*, and all the Irish in those parts, together with *Mac Tyrid*, that most perfidious traitor, were in armes, determining thenceforth to be no longer the Kings loyall subjects; when they had gathered their forces together, they laid siege to Corke, meaning to cut off *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and all the English men there. *Robert Fitz Stephens* being distressed in Corke, fearing the open enemy without, and mistrustring the secret enemy within, sent post to Wexford, to his nephew *Reimond le Grosse*, praying him to come to his aide. *Reimund* forthwith, with twenty knights, and one hundred foot and bowmen, entred the Lee, landed at Corke, encountred with the enemies, killed some, drove other to flye, and compelled the rest to submit themselves, and sue for peace.

When the King understood of this, he sent *Richard Cogan*, brother unto *Miles*, to supply his brothers roome in the kingdome of Corke, a man no way inferiour to his brother for valour and martiall prowesse; in his companie came *Philip Barry*, and *Girald Barry* his brother, (otherwise called *Silvester Giraldus Cambrensis*, the famous learned man) nephewes of *Robert Fitz Stephens*, with a jolly troupe of horse and foot, chosen and picked men. *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Richard Cogan* enjoyed this kingdome of Corke peaceably for certaine yeeres, and in processe of time, for want of heires male of them, it came to two daughters, the one of them was married to *Robert de Carew*, the other to *Patricke de Courcy*, and they in right of their wives, enjoyed the same during their lives, and after them, their heires, untill such time as by a division growne (as I take it in England) betweene the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, the Irish men expelled them, and recovered the country unto themselues. *Anno* 1178. *The Monasterie, Beatæ Mariæ Roseæ vallis*, called *Rosglas*, was founded. Yet others thinke it was in *Anno* 1189. I may not forget *Harvey de monte Marisco*, (of whom often mention is made before) who after many spitefull parts, treacheries and false accusations exhibited by him unto the King against most noble servitors, became a Monke: the man was sore troubled in conscience, and in his course he made the common saying true (*desperatio facit Monachum.*) Hee had

had founded (saith *Felcon*) the Monastery of our blessed Lady, *de Portu Donbrodthi*, he gaue unto the Monasterie Saint *Trinitatis* of Canterbury, his territories & advousons along the sea coast, between Waterford and Wexford, and there cloystred himselfe; I would (saith *Cambrensis*) he had changed his conditions with his habit.

The same yeere (saith *Holinshed*) there came from Pope *Alexander* 3. into England, two Cardinals, *Alberto desuma*, and *Petro de sancta Agatha*, whose commission was to summon the Bishops of England, Ireland, Scotland, with the Isles, and Normandie, to the generall Councell of Lateran in Rome: after they had obtained licence to passe through his dominions, the King swore them upon the holy Evangelist, that in their Legateship they should not attempt any thing that might be hurtfull to the King or his dominions, and that upon their returne, they should visite him homewards: whereupon out of Ireland there went thither, *Laurence*, Archbishop of Dublin, and *Catholicus*, Archbishop of Tuam, with some other five or sixe Irish Bishops, whom the King likewise swore, that they should not procure any damage to his Realmes and dominions.

The Realme of Ireland at this time was singular well governed by *Hugh de Lacy*, a good man, and a wise Magistrate, who for the good of the land and the people, established many good orders: he made Bridges, and builded Townes, Castles, and Forts, throughout Leinster, as Sir *Iohn de Courcy* did in Vlster in his time; the Priest kept his Church, the Souldier his Garrison, and the Plow-man followed his Plough, yet cankred envy quieted not her selfe, practised mischiefe against him, so that he was charged before the King, to attempt the Crowne of Ireland, and make himselfe absolute Lord of the land, and that he had married the King of Connaghts daughter, (saith *Holinshed*) contrary to the Kings pleasure. The King immediately (as Princes are jealous of great men) called him into England, appointed governours, *Iohn Constable*, and *Richard Peche*. This *Lacy* behaved himselfe so discreetly and dutifully in England, that he cleered himselfe of all suspition, that the King was resolved of his truth and fidelity, and sent him backe againe into Ireland, with further credit then formerly he had done, and that within three moneths, and gave him the absolute command and Lievetenantship of the land, and joyned as assistant unto him, *Robert Salisbury*, calling home the former governours.

It was not long, but he was upon malitious occasion, the second time sent for into England, and one *Philip* of Worcester, (*Cambrensis* is mine Author) a valiant souldier, a bountifull and a liberall man, with a most brave troupe of horse and foot, arrived in Ireland, with command to send over *Hugh de Lacy*, and he to remaine there as Governour of the land, untill *Iohn* his sonne came over. *Stanihurst* is of opinion, that he went over into England, and cleering himselfe, spee-

dily returned againe, which cannot well ſtand with the courſe of the hiſtory; for when *Philip* of Worceſter tooke upon him the gouernement, *Lacy* haſtened the building and finiſhing of the Caſtle of Derwath (whereof my penne immediately ſhall make report) and there ended his dayes. And now to *Philip* of Worceſter, and his companion *Hugh Tirell*, *Cambrenſis*, and *Stanihurſt* eſpecially, write moſt bitter of them: of *Philip*, how that firſt of all he reſumed and ſeized unto the Kings uſe, the lands of *Ocatheſie*, and divers other parcels which *Hugh de Lacy* had ſold away, and theſe he appointed to ſerve for the Kings proviſion, and the Governours diet. And after the winter was paſt, he aſſembled and muſtred his men and companie, and began to travaile from place to place. In March about the middle of Lent, he came to Armagh, where he extorted, and perforce exacted from the Clergie there, a great maſſe of money and treaſure, and from thence he went to Dune, and from Dune to Dublin, laden with gold, ſilver, money, and monies worth, the which he extorted in every place where he came, and other good did he none. *Hugh Tirell* his fellow ſcraper, tooke from the poore Prieſts at Armagh, a great braſſe panne or brewing fornace, which ſerved the whole houſe: ſee the iuſt iudgment of God, (the which then was ſo conſtraced, as *Cambrenſis* hath delivered in his Vaticinall hiſtory, and likewiſe in his topagraphie) *Philip* at the townes end of Armagh, was taken with a ſudden pang, and the ſame ſo vehement, that it was ſuppoſed hee ſhould never have recovered it. When he came to himſelfe, a poore man ſtanding by ſaid, *Let him alone, he muſt have breath till he come to the divell, and then the divell will have him, and all that he extorted from us*. *Hugh Tirell* that carried the panne as farre as Dune, and the Prieſts curſe withall, in night time had his lodging ſet on fire, where houſe, and houſhold ſtuffe, and all that he had there, was conſumed to aſhes, together with the horſes that drew the ſame (and ſo no thankes to him) he left it behinde him for lacke of carriage. The Caſtles which *Lacie* builded for the good of the Land, were theſe: Firſt, Laghlen, of old called the Blacke Caſtle, upon the Barrow betweene Oſſory and Idrone, of which Caſtle by *Henry* 2. commandment, *Robert Poer* had the charge, untill in cowardize ſort he gave ouer the ſame, and forſooke it; whereupon *Cambrenſis* then living, maketh this invective: O what worthy Champions and fit men for martiall feates, were this *Poer* and *Fitz Adelme*, to inhabit and command ſuch a nation as is deſtitute of noble and valiant mindes? but a man may eſpie the variable ſleight of fortune, diſpoſed to ſmile at foolery, how from the baſe dunghill, hee advanceth to high dignities: for why? they two had more pleaſure in chambering, wantonneſſe, playing with young girles, and on the Harpe, then in bearing of ſhield, or wearing of Armour: but in ſooth it is to bee admired, that ſo Noble a Prince as *Henry* 2. is, would ſend ſuch cowards to command,

mand, or to direct in place of ſervice. But to the hiſtory. This blacke Caſtle now called New Leighlin, for difference of Old Leighlin, which is the Biſhops ſeate, ſtandeth in the Barony of Ydrone, which was the antient inheritance of the *Carews*: who being Barons of Carew in Wales, ſo farre as I can learne, one of them married the daughter and heire of the Barron of Ydrone, and ſo the *Carewes* became, and were for the terme of many yeeres, Barons of Ydrone, untill the troubleſome time of *Richard* 2. when the *Carewes* with all the Engliſh of Ireland, in manner were driven to forſake the land. He builded in Leix for *Meilerius Tachmcho, alias Cachmehe*, and as for *Kildare*, with the country adjoyning, the which, as *Cambrenſis* writeth, was by Earle *Strangbow* given him, the Governours in *Hugh de Lacy* his abſence, ſubtilly tooke it away from him, under colour of exchange, and gave him Leix, a wilde ſavage country, with woods, paces, bogges, and rebels farre from ſuccour or reſcue. In *Meth*, he builded Clanarec, Dunach killar, *alias* Killairie, the Caſtle of *Adam de Ieypon, alias ſureport*, and *Gilbert de Nugents* of Delvyn. In Fotheret of Onolan, *alias* Fethred Onolan, in Latin, *Rotheric*, he builded a Caſtle for *Reimond*, and another for *Griffin* his brother, the ſonnes of *William Fitz Girald*, for *Walter* of Ridensford, he builded in Omorchu, *alias Moroghs* country Triſſeldermot, otherwiſe called Triſſeldermot, about five miles from Caterlogh, and likewiſe Kilka, in the country of Kildare. For *Iohn de Hereford*, he builded a Caſtle in Collach, otherwiſe called Tulacfelmeth: for *Iohn declawſa, alias Clawill*, he builded a Caſtle upon the Barrow, not farre from Leighlin, now ſuppoſed to be Carlogh, though ſome attribute it to *Eva*, Earle *Strangbow* his wife; yet it is evident next after the Danes, that the Engliſh men builded all the Caſtles of Ireland. He builded alſo neere Aboy, a Caſtle that he gave to *Robert Bigaret*, another not farre from thence, which he gave to *Thomas Fleminge*, another at the Narach on the Barrow, for *Robert Fitz Richard*; laſtly, he builded the Caſtle of Derwath, where he made a tragicall end; for on a time when each man was buſily occupied, ſome lading, ſome heaving, ſome playſtering, ſome engraving, the Generall alſo himſelfe digging with a Pickaxe, a deſperate villaine among them, whoſe toole the Lord Lievetenant uſed, eſpying both his hands occupied, and his body bent downewards, with an axe, cleft his head in ſunder; his body the two Archbiſhops, *Iohn* of Dublin, and *Mathew* of Caſhill, buried in the Monaſterie of the Bectie, that is, *in Monaſterio Beatitudinis*, and his head in Saint *Thomas* Abbey at Dublin, whoſe death (I read in *Holinſhed*) the King was not ſorry of, for he was alwayes jealous of his greatneſſe.

Caſtles built. dded by Sir *H de Lecy*.

Vpon the death of *Lacy*, Sir *Roger le Poer* a moſt worthy Knight, who ſerved valiantly in Vlſter, in company with Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, being made Governour of the country about Leighlen in Oſſorie, was

in moſt lamentable ſort traiterouſly ſlaine; and upon that occaſion, there was (ſaith *Cambrenſis*) a privy conſpiracy over all Ireland againſt Engliſh men: But gentle Reader, I muſt backe a little, to bring on the yeeres to concurre with the hiſtory.

Anno 1180. The Monaſtery *De Choro Benedicti*, and of *Ieripont* was founded. The ſame yeere dyed *Laurence* Archbiſhop of Dublin (whoſe life foraine Writers, as *Surius*, *Baronius*, *Molanus*, and *Leppelo* with others have written) his father hight *Maurice*, his mother *Imabre Principis filia*, a great Commander in Leinſter; the Martyrologe of *Sarum* ſaith he was baſtard: This *Maurice* being at continuall warres with *Dermot Mac Morogh* King of Leinſter, upon a league of amity concluded betweene them, delivered unto him for pledge his youngeſt ſonne *Laurence*; *Dermot* ſent him to a deſert ſolitary place and barren ſoile to be kept, where he was like to periſh with famine: *Maurice* hearing thereof, tooke 12. of *Dermots* principall followers, clapt them in priſon, and ſent *Dermot* word, that hee would cut off their heads, unleſſe he would releaſe and ſend him his ſonne out of that ſlaviſh and miſerable ſervitude: *Dermot* releaſed the youth, and delivered him not to his father, but to the Biſhop of Glandelogh, and the Biſhop charged his Chaplen with his bringing up; the Chaplen trained him up ſo vertuouſly, that in a ſhort time after he was made Abbot of Glandelogh, & ſhortly after that againe, upon the death of *Gregory* Archbiſhop of Dublin, he was choſen to ſucceed him. So holy a man was he, as ſome of mine Authors doe write, that he cauſed one of his men to whippe him twice a day, belike he had deſerved it in his youth. His Legend reporteth that in time of famine and ſcarcity in Ireland, he releeved daily 500. perſons at his doore for 3. yeres ſpace. *Henry* the 2. did not favour him, for he had both in publicke and private at ſundry times (as formerly in part hath beene touched) beene an inſtrument of rebellion and of many miſchiefes againſt the Engliſh nation, and at the Councell of *Lateran*, contrary to his Oath, inveighed bitterly againſt the King; *Stainhurſt* excuſeth him, ſaying, that hee pleaded for the immunities of the Churches of Ireland, ſomewhat prejudiciall to the Kings prerogative. He came to the King at Canterbury, where the Monkes received him with ſolemne Proceſſion, and hee gave himſelfe one whole night to prayers before Saint *Thomas* his ſhrine, for good ſucceſſe in his affaires with the King: A foole eſpied him in his Pontificall weed, wholly devoted to Saint *Thomas Becket*: And ſaid, *I can doe no better deed then to make him equall with Saint Thomas*; with that tooke a club, ranne through the throng, and gave him ſuch a blow upon the pat, that the blood ran downe his eares; the man was ſo ſore wounded, that it was thought hee would ſtreighway yeeld up the Ghoſt; the cry was up, the foole runne away, the Biſhop taking breath called for water, and in a ſhort time after was healed: his ſure unto

unto the King was, (as foraigne Writers deliver) for *Dcronog* King of Ireland; but ſaith *Holinſhed*, which is likelieſt to bee true, it was in the behalf of *Roderic* King of Conoght, which had often promiſed true ſubjection and fidelity unto the King, but never performed; he had brought with him *Roderic* his ſonne as a pledge for performance of convenants, formerly paſſed betweene them; as the payment of tribute and ſuch like; but the King neither liked the one or the other, but charged the Archbiſhop not to depart without his licence.

The King ſhortly after tooke ſhipping at Sandwich and ſailed into Normandy. The Archbiſhop followed him, and there dyed of an Ague; whereupon (as *Holinſhed* writeth) the King ſent *Ieffray De Haile*, one of his Chaplens and a Chaplen alſo of *Alexander* the Popes Legat into Ireland, to ſeize the Archbi. ſee into his hands, and further it is alleaged, that being the Popes Legate of Ireland; he abhorred incontinency ſo much, that for augmentation of penance, hee would abſolve no diſſolute Prieſt, but ſent them to Rome for abſolution; and proved in regard of former favours, there, *Amicus Curiæ*, ſo that he ſent thither out of Ireland at one time, 140. Prieſts, ſaith the Legend, *De peccato Luxuriæ convictos Romam miſit abſolvendos*; convicted of Lechery: Behold gentle Reader, the holy lives of the Prieſts of that age, and the Sanctity of the Romane Sea, in pardoning of them all, *propter quid*, *alias propter quas*. Pope *Honorius* the 3. *Anno Pontificatus* 9. *vel* 10. Canonized this *Laurence* for a Saint, who is Galendred the 14. of *November*, or as the Bull of his Canonization hath, the 18. of the Calends of *December*, which is all one; the which Bull followeth in theſe words.

Honorius Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, univerſis Chriſti fidelibus, in Rothmugenſi Provincia conſtitutis ſalutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Ineffabilis providentia Dei congruentibus ſingulis quibuſq; temporibus ordinariè, diſpenſans in ſplendoribus Sanctorum Eccleſiam ſuam, quaſi ex utero genuit Deum, in exordio ipſius naſcentis Eccleſia crebro miraculorum fulgore abſtupefaciens gentes, ac prædeſtinatos in Fide generans Ieſu Chriſti, Cujus hoc fieri nomine & virtute videbant, ipſos filiorum adoptionis numero aggregavit. Deinde creſcente numero & multitudine populi vocati de tenebris, ambulantes juxta Iſaiæ Vaticinium in lumine Domini Dei ſui, mirabilis diſpenſator in pluviam fulgura ſua fecit, dum ſignis ſuis & miraculis (quæ non erant jam fidelibus neceſſaria) intermiſſis, ſuper novos populos paſtores qui eos paſcerent ſcientia & doctrina ..... ſicut per os Ieremiæ promiſerat, ſuſcitavit Doctores Eccleſiæ; qui terram cordis fidelium imbre doctrinæ complerent, & extirpatis ſenſibus vitiorum eum ad proferendum virtutum germen & fructum boni operis fœcundaret. Caterum quia Charitate frigeſcente ab exercitio boni operis, torpet Catholicus; errore devio abducente, delirat hæreticus; cecidit velamine adhuc

ſuper

ſuper cor permanente, Iudæus; & in tenebris ambulat ſide lucis nondum ſibi oriente, Paganus: Miſericors Dominus qui neminem vult perire ſigna interdum innovat, & miſeratus immutat ex numero illorum quos in Eccleſia triumphante glorificat aliquorum fidem et merita in militante miraculis declarando, ut per ea Catholici mentis ..... diſcuſſo ad boni operis excitentur inſtantiam, hæretici errore diuiſſo ab iſto reducantur ad viam veritatis et vitam.

Sancta ergo memoriæ Laurentio Dublinenſi Archepiſcopo, apud Eccleſiam Sanctæ Mariæ de Ango Rathmagenſis Dioceſos, ubi corpus ejus feliciter requieſcit, divino munere coruſcante miraculis; Venerabilis frater noſter Archepiſcopus, et dilecti filij Capitulum Rathmagenſe, una cum Abbate et Conventu Eccleſiæ ſupradictæ, multiſq; alijs Archiepiſcopis et Epiſcopis, Abbatibus et Religioſis viris, ejus venerabilis vita, inſignia coruſcantia miracula, ſuis nobis literis intimantes humiliter ſupplicarunt ut ipſum Sanctorum Catalogo aſcribere curaremus; quatenus auctoritate (ſicut convenit) Apoſtolica, dignus honor illi exhiberetur in terris, qui (ſicut claris ſignis et evidentibus argumentis apparet) honoratur in cœlis. Licet igitur quos divina honorat dignatio, humana devotio prompto affectu debeat honorare, volentes in hujuſmodi negotio ſecundum conſuetudinem Apoſtolicæ ſedis, maturitate debita procedere; prefato Archiepiſcopo & Decano & Theſaurario Rathmagenſi, dedimus in mandatis ut ſuperdicti viri vita & miraculis inquirerent diligentiſſime veritatē, & eam nobis fideliter intimarent, ut ea planè comperta pro ſupplicantiū deſiderio ſecurius annuere valeremus. Ipſi autem mandatum noſtrum cum diligentia exequentes quod de prefati viri converſatione ac vita iſtis certificare nequibant, eo quod per partes illas transjectus faciens, in Eccleſia prædicta correptus infirmitatis decubuit & infra octavum ab hac luce migravit diem, ſcripſerunt venerabili fratri noſtro Archiepiſcopo Dublinenſi ut veritatem ſuper hoc inquiſitam iis per ſuas literas intimaret, qui citra mare Hibernicum illuſtris Regis Anglorum negotiis occupatus & volens id inquirere per ſe ipſum, venerabili fratri noſtro Darenſi Epiſcopi ſuffragano ſuo, ac Priori Sanctæ Trinitatis Dublinenſis commiſit in hujuſmodi negotio vices ſuas, ac demum literas eorum, ſanctitatem vitæ & converſationis ſæpe dicti viri plenius continentes ſuo & ipſorum ſigillis munitas deſtinarunt eiſdem, quas una cum depoſitionibus teſtium ſuper miraculis captorum nobis cum ſigillis propriis transmiſerunt. Colligimus vero ex earum ſerie litterarum, quod ſæpe dictus vir Regis & Reginæ Hiberniæ filius extitit, & ab infantia Sacris Literis eruditus, ſenilem geſſit in juventute gravitatem & mundanarum illecebras vanitatum à ſe ultra quam ætas illa ſolebat, abdicavit. Deinde in Archepiſcopum Dublinenſem aſſumptus, ſic de virtute in virtutem profecerit, ut in oratione aſſiduus, auſterus in macerationē proprii corporis, ac in Eleemoſinarum largitione profuſus, ſe totaliter Domino dedicarit.

Per

Per depoſitionem verò teſtium predictor. conſtitit evidenter ſanctam vitam ejuſdem eſſe tot ſequentibus miraculis comprobatam quæ non parvā texerent hiſtoriam ſi quis vellet ea ſingula ſcribere ſeriatim: ſed ut non prætermittamus claudi greſſum, cæci viſum, ſurdi auditum, muti loquelam, leproſi mundationem & variis afflicti languoribus ſanitatem ad invocationem ejus nominis, & ea ſola quæ inter cætera emicuerunt miracula breviter perſtringamus. Nam idem ſanctus, (imo Deus ob ipſius merita glorioſa) ſeptem mortuos (quorum quatuor triduani erant) mirificè ſuſcitavit. De ipſius ſanctitate tantis certificati miraculis, divinumque ſecuti judicium, quod eius glorificatio nobis tam evidentibus innotuit argumentis, eundem ſanctiſſ. Catalogo ſanctorum adſcripſimus & annumerandum decrevimus, ſanctorum Collegio Confeſſorum ac inter eos Chriſti fidelibus venerandum ſtatuentes, ut ejus veneranda feſtivitas de cetero annis ſingulis decimo octavo Kalendas Decembris ſolemniter celebretur. Monemus igitur univerſitatem veſtram, & hortamur in Domino quatenus Deum devotis mentibus collaudantes & ſtudentes proficere tantæ virtutis exemplo, ejuſdem gloriоſiſſimi Confeſſoris apud Deum ſuffragia humiliter imploret. Nos autem de Dei omnipotentis miſericordia & beatorum Petri & Pauli authoritate confiſi, omnibus vere penitentibus & confeſſis qui ad prefatam Eccleſiam, in die ſolemnitatis ejuſdem glorioſiſſimi confeſſoris vel infra Octabis cum devotione acceſſerint ejus orationum ſuffragia petituri 20. dies de iniunctis ſibi penitentijs miſerecorditer relaxamus. Dat. 3. Idus Decembris pontificatus noſtri anno decimo.

Molanus writeth of this *Laurence*, that he favoured Monkes greatly, and hearing of the fame of the 28. Monaſteries of Aroatia, in the confines of Atrebatum in the low Countries, made the ſecular Prieſts called Cannons in Dublin, become regular cannons, according unto the order of Aroatia. After his diſceaſe, *Iohn Comin*, an Engliſh man, a Monke of Eveſham (an Abbey in England) by the Kings direction, was made Archbiſhop of Dublin, confirmed by Pope *Lucius* at Viterbium, and alſo made a Cardinall (ſo writeth *Cambrenſis*) *Anno* 1148. the Monaſterie *legis dei*, that is, of Leix, was founded, *Anno* 1185. *Iohn*, the fift ſonne of *Henry* 2. of the age of twelve yeeres, landed at Waterford in the Realme of Ireland, from the firſt arrivall of his father, thirteene yeeres, from the firſt landing of Earle *Strangbow*, fourteene yeeres, and from the firſt entrance of *Robert Fitz Stephens*, fifteene yeeres. In the Chronicles of England I finde, that *Anno* 1177. in a Parliament held at Oxford, *Henry* 2. created his ſonne *Iohn*, King of Ireland. In *Anno* 1185. he dubbed his ſonne *Iohn*, Knight, and ſet him in a readineſſe for Ireland, ſending the new Biſhop *Iohn* of Dublin, as his precurſer thither for all things neceſſarie. Item the ſame yeere he obtained of Pope *Vrban* 3. a licence to crowne which hee would of his ſonnes, King of Ireland, and for reformation thereof, ſent him a crowne of Peacocks tayles, I would ſay feathers, after a*

feat

feat manner woven in with gold; laſtly, how that *Vrban* 3. ſent two Legates, *Octavianus*, a ſubdeacon Cardinall, and *Hugh de Novant* from the Court of Rome, to crowne *John*, King of Ireland, but *Henry* 2. delayed it ſo, that it was not effected; hereof (as I ſuppoſe) it riſeth that oftentimes we finde him called King *John* afore he was crowned: but to the Iriſh hiſtory. At the firſt landing and entring of the Kings ſonne at Waterford, a great many of the chiefeſt commanders in thoſe parts, who ſince their firſt ſubmiſſion unto King *Henry*, continued faithfull and true, being advertiſed of this his arrivall, came and reſorted unto him in peaceable manner after their beſt manner, to ſalute him and congragulate his comming, one made curteſie, another kneeled, ſome tooke him by the hand, other ſome offer to kiſſe him. The new gallants and Normans, ſuch as had not beene before acquainted with the country, neither the homelineſſe of the people, ſet them at nought, laughed at their Mantles and Trooſſes, derided their glibbes and long beards, one takes a ſticke, and pats the Iriſh man on the pate, another halls the mantle, and pricks him behinde with a pinne, ſome have their glibbes and long beards pulled, and departing, have flappes on the lippes, thumpes in their neckes, and the doores clapt on their heeles, with diuers other abuſes, and undiſcreet entertainement. Theſe men (not without cauſe) being mightily diſpleaſed, ſhifted themſelves out of the towne, and in all haſte got them home. And from thence (ſaith *Cambrenſis*) with their wives, children, and houſhold, departed, and went ſome to the Prince of Lymeric, ſome to the Prince of Corke, ſome to *Roderic*, Prince of Connaght, and ſo ſome to one Lord, and ſome to another; and to theſe they declared orderly, how they had beene at Waterford, and what they had ſeene there, and how they were evill intreated, and that a yong man was come thither, guarded with beardleſſe boyes, and guided by the councels of young men, in whom there was no ſtay, no ſobriety, no ſtedfaſtneſſe, no aſſuredneſſe, whereby they and their country might be ſecured of any ſafety.

Theſe Princes, and namely they three of Connaght, Corke, and Lymeric, who were the chiefeſt, and who were then preparing themſelves in a readineſſe to have come and ſalute the Kings Sonne, and to have yeelded unto him their dutifull obeyſance, as faithfull ſubiects; when they had heard theſe newes, they began forthwith to bethinke themſelves, that of ſuch evill beginning, a worſe ending would enſue: wherefore with one conſent, they concluded to ſtand and ioyne together againſt the Engliſh nation, and to their uttermoſt power, to adventure their lives, and to ſtand to the defence of their country and liberties, and for the performance thereof, they enter into a new league among themſelves, and ſwore each to other, and by that meanes, enemies before, are now become friends, and reconciled, as of old, *Ephraim* againſt *Manaſſes*, and *Manaſſes*

naſſes againſt *Ephraim*, and both againſt the Tribe of *Iuda*. *Herod* againſt *Pilate*, and *Pilate* againſt *Herod*, both become friends to crucifie Chriſt. To be ſhort, there followed a generall revolt and rebellion over all Ireland. *Cambrenſis* alledgeth a ſecond cauſe of this revolt. How that when *Robert Fitz Stephens* firſt entred the land, there were certaine Iriſh men which tooke part with him, ſerved faithfully, and were as reaſon required, rewarded for their ſervice, and had for recompence, certaine lands given them, which they quietly held, and peaceably enioyed, untill the comming of the Kings ſonne, then new commers wanting both living and governement, had it given them to furniſh them in their fooliſh prodigalitie, ſo that theſe Iriſh men flying unto the enemies, became not onely enemies, but were eſpials upon the Engliſh, and conductors of the enemy againſt them. A third reaſon of ill ſucceſſe, *Cambrenſis* urgeth againſt England; firſt, how that the Britaines or Cambrians (ſo he termeth them) entring this land, and breaking the ice to the conqueſt of Ireland, were afterwards by *William Fitz Adelme*, and others, envied, and every way maligned: ſecondly, how that the Engliſh commanding the land, were by the Engliſh diſgraced, and one often times articling, accuſing, and diſgracing one another: thirdly, how that the Normans comming in place, overthrew all, for the King being borne beyond the ſeas, affected them moſt, they were of his Councell at home in time of peace, and made Commanders abroad in time of warres; theſe comming with the Kings ſonne into Ireland, were fine in their apparrell, delicate mouthed, feeding upon dainties, they could not diſgeſt their meat without Spice and Wine at every meale; they could not endure the ſervice in the Marches and borders, they would not remaine in remote places, they brooked not the Forts, Holds, and Garriſon places; but liberty they liked of, ſoit were in a walled town; a warme chamber, a Ladies lappe, a ſoft bed, a furre gowne, and their Lords ſides to guard and attend, pleaſed them well; they would talke a [illegible]agge of ſervice, ſweare and ſtare at home, ſtand upon the pantofles of their reputation, diſdaine others, and eſpecially the Iriſh, and durſt not ſhew their faces in the field. Theſe were they that gave themſelves to command the Iriſh, that would not be commanded by them, they polled, pilled, extorted, and what not.

In the ſpace of eight moneths that Earle *John* ſtaied in Ireland, I finde that he built three Caſtles, Tibrach, Liſmoore, and Archfinan, *alias* Ardſivin: at Ardſivin upon Midſummer day, (ſo *Cambrenſis* reporteth) the Prince of Lymeric bent and animated to rebellion, ſlue foure Knights, and the greater part of the Garriſon there: ſhortly after, the ſame rebels of Lymric, by a ſlight, drew out the Garriſon to ſeize upon a prey, and lying in ambuſh, killed many of them, but theſe revolters eſcaped not ſcotfree in all the parts of the land: for at this time when the Iriſh men of Kennally with great forces had

entred

entred Meth, killing, burning, ſpoiling, and preying the Country. *William le Petit*, Governour or Iuſticer (ſaith *Cambrenſis*) drew a head againſt them, reſcued the prey, put them to flight, made a great ſlaughter of them, and ſent a hundred heads of the principall of them to Dublin.

The Kings ſonne hearing of theſe troubles, haſtned away unto England, left the land tumultuous, troubleſome & al upon an uprore; committed the charge thereof (ſaith *Staniburſt*) *Bruſeo, Courceo, Giraldidis, &c. in primis Hugonis Lacæi virtuti*, where in truth I find no ſuch matter, for *Cambrenſis* (whom herein I muſt relie unto) being then in Ireland with the Kings ſon, reporteth how that *Henry* the ſecond, hearing of the courſe which theſe greene heads held in Ireland; thought good to call them all unto England, and ſend thither no more ſuch young commanders, and by the advice of his Councell committed the charge and abſolute command thereof, unto Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, whom hee appointed Lord Lievtenant of Ireland (the Booke of *Houth* alſo teſtifieth the ſame.) Earle *Iohn* immediatly gathered forces, travailed over the whole land, pacified for the time *Corke, Tumound and Conoght*, From the death of *Hugh Delacy*, who was ſlaine, *Anno* 1186. unto the time *Hugh Delacy* the yonger came to be Lord Iuſtice, of whom hereafter more at large. Here gentle Reader, *Cambrenſis* leaveth us, who moſt faithfully continued the affaires of Ireland, ſome 30. yeeres and odde: he was by father a *Barry*, by mother a *Gerraldin*, nephew to *Morice Fitz Gerald* and *Robert Fitz Stephens*, that firſt entred to the Conqueſt of Ireland; hee was borne in Pembrok-ſhire, and was Archdecon of Saint *Davids* and *Brechnoc*, and diverſly imployed by *Henry* the ſecond, in whoſe time, among others, the firſt Conquerors & his kindred; he came into Ireland againe, and became Tutor unto *Iohn* the Kings ſonne, and accompanied him into Ireland; he wrote many learned workes, and among other, the Conqueſt of Ireland, the Topography of Ireland, and *Mirabilia Hiberniæ*. Whereof hee dedicated one unto *Richard* Earle *Strangbow*, and another unto *Henry* the ſecond; he was elected Archbiſhop of Saint *Davids*, but at Rome he was out-bid, by him that had more money, and miſſed the Cuſhin; hee departed this life, when hee was about foure ſcore yeeres old, and reſteth at Saint *Davids*. Yet one thing further of him which he reporteth of himſelfe, how that he at the time of his being in Ireland, had Conference with *Mathew Archbiſhop of Caſhill*, and he ſaying among other things: You have many *Saints in Ireland*, but I doe not find any martyr amonſt you: the Biſhop taking it in ill part, as ſpoken in deriſion of the Nation, anſwered with great anger, Sir, it is ſo that our people is rude, ſavage and barbarous, yet there is none ſo brutiſh and bloudy, as to lay violent hands upon a Prieſt; now it fals out that wee are to be governed by ſuch a Nation as is not guiltleſſe of Prelats deaths,

deaths, and it is like, (if it ſtands with Gods pleaſure) that ſhortly we ſhall make up a number of Iriſh martyrs: this he ſpitefully ſpake, meaning the death of *Thomas* of Canterbury.

In a while after that Sir *Iohn de Courcy* had brought the whole land to a good paſſe, and pacified the Iriſh tumults (this I find in the Booke of *Houth*) Sir *Hugh Delacy* the younger is ſent over into Ireland as Lord Iuſtice, to take the abſolute Command of the Realme. He had no ſooner landed but he ſent very imperious letters unto Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, to diſcharge him, and all that were authorized by him of their places, and command, and in like ſort (like the green heads ſpoken of a little before, which landed with Earle *Iohn*) they braved it out, diſdained old experimented ſouldiers, and offered ſundry diſgraces unto the reſt of the Engliſh; ſo that thereof roſe much heartburning, diviſion, quarrels and bloody brawles. The Iriſh ſeeing this ſudden alteration, this diviſion among the Engliſh, this undiſcreet government, thought now to find fit opportunity publikely to releaſe themſelves of that, which they had oft ſecretly intended; by their runnagades they ſummoned at a day a place, all the Chieftaines of Iriſh birth to a parlee; where after many doubts debated, many griefes opened, they concluded with full reſolution to invade all the Engliſh, and roote them wholly out of the land; and firſt they ſwoare to bee true one to another, throughout that whole rancke of rebels, as farre as life, lands, and goods would reach to effect this enterpriſe: Secondly, they ſwoare never to yeeld obedience to the Engliſh nation againe.

Sir *H de Lacy* the yonger L. Iuſtice of Ire.

Oconor King of Conaght becomes the mouth of the Iriſh, perſwades to his liking, diſſwades where fancy pleaſeth not, and gathered together in ſhort time, an Army (as mine Author ſaith) of 20000. fighting men; his policy was firſt, to cleare Conoght, and afterwards all Vlſter, and ſo by degrees the whole land, the which he doubted not of, as he delivered to his followers. Sir *Iohn de Courcy* underſtanding this, and doubting what hee ſhould finde at Sir *Hugh Delacies* hands, ſent letters in poſt to his brother Sir *Amorick Saint Laurence* who ſhortly to his ayd marched towards the North, with 30. Knights and 200. foot. *Oconor* hearing this, lyeth in ambuſh in moſt ſecret wiſe, and ſendeth ſcouts of horſe and foot before him, to apprehend and cut off all eſpials, which might bewray his ambuſh, and give intelligence to Sir *Amorick* to prevent the danger; Sir *Amorick* boldly marcheth on, miſdoubting nothing, for that he underſtandeth by his eſpials nothing to the contrary, till he came to the Divels mouth; where upon a ſudden, beholding *Oconor* and his huge Army peeping out of their ambuſh, was amazed, made a ſtand, and conſulting with his company, wiſt not what to doe; there was no flying, there was no fighting, one to a hundred was no equal match; a horſeman whoſe name was *Mountgomery*, in a few words

Oconnor K. of Conaght with 20000. men.

 ſaid

ſaid this. Let us fly and ſave our lives, as for the foot company wee can doe them no good by figting; by flying and ſaving our owne lives, we may ſuccour their wives, children and kindred. By that time Sir *Amorick* his brother (leader of the foot company) came to the conſultation, and ſaid, I ſee by all circumſtances, that you meane to flie, and you Sir *Amorick* my noble brother, what meane you to give eare to theſe cowardly horſemen, will you leave us here as ſheepe in the mouths of this mercileſſe people, and ravening wolfes, ready to rent us in peeces? Have you forgotten the bloody battels we followed you in? and do you not ſee that we have left our Country, our wives, our children and deareſt friends, and now ſtand at deaths doore, to be forſaken of you whom wee never left ſo diſolate and diſtreſſed: if you weigh not our lamentable eſtate, regard your owne honour, and the houſe you are deſcended of. Will you loſe in an houre, the honour you wanne in many yeeres? Call to remembrance, moſt worthy Knight, how that in Vriell in manner in the like diſtreſſe; you diſmounted your ſelfe, ſlew your horſe, led the foot, animated the company, recovered your ſelfe, and ended with honour? Wee are your fleſh and your blood, wee come hither to fight, to live and to dye together, know the worſt; I am reſolved, if we fight we dye, if we fly we are ſlaine; is it not better for us to dye in fight like men, and ſo winne honour, then to bee ſlaine in flight like beaſts, and gaine ſhame for ever? With this Sir *Amorick* turned him to the foot company, and hardly gathering breath with the ſorrow of his heart, reſolved himſelfe thus: I have no power to fly and leave my frinds, my fleſh and blood, in this extreme diſtreſſe. I will live with them, who for my ſake came hither, if it ſo pleaſe God, and I will dye with them, if it bee his pleaſure, that ending here wee ſhall meet againe bodies and ſoules at the laſt day, God and the World beare witneſſe, that wee doe as Chriſtian Knights ought to doe, I yeeld my ſoule into Gods hands, my body to returne whence it came, my ſervice to my naturall Prince, my heart to my wife and brother, Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, my might, my force and bloody ſweat to the ayd of you all that are in the field: He lighted, kneeled upon his knees, kiſſed the croſſe of his ſword, ranne his horſe through, ſaying thou ſhalt never ſerve againſt mee, that ſo worthily haſt ſerved with mee. The like did all the reſt; then looking about with a chearefull countenance, as if he had not beene the man, that was formerly diſmaid, charged two young Gentlemen of the company to get them to the top of an Hill, hard by adjoyning, and beholding the battell, upon their returne homwards make true report to his brother *Courcy* and others of that daies ſervice. Immediatly they prepared to battaile, the enemies marvailed, ſeeing them approch, that they durſt (being ſo few) abide the field; they made likewiſe a ſtand, and caſt doubts, whether the Engliſhmen in this attempt had not ſome great ſupply; reſcues

reſcues are maine battaile following after, they would not give the on-ſet, before they had certain knowledge thereof, by ſcoutes and eſpials: to be ſhort, they joyne the battaile, where to deliver the whole in few words; Sir *Amorick* was ſlaine and all his company. It was a bloody day, when all the one ſide, and a 1000. of the other ſide, fell to ground. *Oconor* and his company ſeing the end of this field, durſt never againe give battell unto the Engliſh, but ſued to Sir *Hugh Delacy* then Lord Iuſtice for peace, which he obtained, vowing, as he had many a time before, faith, truth and perfect ſubjection: This *Oconor* after his reconciliation made report unto Sir *Hugh Delacy*, of that daies work, that he thought verily, there was never the like ſeen upon the earth; how that the Engliſhmen not being able to ſtand in fight, turned backe to backe, with ſparthes and two handed ſwords, untill the laſt man was ſlaine. The lamentation that Sir *Iohn de Courcy* made, when this was bruted abroad, I will not ſtand to rehearſe.

I am now to end with King *Henry* the ſecond, a moſt worthy Prince, whoſe troubles every way troubled not him ſo much, as the unnaturall rebellion of his ſonnes, and the Ielouſie of his Queene; he raigned 34. yeeres, 9. months and two dayes: his Epitaph in *Mathew Paris* and in others I find thus.

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna ſubegi,
Multiplicique modo Duxque Comeſque fui: &c.

Of late King *Henry* was my name,
Which Conquered many a Land;
And divers Dukdomes did poſſeſſe,
And Earldomes held in hand,
And yet while all the earth could ſcarce
My greedy mind ſuffice;
Eight foot within the ground now ſerves
Wherein my Carcas lyes.
Now thou that readeſt this, note well
My force, with force of Death;
And let that ſerve to ſhew the ſtate
Of all that yeeldeth breath:
Do good then here, fore flow no time,
Caſt off all worldly cares;
For brittel world full ſoone doth faile,
And death doth ſtrike unwares.

Richard the firſt, the third ſonne of *Henry* 2. began his raigne over England the 6. of *July*, *Anno* 1189. For his valence, he was called *Cœur de Lyon*, the Lyons heart; he was affianced, but never married, to *Adela*, or *Alice*, daughter to the French King, and in his iourney to the holy land, he tooke to wife in the Ile of Cyprus, the Lady *Berengaria*, daughter to *Garſias* (ſome ſay *Sanctius*) King of Nauarre, and died without iſſue; when he had raigned nine yeeres, nine moneths, and two and twenty dayes. It is noted by the Antiquaries, that upon the death of his father, he had three notable windfals, the firſt was the Crowne of England, the ſecond was his fathers treaſure, which he found at Salisbury, amounting to nine hundred thouſands pound in coyne, beſides Plate, precious ſtones, Iewels and apparell; laſtly, in the Coffers of Ieffrey *Ridley*, Biſhop of Elye, who dyed inteſtate, he found towards his coronation 3260. pound in ſilver, five markes in gold, which was better; for his coronation was moſt Royall. *Iohn Comyn* Archbiſhop of Dublin was at it. *Mathew Paris* in Latine, and *Holinſhed* in Engliſh have penned it verbatim: *Will.* K. of Scots did him homage, and when he was the ſecond time crowned King, bare a ſword before him. King *Richard* the firſt yeere of his raigne, gave the Lady *Iſabell*, ſole daughter and heire of *Richard*, ſurnamed *Strangbow*, Earle of Penbroke, to *William Maxfield*, Lord *Maxfield*, and Earle Marſhall of England, *Anno* 1189.

This *William*, his ſurname was not *Marſhall*, as Sir *Iohn Plunket* his collection hath laid downe, but *Maxfield*, his deſcent I finde thus; with *William* the Conquerour, there came into England to his ayde, one *Walter Maxfield* a Norman, that was his Marſhall; this *Walter* had iſſue, *William*, *William* had iſſue, *Walter*, *Walter* had iſſue, *Iohn*, *Iohn* had iſſue, this *William Maxfield*, that married *Iſabell*, the daughter of *Strangbow*, who was made Earle Marſhall of England, Earle of Penbroke in Wales, and Prince of Leinſter in Ireland, in the right of his wife. This *William* was in great favour with King *Richard* the firſt, that gave him the Lady *Iſabell* to wife, and honoured him ſo at his coronation, that he bare a regall Scepter before the King, in the top whereof was ſet a Croſſe of gold, and when the King with full determination paſſed over into Normandie, and from thence into the Holy Land, he aſſigned him the third governour of the Realme, *Iohn* Earle of Morton, *Anno* 1199. after the death of his brother *Richard*, ſent this *William* among others into England, to ſet all things in a readineſſe for his coronation, the which being the 27. of May, and yeere aforeſaid, gave him his full creation to the Earledome of Penbroke, and girded him with the ſword; not long after, King *Iohn* ſent him with others, as Embaſſadors to the French King, with ſundry other imployments; he was alſo in great favour with *Henry* 3. as ſhall be ſhewed when I come to his raigne. He had five ſonnes, and five daughters, his ſonnes all ſucceeded him in the Earldome of Penbroke, and

and office of Marſhalſie, together with the Principality of Leinſter, and dyed all without iſſue. The daughters were all honourably matched in the life time of their father and brethren, and had his territories and poſſeſſions in Wales and Ireland, orderly divided among them, the which they and their poſterity peaceably enioyed. This *William* Earle Marſhall the elder, came to Ireland, *Anno* 1207. hee builded the Caſtle of Kilkenny, and gave the towne a Charter, with priviledges wich they enjoy to this day: hee founded there alſo the Monaſterie of the blacke Fryers, and ended the way of all fleſh at London, *Anno* 1220. and lyeth buried in the temple of his Lady *Iſabell* at Tinterne in Wales.

William Marſhall his eldeſt ſonne ſucceeded him, both in the office of Marſhall, and Earldome of Penbroke and Ogie, and Principalitie of Leinſter; he granted a Charter to the towne of Kilkenny, *Anno* 1223. ſixt of Aprill, with the teſtate of *Thomas Fitz Antony*, Lord of Thomasſtowne, Seneſchall, of Leinſter, Fulkoe, Carnac; *Walter Purſell*, *William Grace*, *Haman Grace*, *Amnar Grace*, and others, he ended his dayes at Kilkenny, *Anno* 1231. and reſteth in the Monaſtery there, which his father had formerly founded.

Againe, of this *William* I have ſeene another Charter, exemplified *Anno* 1329. by King *Edward* the third, with an *inſpexim*. *Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Aquitanie omnibus Ballivis & Miniſtris omnium villarum & villatorum Lagenie & ceteris quibuſcunque de iiſdem partibus ſalutem. Supplicavit nobis ſuperior et communitas villæ de Kilkenny quod cum Willielmus nuper Comes Mariſcallus et Pembrochie* (*tempore quo idem Comes extiterat Dominus totius terræ Lageniæ*) *conceſſerit Burgenſibus et Cõmunitati ville predicte qui pro tempore fuerint, diverſas libertates, inter quas videlicet, quod ipſi in perpetuum per totam Lageniam terram, & poteſtatẽ ſuam tamin villa quã alibi eſſent quieti de theulonio, laſtagio, poritagio, & de omnibus aliijs conſuetudinibus quibuſcunque, quam quidem cartam inſpeximus, &c. Teſte Iohanne Darcy Iuſticiario noſtro Hibernie apud Kilkenny*, 8. *die Iulij anno regni noſtri* 3. *per billam ipſius Iuſticiarij*. Yet *Holinſhed* writeth that this *William Marſhall* the younger, deceaſed at London, and lyeth buried by his father in the new Temple.

Richard Marſhall the ſecond brother ſucceeded; he was Earle Marſhall of England, Earle of Penbroke in Wales, and Ogie in Normandie, and Prince of Leinſter in Ireland. In the yeere 1233. and the Moneth of Aprill, in a battell nigh Kildare, upon the great Heath called the Curragh, fighting againſt the Oconors; hee tooke his deaths wound, whereof ſhortly he dyed. Hee lieth buried by his brother *William* in the blacke Fryers at Kilkennye, which was the foundation of *William*, Earle Marſhall, his father. *Henry* the third lamented his death, and proteſted that he loſt then the worthieſt Captaine of

his time. His tombe (with the tombe of eighteene Knights that came over at the Conqueſt, and reſting in that Abbey) at the ſuppreſſion of the Monaſterie, was defaced, and inhabitants there turned them to their private uſes; and of ſome they made ſwine-troughs, ſo as there remaineth no Monument in the ſaid Abbey, ſave one ſtone, whereupon the picture of a Knight is portraied, bearing a ſhield about his necke, wherein the *Cantwels* armes are inſculped; and yet the people there call it Ryddir in Curry, that is, *the Knight ſlaine at the Curraghe. Iohn Clyn*, guardian of the Fryers there, in his Annals of Ireland writeth thus.

Poſt incarnatum lapſis de virgine natum
Annis millenis tribus triginta ducentis
In primo menſis Aprilis, Kildarienſis
Pugna die Sabbati fuit in triſtitia facti
Acciderant ſtallo pugna Comiti Mariſcallo.

And upon his Tombe.

Hic Comes eſt poſitus, Richardus vulnere foſſus
Cujus ſub foſſa Kilkennia continet oſſa.

After the deceaſe of *Richard Gilbert*, Marſhall, the third brother was Earle Marſhall of England, Earle of Penbroke and Ogie, and Prince of Leinſter, *Anno* 1239. King *Henry* the third held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, where there roſe a grudge betweene the King and this Earle *Gilbert*, by reaſon that this ſame Earle, with his ſervants, having tip-ſtaves in their hands, comming to the Court, were not ſuffered to enter within the gates, but were kept backe by the Porters and others: of which injury when hee complained, the King made him an overthwart anſwer. Whereupon the Earle not well pleaſed therewith, eſtranged himſelfe from the Court, and went into the North country, ſo that thenceforth, he and his brother *Walter* gave ſmall attendance upon the King; and to end with this Earle *Gilbert*, it fell out on a time, in a Turnay which hee had attempted without the Citie of Hereford, contrary to the Kings pleaſure, that his unruly horſe caſt him, ſo that of the hurt which he tooke with the fall, he ſhortly after departed this life, in the yeere 1241. and was buried in the new temple Church at London: hee had married the Lady *Margaret*, the ſiſter of *Alexander*, King of Scots, who by her had no iſſue; ſhe alſo dyed *Anno* 1245.

Walter Marſhall ſucceeded *Gilbert* in all the former honours and poſſeſſions, both in England and Ireland, who becauſe he had procured the turnament wherein his brother was ſlaine, hardly obtained of the king the ſame. He departed this life at Godrike Caſtle by Monmouth,

mouth and was buried at Tintern, *Anno* 1245. leaving no iſſue behind him.

Anſelme Marſhall the fift ſonne of *William* Earle Marſhall ſucceeded *Walter*, hee was the laſt of the *Maxfields*, and died without iſſue. Hee had married *Matbildis* or *Mawd* daughter of the Earle of Hereford, ane becauſe hee had entred without doing of homage unto the King, his wife after his deceaſe could have no dowry, wherof among the ſtatutes of England I find the cauſe by eſpecial words thus overruled.

When any dyeth and his heire entreth into the Land, that his Anceſters held of the King, the day that he died before he hath done homage to the King, and received ſeiſin of the King, hee ſhall give no free hold thereby; and if hee dyed ſeiſed during that time, his wife ſhall not be indowed of the ſame land as came late in ure; by *Mawd* the daughter of the Earle of Hereford, wife of *Anſelme* the Marſhal. Who after the death of *Walter* Marſhall of England his brother, tooke his ſeiſin of the Caſtle and mannor of Strogill, and died in the ſame Caſtle; before hee had entred by the King, and before hee had done homage unto him, whereupon it was agreed, that his wife ſhould not be indowed, becauſe that her husband had not entred by the King, but rather by truſion.

This *Anſelme* died in England, and was buried at Tinterne. After the death of theſe five brethren; *Florilegus* writeth thus. All the ſonnes of *William* the great Marſhall (it is not knowne what ſinne required the ſame) according to the Prophecy of the Counteſſe their mother, without iſſue left behind them, as ſhadowes departed out of this world; yet all ſucceſſively became Earles, even as their mother by a Propheticall ſpirit foreſhewed, and ſo the Noble ſheild or buckler of the Marſhalls, dreadful to ſo many and ſo great enemies of England, vaniſhed away. *Mathew Paris* wrote the ſtory at large. The aforeſaid *William*, as Warlike and ſtout, called Marſhall, as if hee had beene *Mars* his Seneſchall while in Ireland hee gave himſelfe to ſlaughter, and burning, and got to himſelfe large poſſeſſions, he tooke away by ſtrong hand and injuriouſly, from an holy Biſhop two mannors or Lordſhips belonging to his Church, and preſumptuouſly uſurped them, as though he might, by juſt title poſſeſſe them, as if he had wonne them with the ſword. The Biſhop after many admonitions, and receiving many froward anſwers, thundred againſt him (and not without cauſe) the ſentence of Excommunication, the which the Earle deſpiſed, and pleaded for excuſe; the warlike ſeaſon keeping injuries upon injuries. Whereupon not without adviſement one Maiſter *Gervaſius de Melckeria*, framed of him this diſtinction and ſhrowded himſelfe in his perſon:

Sum

Sum quem Saturnum ſibi ſenſit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normania, Gallia Martem.

I am whom Ireland Saturne hight, and England Sol me cals,
Amids the Normans Mercury, and Mars among the Gauls.

The meaning in a word is, how that he in his time had tamed the wild Iriſh, and had beene the ſhining beame of honour unto the Engliſh, as an Ambaſſadour to pacifie the Normans, and an invincible Knight among the French nation, but forwards with *Paris*; the aforeſaid Earle held thoſe mannors all his life time, and annexed them unto his dominions: Within a few yeeres after, the Earle ended the way of all fleſh, and was buried in the new Temple at London; the Biſhop hearing of this (for he was the Biſhop of Fernes, a Ciſtertian Monke, by birth Iriſh, and famous for Sanctity) not without great paine in travaile, he went unto the King, who then was in London, exhibited a grievous complaint of the injury done unto him, and how that hee had juſtly excommunicated the Earle, and humbly beſought the King, that by his ſoveraigne authority and Princely mandat, and alſo for the good of the ſaid Earle *Williams* ſoule, he would ſee his mannors reſtored unto him, that in ſo doing (though he were dead) yet might reape the benefit of abſolution. The King with this was moved, and willed the Biſhop to repaire to the Earles grave and abſolve him, and he would diligently labour for his ſatisfaction; the Biſhop together with the King went to his Tombe, and in the hearing of al that were preſent, as if they had been both alive, ſaid, O *William*, that here lyeſt interred, and wrapped in the bonds of Excommunication, if the thing which thou haſt injuriouſly taken away from my Church, bee reſtored by the king, or by thine heire, or by ſome one of thy kindred or friends, with competent ſatisfaction, I abſolve thee, other wiſe I doe ratifie the ſaid ſentence that thou being ever wrapped in thy ſinnes, maieſt remaine damned in hell. The King hearing this, was moved and ſharply rebuked the immoderat rigour of the Pontificall Prelate. To whom the Biſhop replied, my Lord and dread ſoveraigne, marvaile not, though I be out of patience, for he hath ſpoiled my Church to his great commoditie. The King then ſecretly conferring with *William* the eldeſt ſonne of this Earle, and heire to the whole, and now inveſted in the inheritance and Earledome, and certaine others his brethren, beſought them by the reſtoring the mannors unjuſtly taken away, mercifully to deliver their fathers ſoule; To whom *William* the heir made anſwer, I doe not beleeve, neither is to be credited, that my father tooke them injuriouſly, for that which is gotten by the ſword, may lawfully be enjoyed; for if that old and doting Biſhop hath given a wrong ſentence, let the curſe

curſe light upon his owne pate. I will not weaken my eſtate, nor diminiſh the inheritance wherein I am inveſted, my father dyed ſeized thereof, and I have rightly entred. Vnto theſe words all the brethren yeelded their conſents. The King being then of tender yeeres, and under Tutor, would not give cauſe of heavineſſe unto ſo great and Noble a perſonage; when the Biſhop underſtood this, hee was more waſpiſh, and moved with the countenance of the ſonnes, then with the former iniury of the father, and turning him to the King, ſpake aloud; what I have ſaid, I have ſaid; what I have written, I have written, never to be blotted out.

To be ſhort, the Biſhop with great ſorrow departed, and in bitterneſſe, prophecied of the ill ſucceſſe of the children, who dyed and lived in great honour all the dayes of their lives: but theſe matters we are to referre to the ſecret iudgement of God.

After the deceaſe of theſe five brethren, five Earles, and five Princes of Leinſter, leaving no iſſue behinde them, the five daughters their ſiſters, *Ioane*, *Mathilda*, *Iſabell*, *Sibilla*, and *Eva*, being honourably matched, had their fathers and brethrens poſſeſſions and territories in Ireland orderly divided amongſt them; *Ioane*, the eldeſt daughter of *William* Earle Marſhall, and eldeſt ſiſter of the five brethren (before ſpoken of) was married to *Warren de Mountchenſen*, who in right of her, had allotted unto him, the County of Wexford; they had iſſue, one daughter, *Ioane* that was married, *Anno* 1247. to *William de Valence*, a Norman, the ſonne of *Hugh Brune*, Earle of March, and *Turryn*, Vicount of Curce, &c. hee was halfe brother to King *Henry* the third, by Queene *Iſabell*, daughter and heire of *Amerie*, Earle of Angoleſm, the widdow of King *Iohn*. This *William* in the right of his wife, was Earle of Penbroke, and Lord of Wexford, and died *Anno* 1296. he had iſſue, two ſonnes and two daughters, *William de Valence*, *Owdomare alias Aimer de Valence*, *Iſabell* and *Ioane*; *William* ſucceeded his father in the Earldome of Penbroke, and Lordſhip of Wexford, and died without iſſue. *Aymer* his brother after him, was Earle of Penbroke, and Lord of Wexford, and died without iſſue, whereupon the inheritance fell to the two ſiſters, *Iſabell* and *Ioane*. *Iſabell* was married to *Iohn Haſtings*, Lord *Haſtings* of Abergevenny, who in the right of his wife had one halfe of the county of Wexford allotted unto him, and had iſſue, *Elizabeth*, which married *Reynold*, Lord *Gray* of Ruthin. *Ioane* the ſecond ſiſter was married to *Iohn* Lord *Comyn*, who in her right, had the other halfe of Wexford, and he had iſſue, two daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Ioane*; *Elizabeth* married *Richard* Lord *Talbot*, and *Ioane* was married to *David*, Earle of Atholl in Scotland, and thus the County of Wexford was divided.

Mathilda, or *Mawde*, the ſecond daughter of *William*, Earle Marſhall of England, had the county of Cattelough, *alias* Carlogh, aſſigned

assigned unto her: she was married to *Hugh Bigod*, Earle of Norfolke, father of *Ralph Bigod*, whose daughter and heire *Isabell*, was married to Sir *Gilbert Lacy*, who had issue, *Margery* and *Mawd*, *Margery* was married to *John* Lord *Verdon*, of whom the Earle of Shrewesbury, and the Earle of Essex are descended. *Mawd* married *Jeffery Genivill*, father to *Peter Genivill*, whose daughter and heire was married to *Roger Mortimer*, Lord of Wigmore, and the first Earle of March.

Isabell, the third daughter of *William*, Earle Marshall of England, had to her portion, the county of Kilkenny. She was married to Sir *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of Gloceſter and Herford, whose discent is before spoken of. Hee was slaine by the Scots in King *Edward* the seconds time, and died without issue. I have seene a Charter granted by him to the towne of Kilkenny. *Gilbert Clare*, Earle of Gloceſter and Herford, to our Seneschall of Kilkenny, and to our treasurer of the same, greeting; know you that we for the common profit of the towne of Kilkenny, of our especiall favour have granted to our loving Burgesses of the same towne, &c. the whole in substance is, that none shall sell victuals there, but it shall be prized by the officers of our towne. After the decease of Sir *Gilbert Clare*, then the Earledomes of Gloceſter and Herford, and the County of Kilkenny, fell betweene his three sisters, begotten upon *Isabell* aforesaid, to wit, *Elenor*, *Margaret*, and *Elizabeth*. *Elenor* was married to *Hugh Spencer* the younger, *Margaret* was married to *Peter Gaueſton*, and after his death, to *Hugh* Lord *Audely*; *Elizabeth* was married first to *William* Lord Burgh, Earle of Vlster; the second time to *Ralph Roch*, Baron of Farmoy; thirdly, to *Theobald*, Lord *Verdon*, and lastly, to *Roger Damary*, and had issue by every one of them.

Sibilla the fourth daughter of *William* Earle Marshall, had to her part the Countie of Kildare, and was married to *William Ferers*, Earle of Ferers and Darby, who had issue, *Agnes*, *Isabell*, *Mathilda*, *Sibilla*, *Cecilia*, and a second *Sibill*; *Agnes* was married to *William de Veſcy*, who had issue, *John de Veſcy*, who had issue, *William de Veſcy* that died without issue in his fathers life time. Lastly, this County of Kildare was given by the King unto *John Fitz Thomas*, the first Earle of Kildare, as hereafter in more convenient place shall appeare.

Eva, the first daughter of *William* Earle Marshall, had to her portion, the Mannor of Dounmas in Leix, and was married to *William Bruſe*, Lord *Bruſe* of Gower, who had issue, *Mathilda*, *Elenor*, and *Eva*. *Mathilda* was married to *Roger Mortimer*, *Elenor* was married to *Humphery de Bohun* Earle of Herford and *Eva*, to *Cantilupe, alias William de Canlow*: Of the line of these *Maxfields*, I meane of *William* Earle Marshall of England, the pedigree & discent of this Noble familie, the properties and purports holds of the daughters, I have seene sundry copies. *Nicholas Magwir*, Bishop of Leighlen perfected

perfected an abstract of the division of the land in Ireland, among the daughters and the paritcularities thereof, which is to be seene in the red towne-booke of Kilkenny: and now forwards with the history, from whence I have somewhat digressed.

Anno 1190. (in which yeere the Citie of Dublin, by foule mishap, was fired to ashes) King *Richard* set all in a readinesse for his iourney into the holy land, gathered masses of money together, and among others it is remembred, what a summe of money he received of *Hugh Pudsey* a Norman, and Bishop of Durham, that gave an inestimable summe to be made an Earle, whom the Antiquaries doe condemne for his intolerable pride, and damnable covetousnesse, whom the King also flowted after hee had received the coyne; saying, *Loe, I have made a young Earle of an old Bishop*: In this voyage and preparation for the recovery of Ierusalem, and the ayde of the Christians in Asia, there went *Fredericke*, Emperour of Almaine, *Richard*, King of England, *Philip* of France, *William* of Cicilia, *Otho*, Duke of Burgundie, the Venetians, Pisanes, Frisones, Danes and Flemings. Now that the King is on his iourney abroad, let us talke a little (gentle Reader) of little *John* at home: *Stanihurſt* leads me into the history, and reporteth that *Anno* 1189. he came into Ireland, and sojourned at Dublin; the storie goeth (and especially in *Hector Boetius*, and *John Major*, Antiquaries of Scotland) how that in those daies, there were many outlawes in the North parts of England; of these outlawes, *Robin Hood*, and little *John* were Chiefetaines: It was said of *Robin Hood* that he was an Earle, and after outrages by him committed, he kept the woods; his company was of some hundred persons, all chosen and picked Archers, of singular strength to handle their weapons, and such as durst encounter with 400. others: they robbed none but the rich, as Tanners, and Grasiers, and Vsurers, and Bishops, Priests, and fat Abbots; they shed no bloud, they killed no man, releeved themselves and the poore also with their spoyles. *Robin Hood* after many theevish feats, fell sicke, went into a Nunnery in Scotland, to be let bloud, where he was betrayed, and bled to death: wherupon the company brake, and the crue dispersed themselves, every man to shift for himselfe; little *John* came to Ireland, with many of his confederates, and found in the woods, enough to fit his humour, and fell so much to his old occupation, that he was faine to flye the land. In the end, he went to Scotland, and there died. There are memorable acts reported of him, which I hold not for truth, that he would shoot an arrow a mile off, and a great deale more; but them I leave among the lyes of the land.

Anno 1191. the Monasterie *de ingo Dei*, was founded *Anno* 1193. King *Richard* after many most valiant exploits in the Holy Land, (the which I hold not so necessary for this place) after the drowning of *Fredericke* the Emperour, and after the sudden and envious departure

ture of *Philippe* King of France; hearing the conſpiracy of the ſaid *Philippe*, and the treaſon of his brother *Iohn* aſpiring to the Crowne of England; made peace with the Saladine for three yeres, and with a ſmall company returning homewards, was taken priſoner by *Leopold*, Duke of Auſtria, who brought him to *Henry* the Emperour, and there kept him in priſon a yeere and 5. months, untill he had paid his ranſome, which was *Anno* 1194.

Hee was received into England with the joy and applauſe of all true harts, and having ſetled the affaires of the Realme in due ſort, he went into France, where he had much a doe with the French King, the which for brevities ſake, I doe omit, and yet one memorable act of his I may not omit, and thus it was; There came unto him one *Fulco* a Prieſt, who with great courage and boldneſſe ſaid: *Thou haſt, O Mighty King three daughters very vicious and of evill diſpoſition, take good heed of them, and betimes provide them good husbands; to whom the King in rage anſwered: thou errant lyar, and ſhameleſſe hypocrit, thou knoweſt not where thou art, nor whas thou ſayeſt, I weene thou art not well in thy wits, for I have never a daughter, as the world will beare me witneſſe, get thee out of our preſence. To whom Fulco replyed, If it like your Grace, I lye not, but ſay truth, for you have three daughters which continually frequent your Court, and (more is the pitty) wholly poſſeſſe your perſon; I meane, Pride, Covetouſneſſe and Leachery. The King thereat ſmiled, and called his Lords and Barons unto him, and related what Fulco had delivered unto him, and thereupon gave his reſolution: Here before you all I doe preſently beſtow my three daughters. Firſt, I give my daughter ſwelling Pride, to the proud Templars: my greedy daughter Avarice, to the coveteus Order of the Ciſtercian Monkes: and my daughter Leachery, to the wanton Prelats of the Church.* This noble King went to beſiege a Town called *Chalus Cheverell* in Poitou, in the confines of Britaine, where unlooked for, from the wall of the Towne, he was wounded with a venomed arrow out of a Crosbow; whereof ſhortly after hee died: afore his death hee ſent for him, that was the cauſe of his death, forgave him, yea & gave him money in his purſe; but after his death he was apprehended and cut off with cruell tortures. Laſtly, King *Richard* tooke order for his buriall, thus he bequeathed his body to Fount Ebrad, there to lye at his fathers feet, whom in his life time he had offended; his heart to Roan that had alwayes been true unto him; and his bowels to Chalus Cheverell where he tooke his death, for that filth was fit for them, that had beene unto him both falſe and rebellious, *Mathew Paris* hath is Epitaph thus.

The conceit is that Chalus was *caſus lucis.*

Ad Chalus cecidit Rex, regni cardo Richardus,
His ferus, his humilis, his agnus, his Leopardus;

Caſus

Caſus erat lucis Chalus. Per ſecula nomen
Non intellectum fuerat, ſed nominis omnen.
Non patuit, res clauſa fuit; ſed luce cadente
Prodiit in lucem pro caſu lucis ademptæ.

Againe of his legacie.

Pictavus exta ducis ſepelit, telluſque Chalutis
Corpus dat claudi ſub marmore fontis Ebrandi:
Neuſtria tuque tegis cor inexpugnabile Regis:
Sic loca per trina ſe ſparſit tanta ruina;
Nec fuit hoc funus, cui ſufficeret locus unus.

Iohn the fift ſonne of *Henry* the ſecond, Earle *Morton, alias Mortaigne* and Lord of Ireland, as formerly hath beene delivered, by the gift of his brother King *Richard* the firſt, Earle of Cornwall, Dorſet, Sommerſet, Nottingham, Darby, Lancaſter, and in the right of his marriage, Earle of Gloceſter, was Crowned at Weſtminſter, King of England, *Anno* 1199. Hee was firſt married to *Iſabell* (whom the Britaines called *Hawiſe*, and the Corniſh *Avis*) daughter to *Robert* Earle of Gloceſter, who for that they were found within the third degree, were divorced; ſo that King *Iohn* left both the Lady *Iſabell* and the Earledome of Gloceſter, whereupon by the advice of *Philip* King of France, he matched in holy wedlocke with *Iſabell* daughter to *Amerie*, Earle of Angoleſme. This *Iſabell* (if not married) had beene affianced to *Hugh Brune*, Earle of March, a Noble man of Aquitaine, who gave battaile in that quarell to King *Iohn*, and was diſcomfitted, yet after the death of King *Iohn*, hee had her to wife.

Immediatly upon the Coronation of *Henry* the third (who ſucceeded him) broyles beganne in England, France and Ireland, which had every way a tragicall end. *Bruſe* in England, *Arthure* in France, and *Courcy* in Ireland, are teſtimonies thereof: But orderly of theſe as the Nature of the Hiſtorie requires; *Arthure* the ſonne of *Ieffry Plantagenet* nephew to King *Iohn*, lived when his uncle *Iohn* aſpired to the Crowne, being 16. yeeres of age, he was affianced to a daughter of *Philippe* the French King, the ſaid *Philippe* Knighted him in the field; he was Duke of Britain, Earle of Anjou, Poitiers, Maine and Turrow of Normandy. He did homage unto his uncle for ſome, and to *Philippe* for the reſt; his uncle had him in Iealouſie, firſt left that in proceſſe of time, he would make claime to the Crowne: ſecondly, for that he adhered too much to the French, and the young Prince upon conference, with bold ſpirit told him, that he did him wrong, and that hee was bound in honour to deliver unto him the Crowne of England, with all that thereunto appertained. Shortly after, it fell

 out

out that King *Iohn* took this *Arthure* confederate againſt him, with *William de Bruſe*, *Hugh Brune* and others, impriſoned him in Falaiſe in Normandy; from thence he was brought to Roane, and there clapt in the Tower, under the cuſtody of *Robert de Veipont*, where ſhortly after he finiſhed his life, whether by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his eſcape, or by meane of ſome privy hand, which murther it is not as yet agreed upon *Vtinam* (ſaith *Mat. Paris*) *non ut fama refert invida*; by occaſion whereof, K. *Iohn* was ever after had in great ſuſpition, whether juſtly or unjuſtly the Lord knoweth King *Iohn* fearing the ſecret practiſes of his adverſaries, and doubting the revolt of his Barons, ſent for his further ſecurity, unto thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected for hoſtages and pledges of their loialty, and among others, unto *William de Bruſe* a Normand borne, but Lord of *Brechnok*, ſaith *Guttin Owen*, and a great commander in South-wales. The wife, like a quicke Dame, taking the anſwer out of her husbands mouth, gave this round ſpeech; that ſhee would not give any of her ſonnes to King *Iohn*, who already had ſlaine and murthered his owne nephew *Arthur*. Theſe words being laviſhly delivered unto the King, ſet him in ſuch a heat of diſpleaſure againſt her husband (though hee had rebuked her ſharply for the ſame) that the L. *Bruſe* with his wife and children fled the Realme, and got them unto Ireland for ſafeguard of their lives; and when King *Iohn* came unto Ireland, they fled to the Ile of Man, where they were apprehended and ſent to the Caſtle of Windſore in England, and there (as the common fame went) famiſhed to death. But *William de Bruſe* himſelfe eſcaped the hands of the King in Ireland, and fled into France, died at Corbell, and was buried in Paris. The next that comes upon the ſtage is Sir *Iohn de Courcy* Earle of Vlſter, Lord of Conaght, that had laſtly beene L. Liev. of Ireland, who governing the land with great circumſpection, together with Sir *Hugh de Lacy* the younger, who maligned him ſecretly, and envied his proſperity, in ſo much that hee accuſed him to King *Iohn*, ſaying, that he laid to the Kings charge the murthering of his nephew *Arthure*; whereupon King *Iohn* ſent for him into England; and gave commiſſion unto Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, and his brother *Walter Delacy*, to attach his perſon. Sir *Iohn de Courcy* having ſecret intelligence of their drift, kept himſelfe aloofe: Sir *Hugh Delacy* finding that levied an army, and invaded Vlſter; the Country roſe againſt him and drove him to flie. Then *Lacy* praclaimed him traitor, and marched towards him with all the forces he could make. *Courcy* in like ſort prepared for his comming.

At Dune they met and fought a cruell battaile, where the field was all blood, and many ſlaine on both ſides, but in the end the victory fell to *Courcy*, and *Lacy* went back with ſhame enough. Then *Lacy* practiſed how he might betray him.

It

It is ſaid among the Iriſh, that *Courcy* offred the combat, and that *Lacy* refuſed it, aleadging that it was not for him, that repreſented the Kings perſon, to hazard his life with an inferior, being a ſubject and a traytor. *Lacy* makes proclamation, promiſing a large reward to him that ſhould bring him in *Courcy* either alive or dead, but it would not be; then privily he dealt with ſome of his ſervants, that if they would undertake the apprehenſion of him, they ſhould have great rewards; it was concluded, and this advice the betraiers gave: Sir *Iohn de Courcy* is a mighty man in armes, and of ſuch ſtrength, that no one man dares be ſo hardy as lay hand upon him, and againe hee is alwaies both in publick and privat well provided: Yet we can direct you a courſe to bring your purpoſe to effect: upon good Friday yeerly he weares no armes, but is wholly given to divine contemplation, and commonly walketh all ſolitary round about the Church-yard of Dune: if you provide a troope of horſemen in a readineſſe, and ſend your eſpiall before, there you ſhall have him, apprehend him and worke your will, and hither they came, and laid hands upon him. *Courcy* now unarmed and altogether diſtreſſed; ranne to a wooden croſſe that ſtood in the Church yard, tooke the pole therof and laid about him luſtily; *Courcy* at that time had but a few attending on him, and they armeleſſe; of which number, were two young Gentlemen, the ſonnes of Sir *Amorick Saint Laurence* which were ſlaine; to bee ſhort, the Author of the Booke of *Houth* reporteth, that *Courcy* in that Skirmiſh ſlew 13. of *Lacy* his men, that died not upon the Croſſe, but under the Croſſe, but in the end he was carried away, conveied beyond the ſeas, clapt in the Towre of London, and condemned to perpetuall impriſonment: Whereupon *Lacy* for that ſervice, had the Earledome of Vlſter given him, and the Iudaſes that betrayed their Maſter had their hire. Then they craved of Sir *Hugh de Lacy* a paſport into England, with the relation of the good ſervice they had done in Ireland, which was granted upon condition, that upon the paine of death, they ſhould never returne into Ireland againe, neither to open the ſame afore it were demanded of them: It was as followeth.

I Hugh de Lacy Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, ſervant to my dread Soveraigne Lord King Iohn: To all them that ſhall read theſe few lines, greeting; know you that theſe men, whoſe names are under written, ſerved ſometimes Sir Iohn de Courcy late Earle of Vlſter, but now in durance in the Towre of London, and for a ſumme of money, betraied their owne Maſter into my hand. I deeme them no better then Iudas the traitor: how hardly ſoever I have conceived of Courcy, I hold them a thouſand times more damnable traitors. Wherefore let no ſubject within any of the Kings dominions, give them any entertainment, but ſpit in their faces, and ſuffer them to rogue about and wander as Iewes. He provided them a barke, with ſaile and victuall, but gave

them no Pilots nor ſea-faring men, for want of skill they could not take the ſeas, but were toſſed with winds and weather, along the Coaſt, at length the Tyde brought them into the river of Corke: they were no ſooner landed, but they were apprehended, examined, and brought to Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, and forthwith all foure hanged cheeke by jole.

Not long after, there fell ſome difference betweene *Iohn*, King of England, and *Philip*, King of France, for the right of ſome Fort in Normandie, who to avoyde the ſhedding of Chriſtian bloud, agreed of each ſide to put it to a combat; of King *Philips* part there was a French man in readineſſe; King *Iohn* upon the ſudden wiſt not what to doe for a Champion to encounter with him; at length, one attending upon his perſon, enformed him that there was one *Courcy* in the Towre of London, the onely man in his dominions (if hee would undertake it) to anſwer the challenge. King *Iohn* ioyfull of this, ſent the firſt, yea ſecond, and third time, promiſing large rewards, and rich gifts, and that it ſtood him upon as farre as the honour of his Crowne and kingdome did reach, to make good the combat. *Courcy* anſwered very frowardly, (the which was taken in good part in regard of the urgent neceſſitie) that he would never fight for him, neither for any ſuch as he was, that he was not worthy to have one drop of bloud ſpilt for him; that he was not able to requite him the wrongs he had done him, neither to reſtore him the hearts eaſe he had bereaved him of: yet notwithſtanding all the premiſes, he was willing, and would with all expedition, be ready to venture his life in defence of the Crowne and his country. Whereupon it was agreed, that he ſhould be dyeted, apparrelled, and armed to his content, and that his owne ſword ſhould be brought him out of Ireland. The day came, the place appointed, the Liſte provided, the ſcaffolds ſet up, the Princes with their nobilitie of each ſide, with thouſands in expectation. Forth comes the French Champion, gave a turne, and reſts him in his tent: They ſent for *Courcy*, who all this while was truſſing of himſelfe about with ſtrong poynts, and anſwered the meſſengers, if any of their company were to goe to ſuch a banquet, I thinke he would make no great haſte. Forth he comes, gave a turne, and went into his Tent. When the Trumpets ſounded to battaile, forth come the combatants, and viewed each other. *Courcy* beheld him with a wonderfull ſterne countenance, and paſſed by. The French man not liking his grimme looke, the ſtrong proportion and feature of his perſon, ſtalked ſtill along, and when the Trumpets ſounded the laſt charge, *Courcy* drew out his ſword, and the French man ranne away, and conveyed him to Spaine. Whereupon they ſounded victory, the people clapt their hands, and caſt up their cappes; King *Philip* deſired King *Iohn* that *Courcy* might bee called before them, to ſhew ſome part of his ſtrength and manhood, by a blow upon

on a Helmet; it was agreed, a ſtake was ſet in the ground, and a ſhirt of maile, and a Helmet thereon; *Courcy* drew his ſword, looked wonderfull ſternely upon the Princes, cleft the helmet, the ſhirt of maile, and the ſtake ſo farre in, that none could pull it out but himſelfe. Then the Princes demanded of him, what hee meant to looke ſo ſowrely upon them; his anſwer was, if hee had miſſed his blow upon the blocke, he would have cut off both the Kings heads. All that hee ſaid was taken in good part: King *Iohn* diſcharged him out of all his troubles, gave him great gifts, and reſtored him to his former poſſeſſions in Ireland. It is written further, that hereupon hee ſailed into England, came to Weſtcheſter, offered himſelfe to the ſea, and was put backe againe fifteene times by contrary windes which roſe upon a ſodaine, to the Engliſh ſhore. And in the booke of *Houth* it is delivered, that upon every repulſe, the night following, he was admoniſhed in a viſion, not to attempt the ſeas, for to ſaile into Ireland, and that he ſhould never ſet foot upon any land there; and withall, that the reaſon was yeelded thus. *Courcy*, thou haſt done very ill, for thou haſt pulled downe the maſter, and ſet up the ſervant; for he had tranſlated the Cathedrall Church, and the Prebendaries of the bleſſed Trinitie in Dune, into an Abbey of blacke Monkes, brought thither from Cheſter, and conſecrated the ſame to the honour of Saint *Patricke*. Whereupon remembring himſelfe that he had done very ill in taking the name from God to a creature, gave ſentence upon himſelf, that he was worthily puniſhed. Immediately hee altered his courſe, went into France, and there died: now forwards with the hiſtory, according to the due courſe of time in the raigne of King *Iohn*, ſo the booke of *Houth* reporteth.

Anno 1202. *Meler Fitz Henry*, whoſe father was the baſe ſonne of King *Henry* the firſt, founded the Abbey of Cownall; hee came into Ireland with the firſt Conquerours, being a young ſtripling, and is highly commended by *Cambrenſis* for his great valour, and worthineſſe in martiall proweſſe: he left this world, *Anno* 1220. his Epitaph I finde in *Iohn Clynne*.

Conduntur tumulo Meyleri nobilis oſſa,
Indomitus domitor totius gentis Hiberne.

Intombed are the bones of him they Noble *Meler* call,
Who was the tameleſſe tamer of the Iriſh nation all.

Anno 1205. in the ſeventeenth yeere of the raigne of King *Iohn*, *Theobald Fitz Walter*, *Fitz Gilbert*, *Becket* the firſt Lord Butler of Ireland, founded the Monaſtery of Wethencia, *alias* Wethran, *alias* Wethenoya, *alias* Voghney, in the county of Limeric; this difference I finde in *Dowling*, *Grace*, and others.

Anno 1206. Saint *Monon* an Iriſh man, and a Martyr, (*Molanus* layeth him downe among the Saints in Flanders) flouriſhed; he is reputed the Patron of Naſſonia, under the command of the Abbot of Saint *Hubert*, in the Lordſhip of Audiamum; he was the Diſciple of Saint *Remaſch*, and Saint *Iohn Agnus*, Biſhop of Traiectum, and of Iriſh birth; this *Monon* was murthered at Ardevenna, (ſaith *Molanus*) by ſome bloudy maſſacres, & lyeth buried at Naſſonia, in the Church which he there had founded.

A rebellion in Thurles.

Anno 1208. (I finde it in *Dowlinge* and *Grace*) Sir *Hugh de Lacy* the younger, being Lord Iuſtice, entred into Thurles, where the country being in rebellion, offered him battaile, he laid ſiege to Caſtle Meiler, wanne it, brake it downe, and made it even with the ground; but he loſt there more men, (ſay the Iriſh) then he tooke away with him; the chiefe Rebell was *Ieffery Mac Moris, alias Morich*.

Blacke Monday.

Anno 1209. the occaſion of blacke Munday, and the originall remembrance thereof roſe at Dublin. The Citie of Dublin by reaſon of ſome great mortality, being waſted and deſolate, the inhabitants of Briſtoll flocked thither to inhabit, who after their country manner, upon Holy dayes, ſome for love of the freſh ayre, ſome to avoyd idleneſſe, ſome other for paſtime, pleaſure, and gamings ſake, flocked out of the towne towards Cullen wood upon Munday in Eaſter weeke. The *Birnnes* and *Tooles*, (the mountaine enemies) like Wolves lay in ambuſh for them, and upon eſpiall finding them unarmed, fell upon thē, & ſlue ſome 300. perſons, beſides women & children, which they led in their hands, although ſhortly after, the towne was upon the report thereof, eſtſoones peopled againe by Briſtolians; yet that diſmall day is yeerely remembred, and ſolemnly obſerved by the Maior, Sheriffes, and Citizens, with feaſt and banquet, and pitching up of tents in that place in moſt brave ſort, daring the enemy upon his perill, not to bee ſo hardy, as once to approach neere their feaſting campe; and whereas the Iriſh heretofore accounted Tueſday their fatall and infortunate day, (for Lymric was twice wonne, Wexford yeelded up, Waterford was beſieged, and Dublin was ſacked upon a Tueſday) now they have Munday in memory, making difference of dayes, not fitting the minde of the Apoſtle, which forbade the ſuperſtitions or vaine obſervations of daies, &c. *Gal.* 4.

Anno 1211, (or ſomewhat before) the Monaſtery of Grenard was founded by *Richard Tute*, who ſhortly after miſcarried at Athlone, by the fall of a Turret, and was buried in the ſame Monaſtery. About the ſame time, in the yeere 1209. the Monaſtery of Forte was founded by *Walter Lacy*, Lord of Meth.

King *Iohn* in Ireland.

Anno 1210. and the twelfth yeere of his raigne, King *Iohn* came into Ireland, and landed at Waterford with an huge army, marvellous well appointed to pacifie that rebellious people, that were univerſally revolted, burning, ſpoyling, preying, and maſſacring the Engliſh

Engliſh. *Fabian* and *Graffton* alleage the cauſe that moved the Iriſhmen to this rebellion, to have been for that the King endevord to lay grievous taxes upon them towards his aide in the warres againſt the French King, which they could not brooke, and therefore roſe in armes againſt their Soveraigne. When hee came to Dublin the whole Countrey fearing his puiſſance, craved peace and flocked unto him along the ſea coſt, the Champian Countries and remote places receiving an oath to bee true and faithfull unto him. There were 20. (*Reguli*) of the chiefeſt rulers within Ireland, which came to the King to Dublin, and there did him homage and fealty, as appertained. *Harding* nameth them Lord *O Neale*, and many more. *Walſingham* remembreth *Catelus* King of Conaght, it forceth it not though they miſſe the right names of place and perſon; it is a fault in manner common to all foraigne writers.

After this hee marched forwards into the land, and tooke into his hands, divers Fortreſſes, and ſtrong Holds of his enemies, that fled before him, for feare to be apprehended; as *William le Bruſe*, *Mathilda* his wife, *William* their ſonne with their traine, of whom I ſpake before; alſo *Walter de Lacy* Lord of Meath, and *Hugh de Lacy* Earle of Vlſter, and Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, fearing his preſence, fled into France; their exaction, oppreſſion and tyranny was intolerable. Likewiſe they doubted how to anſwer the death of Sir *Iohn de Courcy* Lord of Ratheny and Kilbarrock within 5. miles of Dublin, whom they had murthered, of eſpeciall malice and deadly hatred.

Firſt, for that he was of the houſe of Sir *Iohn de Courcy*, Earle of Vlſter, (whom the *Lacies* alwaies maligned.)

Secondly, for that he had made grievous complaints of them in England to King *Iohn*, the tryall whereof they could not abide. Vpon the ſight of the *Lacies*, King *Iohn* made *Iohn Gray* Biſhop of Norwich his deputy. Of theſe *Lacies* it is further remembred in the Booke of *Houth*, and other antiquities; how that in France they obſcured themſelves, in the Abbey of S. *Taurin*, and gave themſelves to manuall labour, as digging, delving, gardening, planting, and greffing for daily wages, the ſpace of 2. or 3. yeares; the Abbot was well pleaſed with their ſervice, and upon a day (whether it were by reaſon of ſome inkling or ſecret intelligence given him, or otherwiſe) demaunded of them of what birth and parentage they were, and what Country they came from; when they had acquainted him with the whole, hee bemoned their caſe, and undertooke to become a ſuiter unto the King for them; in a word hee obtained the Kings favour for them thus farre, that they were put to their fyne, and reſtored to their fromer poſſeſſions; ſo that *Walter de Lacy* paid for the Lordſhip of Meath 2500. Markes, and *Hugh* his brother, for Vlſter and Conaght a greater ſumme.

Iohn Graye B. of Norwich L. Deputy.

Hugh

Hugh de Lacy, in remembrance of this kindneſſe which the Abbot ſhewed them, tooke his nephew, his brothers ſonne with them into Ireland, one *Alured*, whom he Knighted and made Lord of the Dengle. The Monkes alſo, which out of that Monaſtery hee had brought with him into Ireland, hee honoured greatly, and gave them entertainment in Four, the which *Walter De Lacy* had formerly builded.

King *Iohn* having pacified the land, ordained that the Engliſh Lawes ſhould bee uſed in Ireland, appointed 12. Engliſh ſhires with Sheriffes and other Officers, to rule the ſame, according unto the Engliſh Ordinances; hee reformed the Coine and made it uniforme, (ſome ſay it was *Gray* his Deputy) of like weight and finenes, and made it currant as well in England as in Ireland.

When hee had diſpoſed of his affaires, and ordred all things at his pleaſure, he tooke the ſea againe, with much triumph, and landed in England the 30. day of *Auguſt*.

Anno 1213. When the French King by inſtigation of *Innocentius* 3. Biſhop of Rome, prepared to invade England: King *Iohn* eftſoone underſtanding thereof, made proviſion accordingly to anſwer his enterpriſe, and among others (the cauſe why the ſtory is here inſerted) *Holinſhed* writeth how that to his aid the Biſhop of Norwich, the Kings Deputy of Ireland, levied an Army of 300. foot well appointed, beſide horſemen which arrived in England to the encouragement of the whole Campe. And as the French was fruſtrate of his purpoſe, ſo they ſhortly returned with great joy to their native Country.

Caſtle of Dublin builded.

In the ſame yeere, *Viz.* 1213. *Iohn Comin* Archbiſhop of Dublin departed this life, and was buried in the Quire of Chriſt-Church, whom *Henry Loudres* ſucceeded in the dayes of this King *Iohn*. This *Henry* builded the Caſtle of Dublin, and was made Lord Iuſtice of Ireland. His tenants nic-named him *Schorchbill* or *Schorcvillen* upon this occaſion;

Schorchbill.

Hee being peaceably ſtalled in his Biſhopprike, ſummoned all his tennants and farmers at a certain day appointed, to make their perſonall appearance before him, and to bring with them ſuch evidences and writings as they enjoyed their holds by; the tenants of the day appointed, appeared, ſhewed their evidences to their Landlord, miſtruſting nothing; hee had no ſooner received them, but afore their faces, upon a ſuddain caſt them all into a fire, ſecretly provided for the purpoſe; this fact amazed ſome that they became ſilent, moved others to a ſtirring choller and furious rage, that they regarded neither place nor perſon, but brake into irreverent ſpeeches: *Thou an Archbiſhop, nay, thou art a Schorcvillen*, an other drew his weapon and ſaid, *as good for me kill as be killed; for when my evidences are burned, and my living taken away from me, I am killed.* The Biſhop ſeeing

being thus tumult, and the imminent danger, whipt out at a backe doore: His Chaplains, Regiſters, and Summoners, were well knockt, and ſome of them left for dead. They threatned to fire the houſe over the Biſhops head; ſome meane was made for the preſent time to pacifie their outrage, with faire promiſes, that all hereafter ſhould be to their owne content: upon this they departed, the intent of the promiſes I cannot learne, otherſome inveigh againſt it; but in fine, complaint thereof being made to *Henry* 3. the King thought ſo hardly of the courſe, that he removed him from his Iuſticeſhip, and placed in his roome, *Maurice Fitz Girald*, of whom hereafter. This *Loudred* was buried in Chriſt Church.

Maurice Fitz Girald Lord Iuſtice.

In the ſame yeere alſo King *Iohn* being mightily diſtreſſed through the practiſes of hir Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Monkes, Prieſts of his dominions, and the Barons of his Kingdome revolting, and the inward hatred of the French King, with forraigne powers intending an open invaſion, was driven, to prevent further miſchiefe, as I finde in *Polychronicon*, to ſurrender his Crowne from his head, and to ſubject his Kingdomes of England and Ireland, tributarie to the See of Rome, and as his client, vaſſall and feodarie to that See, to hold them of *Innocentius* the Biſhop: againe, England being interdicted, and Ireland likewiſe, were after releaſed upon agreement, compoſition, and Charter, and homage, as in the Chronicle of England more at large appeareth.

The death of King *Iohn*, and the manner of it, I referre to the Engliſh Chronicles. After his deceaſe, *Henry* the third, his eldeſt ſonne, aged about nine yeeres, began his raigne, *Anno* 1216.

Anno 1220. and the fourth yeere of *Henry* the third, ſo writeth *Clyn*, *Dowling*, and *Grace*; together with the Engliſh Antiquities, in their Iriſh collections; all Meth was wonderfully afflicted and waſted by reaſon of the priuate quarrels and civill warres betweene *William* Earle Marſhall, Earle of Penbroke, &c. and Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, Earle of Vlſter, and Lord of Connaght. Trimme was beſieged, and brought to a lamentable plight, and when the rage and furie of thoſe garboiles was ſomewhat mitigated and appeaſed, after the ſhedding of much bloud, the ſame yeere to prevent afterclaps, and ſubſequent calamities, the Caſtle of Trim was builded.

About this time, certaine worthy perſons of great fame and renowne, to wit, *Henry Loudreds*, *Roger Peppard*, and *William Peppard*, Lords ſucceſſively, *de ſalto Salmonis*, and *Meiler Fitz Henry*, one of the firſt Conquerours, paid nature her due, ſinne her debt, and ended their daies.

It appeareth in *Stanihurſt*, that the ſame yeere that *Henry Loudreds* died, *viz.* 1220. the Caſtle of Dublin was builded: I meane the walles foure ſquare, or quadrangle wiſe, but the foure Turrets and the other afterwards. Sir *Henry Sidney* is ſaid to have builded the in-

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ner lodgings, in whoſe eternall commendation, I finde in the ſaid *Stanihurſt*, theſe verſes.

Geſta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,
Laudis & in chartis ſtigmata fixa manent:
Verum Sidnæi laudes hæc ſaxa loquuntur,
Nec jacet in ſolis gloria tanta libris.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
Si pereant homines ligna manere queant;
Lignaque ſi pereant, non ergo ſaxa peribunt,
Saxaque ſi pereant tempore, tempus erit,
Si pereat tempus, minimè conſumitur ævum,
Quod cum principio, ſed ſine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dum vivere poſſunt,
Dum quoque cum lignis ſaxa manere valent,
Dum remanet tempus; dum denique remanet ævum,
Laus tua Sydnæi, digna perire nequit.

Anno 1224. *Abbatia de Albo tractu* was founded. By generall conſent of Antiquaries, after the death of *Henry Loudres*, ſpoken of before. *Maurice Fitz Gerald* was by *Henry* the third, made Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, and afterwards fell in the Kings diſpleaſure, and was removed, but the yeeres they agree not upon, wherein I finde great diſcord.

The Engliſh Chronicle of Ireland delivereth that hee was made Lord Iuſtice *Anno* 1228. *Florilegus* and *Holinſhed* write, that he was removed from his Iuſticeſhip, *Anno* 1245. and *John Fitz Ieffery* ſubſtituted in his roome. *Mathew Paris* writeth that hee was removed, *Anno* 1248 but howſoever they have miſtaken the yeeres, or whether the fault of the Printer crept in, it forceth not; I am to deliver to the reader, the truth of the hiſtory, and the moſt worthy ſervice of this Noble man, with the yeeres and the time as neere as I can.

Anno 1229. in the raigne of *Henry* the third, *Maurice Fitz Girald* being Lord Iuſtice, (*Mathew Paris* and *Holinſhed* write the ſtorie) one *Stephen Chapplen*, and Nuntio to Pope *Gregory*, came to King *Henry* with the Popes Apoſtolike Mandates and procuration letters, requiring of ſpirituall & temporall throughout England, Ireland, and Wales, the tenth of all their moveables, to the maintenance of his warres againſt *Fredericke* the Emperour. At the day and place appointed when the King and his Lords ſpirituall and temporall met together, and the Nuntio had read his letters, the King was ſilent, & reputed (ſaith mine Author) as conſenting thereto; the Earles and Barons (ſaith *Paris*) & all the Laytie ſaid flatly, that they would give the Pope no tenths, neither ſubject their Baronies and locall poſſeſſions to the Church of Rome; the Clergie after three or foure dayes

dayes deliberation, fearing the thunderbolts of excommunication, with grudging and murmurs, and many a bitter curſe, yeelded; yet *Ranulphus*, Earle of Cheſter, alone, ſtood ſtoutly in the cauſe, and would not permit the Clergie of his country to become in bondage, neither to contribute the ſaid tenths, though England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were compelled to pay. Ireland ſent likewiſe after their money, Iriſh curſes, for they were driven at the worſt hand to ſell unto the mercileſſe Merchants, their Cowes, Hackneyes, Caddoes, and Aqua vitæ, to make preſent payment, and were driven in that extremitie, to pawne and ſell their Cups, Chalices, Copes, Altar-clothes and veſtments.

Anno 1230. (as I finde recorded in the booke of *Houth*) *Hubertus de Burgo* was Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, as I gather, in the abſence of *Maurice Fitz Girald*, to whom the King gave the land ..... and Connaught, and made him Earle of Connaught, and ſhortly after, *ob probitatem & fidelitatem ex imiam*, ſo I reade in *Ypodigma Neuſtria*, being called into England for his uprightneſſe and ſingular fidelity, was made governour of the King, Lord Iuſtice of England, and Earle of Kent, by the conſent of all the Peeres of the Realme; afterwards as the courſe of this world wheeles about, hee fell into the Kings diſpleaſure, ſo that he called him old traytor, (and in his rage would have runne him thorow with his ſword, had not the Earle of Cheſter and others runne betweene) for that (ſaith *Stow*) hee had taken five thouſand markes of the Queene of France, to hinder his purpoſe; to avoyd the Kings diſpleaſure, this *Hubert* fled to the Chappell of Brandwood in Eſſex, where he was taken, and by commandement of the King, ſent to the Tower of London; all his friends forſooke him, none anſwered for him but the Archbiſhop of Dublin; wherein we may behold as in a Glaſſe, the diſpoſition of feyned friends in former ages, who in the Spring of a mans felicity, like Swallowes, will flye about him, but when the winter of adverſitie nippeth, like Snailes they keepe within their ſhels: at length this *Hubert* was ſomewhat reconciled to the Kings favour, that he was inlarged, yet baniſhed the Court: laſtly, he ended his miſeries at his Mannor houſe of Banſted in Surry, and was buried at the Church of the Fryers Preachers at London, which was then in Holborne; unto the which Church he gave his noble Palace at Weſtminſter, the which afterwards *Walter Grey* the Archbiſhop of Yorke bought of them, and made it his Inne, ſince commonly called Yorke Houſe, but now White-Hall. So farre *Stow*, *Holinſhed*, and others.

The yeere aforeſaid, I finde one *Ieffery March*, *alias Mauriſh*, (ſo *Holinſhed* calleth him) in *Mathew Paris*, *Galfridus de Mariſco*, to have beene Lord Iuſtice of Ireland: ſo it may be in the abſence of *Maurice Fitz Girald*, who made three journeys to King *Henry* the third; one with great power out of Ireland to ayde him beyond the ſeas; ſecondly,

ſecondly, to cleare himſelfe of the death of *Richard Marſhall* Earle of Pembrook: laſtly, with Iriſh forces againſt the Welſhmen. *Mat. Paris* and *Holinſhed*, make report of his good ſervice; How that when an Iriſh petit King in Conaght, underſtanding that both the King of England, and the Earle *Marſhall* and *Maurice Fitz Gerald* were gone over into France, and ſo Ireland left without any great aide of men of warre, on the Engliſh part, raiſed a mighty Army, and with the ſame entred into the Marches and borders of the Engliſh dominion, ſpoiling and burning the Country before him. And how that *Ieffray de Mauriſco* then Lord Iuſtice, being thereof advertized; called to him *Walter de Lacy*, Lord of Meth, and *Richard de Burgh*, aſſembling therewithall an hugh Army, the which he divided into three parts, appointing the ſaid *Walter de Lacy* and *Richard de Burgh* with the two firſt parts, to lye in ambuſh within ceraitn Woods, through the which he purpoſed to draw the enemies. And marching forth with the third, which he reſerved to his owne government, he profered battaile to the Iriſhmen, the which when they ſaw but one battaile of the Engliſhmen, boldly affaid the ſame.

The Engliſhmen according to the order appointed, faining as though they had fled and ſo retired ſtill backe, till they had trained the Iriſh within danger of their other two battailes which comming forth upon them, did ſet on them eagerly; whileſt the other which ſeemed before to fly, returned back againe, and ſet upon them in like manner; by meanes whereof, the Iriſh men being in the midſt were beaten downe: if they ſtood to it, they were before and behind ſlaine; if any offered to fly hee was overtaken, thus in all parts they were utterly vainquiſhed, with the loſſe of 20000. Iriſh, and the King of Conaght taken and committed to priſon. This Noble *Ieffray de Mariſco* (of whom *Holinſhed* writeth) a man ſome time in great honour and poſſeſſions in Ireland, fell into the diſpleaſure of the King, was baniſhed; who after he had remained long in exile, ſuffred great miſerie, ended the ſame by naturall death: Thus the unſtable Wheele goeth round about: and *yet I may not ſo leave it hee had a ſonne called* William de Mauriſco, *who together with the father (the Iuſtice of God requiring the ſame) came to moſt ſhamefull ends:* Matthew *the Munke of Weſtminſter and* Matthew Paris *the Munke of Saint Albones, doe write the Story: While the King was beyond ſeas, a certain noble man of Iriſh birth to wit* Willielmus de Mauriſco, *an exiled and baniſhed man, the ſonne of* Ieffray de Mauriſco, *for ſome hainous offence laid to his charge, kept himſelfe in the Iſle of Lundy, not farre from Briſtall, preying, robbing and ſtealing, as a notorious Pirate; at length being apprehended, together with 17. of his confederacy, and by the Kings commandement adjudged to cruell death; he was drawne at London with his confederats, at horſe tailes to the Gibbet, and there hanged and quartered: His father one of the mightieſt men of Ireland,*

Ireland, by name Galfridus de Mauriſco, *hearing thereof, fled into Scotland, and ſcarce there could hee lye ſafe; who pinnig away with grief and ſorrow, ſoone after ended a miſerable life, with wiſhed death; againe after in another place he writeth,* Galfridus de Mauriſco *reckened amongſt the moſt Noble of Ireland, an exile and a baniſhed man, died pitifully, yet not to be pitied; whom being baniſhed Ireland, expulſed out of Scotland and fled out of England, France received for a begger, where hee ended an unfortunate life, after the moſt ſhamefull death of his ſonne* Willielmus de Mauriſco.

Theſe things therefore I deliver more at large unto the hearers, that every man may wey with himſelfe, what end is alloted unto treaſon, and eſpecially being committed againſt the ſacred perſon of a Prince: His father againſt Richard *Earle and Marſhall in Ireland, and his ſon* William *againſt the King, unadviſedly and unfortunatly adventured to practice miſchiefe.*

Paris addeth the name of this *William* was very odious unto the King, for ſo much it was reported, that through the councell of *Ieffray* his father, he had conſpired the death of the King, and that he had traitorouſly ſent that varlet, which came in the night ſeaſon, to Woodſtock to ſlay the King, and laſt of all, that hee had killed at London in preſence of the King; one *Clemens*, a Clerk, meſſenger of ſome Noble man of Ireland, that came to informe the King againſt him.

About this ſame time, floriſhed a Learned man of Iriſh birth, one *Cornelius Hiſtoricus*, ſo called, becauſe hee was an exquiſit antiquary Bale: and *Stanihurſt* have briefly written his life and his commandations out of *Hector Boetius*, who was greatly furthered by this *Cornelius*, to the perfecting of the Scotiſh Hiſtory, hee wrote as they ſay:

Multarum rerum Cronicon. lib. 1.

About this time, *Viz. Anno* 1230. there roſe a doubt in Ireland, ſo that they ſent to England to be therein reſolved: the King, by his learned Councell anſwered as followeth.

Henry by the grace of God, &c. King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Guian, &c. Truſty and welbeloved Gerald Fitz Maurice *Iuſticer of Ireland, greeting; Whereas certien Knights of the parties of Ireland lately informed us; that when any land doth diſcend unto ſiſters, within our dominion of Ireland, the Iuſtices errant in thoſe parties are in doubt, whether the younger ſiſter ought to hold of the eldeſt ſiſter, and doe homage unto her or not. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Knights have made inſtance, to bee certified how it had beene uſed before within our Realme of England in like caſe; at their inſtance we doe you wit, that ſuch a Law and Cuſtome is in England in this caſe, that if any holding of us in chief, happen to die, having daughters to his heires our anceſtors, and we after the death of the father, have*

alway had and received homage of all the daughters, and every of them in this case did hold of us in chiefe. And if they happned to be within age, we have alway had the ward and marriage of them, and if hee bee tennant to another Lord, the sisters being within age, the Lord shall have the ward and manage of them all, and the eldest onely shall doe homage for herselfe, and all her sisters, and when the other sisters come to full age, they shall doe their service to the Lord of the fee, by the hands of the eldest sister; yet shall not the eldest by this occasion, exact of her younger sisters homage, ward, or any other subjection; for when they be all sisters, and in manner, as one heire to one inheritance: if the eldest should have homage of the other sister, or demaund ward, then the inheritance should seeme to be divided so, that the eldest sister should seeme to be segnioresse and tennant of inheritance, simul & semel, that is to say, heire of her owne part, and segnioresse to her sisters, which could not stand well together in this case, for the eldest can demaund no more then her sisters; but the chiefe wease by reason of her auncienty. Moreover, if the eldest sister should take homage of the yonger, she should be as a segnioresse to them all, and should have the ward of them and their heires, which should be none other, but but to cast the Lambe to the Wolfe to be devoured.

And therefore wee command you that you cause the aforesaid customes that bee used within our Realme of England, in this case to bee proclaimed throughout our dominions of Ireland, and to be straightly kept and observed, in testimony whereof, &c. I witnesse my selfe at Westminster, the ninth of February, the thirteeneth yeere of our Raigne.

Anno 1233. or as some will have it, 1234. the 7. of *Aprill*, there appeared as it were foure Sunnes, besides the naturall Sunne, of a red colour, and a great Circle of Christall colour; from the sides whereof went out halfe Circles; in the divisions whereof, the foure Sunnes went forth. There followed that yeere great warre and cruell bloodshed, & general great disturbance throughout England, Wales, and Ireland, so write *Matthew Paris* and *Stow*.

This troublesome yeere died *Gualter Lacy* Lord of Meath, leaving behind him two daughters, coheires to inherit his possession (to wit) *Margret* that was maried to the Lord *Theobald Verdon* and *Mathilda* married to *Ieffray Genevile*.

Amids these troubles in the flourishing daies of *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, *Hubert de Burgo*, *Ieffray de Morisco*, and *Gualter de Lacy*, whose ends followed according: The Noble Earle *Richard Maxfield* Lord Maxfield, Earle Marshall of England, spoken of before, and being by them maligned, was traitorously cut off by sundry devilish draughts. *Matthew Paris* wrot the Story at large, laid downe their practise on both the sides of the seas, their forged letters; and secretly as it were by stealth, fixing thereto the Kings seale: Hee calleth

leth them traitors, Iudasses; and *Ieffery de Morisco* he termeth *Achitophell* that gave wicked counsell. *Hubert* had a lamentable end, *Ieffery* dyed in misery, *Lacy* was shortly cut off, and *Maurice Fitz Girald* was with dishonour removed from his Iusticeship. This *Maurice* of the King desired to bee reconciled to *Gilbert Marshall* his brother, whom he greatly feared, and offered in satisfaction to build with all speed, a noble Monastery, and to endow the same with large possessions, and to furnish it with a reverent covent, to pray for the soule of *Richard Marshall*: at length with much adoe, and importunate intreaty of the King and Nobility of England, *Gilbert Marshall* granted him peace; but of Earle *Richards* end I have spoken somewhat before.

About the yeere 1233. or 34. *Hugh Mapleton*, Bishop of Osforie, whose Episcopall see was then at Achboo, in upper Osforie, began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, now standing in the Irish towne of Kilkenny, in the honour of God and Saint *Canicus*, (of whom the towne of Kilkenny hath the name) and is reckoned the first founder. Hee ordained three Canons for the service, hee gave them divers Churches and tithes for their maintenance, as in the foundation of those Chanons more at large doth appeare. He builded the Bishops Court of Aghor, adding thereto fish-ponds, fishings, and other necessaries. Such good men lived in those dayes.

At the same time came the King of Connaught, exhibiting a grievous complaint unto *Henry* the third (saith *Mathew Paris*) against *Iohn de Burgo*, the sonne, as I suppose, of *Hubert de Burgo* before spoken of; that he had entred his country with forces, and wasted the same with fire and sword, that it would please his Majestie to doe him justice, and command such rash attempts to be bridled, alledging that he was his loyall subject, and paid for his kingdome, an annuall pension, mounting to the summe of 5000. marks, ever since King *Iohn* had subdued his kingdome, and that he would rid him of that base upstart, or new commer which sought unjustly to disherit him. The King tendred his reasonable requests, and commanded *Maurice Fitz Girald* then present, to plucke up by the roote, the fruitlesse Plant, the which *Hubert* Earle of Kent had sometime planted in those parts, while he was in Ruffe, that it might budde no more. Hee wrote also unto the Nobilitie of Ireland, that they should banish the said *Iohn de Burgo*, and peaceably establish the King in his kingdome, who with these princely favours, joyfully returned into his country.

Anno 1235. (saith *Cooper*) the Irish men rebelled; so hee left it, and so I leave it too.

Anno 1236. *Mathew Paris* doth write that in the North parts not farre from the Abbey of Rochor Rupie, and also in Ireland, and the parts there abouts more apparantly, strange and wonderfull sights were seene, which amazed the beholders: to wit, there appeared

comming forth of the earth, companies of armed men on horſeback, with Speare, Shield, Sword, and banners diſplaid in ſundry formes and ſhapes, riding in battaile array, and encountring together; and this fight appeared ſundry dayes each after other; ſometimes they ſeemed to joyne as it had beene in battaile, and fought ſore; and ſometimes they ſeemed to juſt and breake ſtaves, as if it had beene at ſome triumphant juſts of torny. The people of the country beheld them a farre off with great wonder, for the skirmiſh ſhewed it ſelfe ſo lively, that now and then they might ſee them come with their empty horſes, ſore wounded and hurt, and likewiſe men mangled and bleeding; A pittifull fight to behold, and that which ſeemed more ſtrange, and moſt to be mervailed at, after they vaniſhed away, the prints of their feet appeared in the ground, and the graſſe trodden in thoſe places where they had beene ſeene.

Petrus de Supino & Petrus Rubeus, Pope *Gregories* agents in Ireland and Scotland, were rifled of all they had by the Emperour.

Anno 1240. *Petrus de Supino* came from Pope *Gregory* into Ireland, with an authenticke papall mandate, requiring under paine of Excommunication, and other cenſures eccleſiaſticall the twentieth part part of the whole land, beſides donatives and private gratuities to the maintenance of his warres againſt *Fredericke* the Emperour, where he extorted, ſaith *Mathew Paris*, a thouſand and five hundred markes, and above, ſaith *Florilegus*; at which time alſo one *Petrus Pubeus*, intitled the Popes Familiar, and kinſman, and both baſtards, ſaith *Bale*, filled in like ſort his fardles in Scotland. Theſe Nuntioes were ſo crafty, that they needed no Brokers, they ſecretly underſtood by Poſts and Curſitors, the ſtate of the Court of Rome, which quailed them full ſore, that the Pope was either gone, or panted for life; ſecretly by the conduct of the Monkes of Canterbury, they were conveyed to Dover, where they tooke ſhipping, and croſſed the ſeas. The Emperour *Fredericke*, againſt whom this proviſion was made, having intelligence thereof, and ſecretly acquainted with the Popes ſtate, wrote to the King of England to apprehend ſuch prollers, wherein he alſo reproved his cowardize. The Emperour when he underſtood that the birds were flowne away, made ſearch for the neaſt, yet overtooke them in Italy; where, to be ſhort, hee impriſoned them, their kindred and favourers rifled them of their money, and ſent them to Rome to ſing for more money: he that will reade the ſtory more at large, let him repaire to *Mathew Paris*:

Andelmus, Primate of Armagh.

The ſame yeere, ſaith *Mathew Paris*, *Andelmus* borne in Cullen, a man highly commended for life and learning, was by the Biſhop of Worceſter, ſolemnly conſecrated at Weſtminſter, Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, in the preſence of the King, the Legate, and many reverend Prelates.

The Caſtle of Sligoe builded *Girald Fitz Maurice Ricardus de Burgo* in Gaſcoigne.

Anno 1242. *Maurice Fitz Girald*, Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, builded the Caſtle of Sligoe.

Anno 1243. *Clun* and *Dowlinge* write, that *Giraldus Fitz Maurice*,

rice, *Richardus de Burgo*, and *Hugh de Lacy*, Earle of Vlſter in Ireland, ended the way of all fleſh, and was buried at Carechfergus. *Mathew Paris* giveth *Lacy* great commendations, that he was a moſt renowned warriour, and a valiant Conquerour of a great part of Ireland. This *Lacy* left behinde him one daughter and heire, whom *Walter de Burgo* married, and in her right, became Earle of Vlſter: of *Richardus de Burgo*, *Mathew Paris* writeth he had great poſſeſſions and lands in Ireland, by the conqueſt of his moſt Noble father.

Anno 1245. *Florilegus*, *Powell* (out of *Gittin Owen*) and *Holinſhed*, doe write how that the Welch men rebelled againſt the King, and his forces being foyled by *David ap Llewelin* Prince of Wales, hee ſent into Ireland to *Maurice* for ayde, and was in winter time mightily diſtreſſed, the which I finde by *Powell* recorded and written by a Noble man out of the campe unto his friends.

The King with his army lyeth at Gannocke, fortifying of that ſtrong Caſtle, and we live in our Tents, thereby watching, faſting, praying, and freezing with cold; wee watch for feare of the Welch men, who are wont to invade and come upon us in the night time; we faſt for want of meate, for the halfe penny loafe is worth five pence; we pray to God to ſend us home ſpeedily; we ſtarve for cold, wanting our winter garments, and having no more but a thinne linnen cloath betweene us and the winde; there is an arme of the ſeas under the Caſtle where we lye, whereto the tyde commeth, and many ſhippes come up to the haven, which bring victuals to the Campe, from Ireland and Cheſter. The King all this while expected the arrivall of *Maurice Fitz Girald*, with his Iriſh forces, muſed with himſelfe, fretted with himſelfe, the winde ſerving, and yet ſaid nothing; at length the Iriſh ſayles are diſcryd, a ſhore they came, and *Maurice Fitz Girald*, (together with *Phelina*, *Oconor*) *Oconoghor*, ſaith another in battaile array, preſent themſelves before the King at Chepſtow, ſay the Iriſh Chroniclers, but the Britiſh Chroniclers coppied out of the Abbies of *Conwey* and *Stratflur*, by *Owen Gittine*, deliver they landed at the Ile of Man or Angleſey, the which in mine opinion ſeemeth to be moſt likely to be true. For *David ap Llewelin* was Prince of North-Wales, and there kept his forces, & Chepſtow is in South-Wales; and beſides, it is agreed upon of all ſides, that the Iriſh landing, ſpoyled the Ile of Angleſey, laded themſelves with ſpoyles, and going to their ſhips, were driven to runne and leave all behinde; but to be ſhort, when all the forces joyned together, the Welch men were overthrowne; the King manned and victualled his Caſtles, returned into England, gave the Iriſh men leave to returne, winking a while in policie at the tarriance and ſlow comming of *Maurice Fitz Girald*: when *Maurice Fitz Girald*, Lord Iuſtice arrived in Ireland, he found *O Donell* the Iriſh enemy, upon the death of *Hugh Lacy*, in Armes, invading and ſore annoying the Kings ſubjects in Vlſter, and

called unto him *Cormake Mac Dermot Mac Dory*, with great forces, and entred Tireconell, preyed, burned, and ſpoyled, and vanquiſhed the enemy; there he ſlue *Moyleſlaghlon O Donell*, called King of Keyvayle, together with *Gille Canvinelagh*, *Obugill*, and *Mac Surley*, called King of Oyriſgall, with divers others, gentlemen of thoſe parts: in like ſort many Engliſh men were caſt away in the river, whoſe paſſage *O Donell* ſtopped, and ſlue there *William Butt*, high Sheriffe of Connaught, together with a valiant young Gentleman his brother. When the Lord Iuſtice had thus atchieved his purpoſe, hee manned and victualled the Caſtle of Sligo, tooke pledges of *O Neale* to keepe the Kings peace, and left them in the ſaid Caſtle, gave *Cormake Dermot Mac Dory* that came to his aide, the moytie of Connaught, and returned with a great prey.

John Fitz Ieffery Lord Iuſtice, Anno 1245.

When this noble ſervice was performed, the King diſgorged himſelfe, and what inwardly he had conceived, and for a while conceived againſt the Lord Iuſtice, he then in writing delivered, and removed *Maurice Fitz Girald* out of his Iuſticeſhip, and placed in his roome, *Iohn Fitz Ieffery de Moriſco*, the which the Iriſh Chroniclers have ſuppreſſed, yet *Florilegus* and *Holinſhed* doe write, *Mauritium Hiberniæ Iuſtitiariũ eo quod fictè & tardè auxilium ab hibernia domino Regi duxerat periclitanti a Iuſtitiaria Depoſuit.*

This *Maurice* departed out of this world, *Anno Dom.* 1256. was buried ſaith *Clyn* in the habit of the Fryers Minors at Yough-halle, the which *Morice* had founded, of whom *Mathew Paris* ſaith thus; he was a valiant Knight, a very pleaſant man, inferiour to none in Ireland, who ſometime ſwayed the land when hee had the ſword of Iuſticeſhip; this man lived with commendations all the dayes of his life, but peradventure falſly reported of, and ſtained in the end with the death of *Richard*, Earle Marſhall.

Anno 1247. after that *Henry* the third, and the Clergie of England and Ireland found themſelves mightily grieved at the Popes exactions and intollerable extortions in England, Wales, and Ireland, and had ſignified the ſame in writing to the Court of Rome; whereupon ſaith *Florilegus*, the Court of Rome fretted and ſorrowed, that their avarice was as well reproved, as reſtrained. *Innocentius* 4. deviſed in his conceit, a milder courſe to be held, that in ſtead of a greater ſumme, they ſhould give him at that time out of thoſe dominions, to ſupply his wants, but eleven thouſand markes. Then ſaith *Florilegus*, Maſter *Iohannes Ruſus* was ſent into Ireland, furniſhed with authority, diligently to collect the Popes money, as a Legate, yet not clad in ſcarlet, leſt the Pope ſhould offend the King of England, who hath this priviledge, that no Legate ſet foot on his land, unleſſe hee be ſent for, or licenced; but the ſaid *Iohn* being a ſophiſticall Legate, vigilantly plying the papall mandate, and his owne private gaine, extorted out of Ireland, about ſixe thouſand markes; the which by the conduite

conduite of the Clergie, was tranſported and conveied to London, about the Feaſt of Saint *Michaell* the Archangell.

The ſame yeere, ſaith *Florilegus*, there was a marveilouſe and ſtrange Earthquake over England; but ſaith *Felcon*, over Ireland: And all the Weſt of the world, and there followed immediatly a continuall untemperature of the ayre, with a filthy ſkurfe; the Winter ſtormy cold and wet, which continued untill the 11. of *July*, and put the Gardeners, Fruterers, and Husbandmen void of all hope, in ſo much they complained that Winter was turned to Summer, and Summer to Winter, and that they were like to loſe all, and bee undone.

A great Earthquake.

Anno 1252. ſaith *Dowling* and *Grace*, and the Engliſh *Anonimus*, but *Clyn* and *Florilegus* write, that it was 1254. King *Henry* gave to Prince *Edward* his ſonne, Gaſcoigne, Ireland, Wales, Briſtow, Stanford and Grantham, and ſent him to *Alphonſus* King of Spaine, to take *Elionor* his ſiſter to wife, where hee was by the ſaid King Knighted, and returned together with his wife into England, with great riches.

Anno 1255. *Alanus de la Zouch*, was made Lord Iuſtice; ſo I finde in the Booke of *Houth*, after his departure out of Ireland, hee being a Lord Baron, and chiefe Iuſtice in England; *Florilegus*, *Humfrey Loid* and *Stow*, doe write the Story how hee came to his end; great ſtrife roſe in England, betweene certaine of the Nobility, about territories lands and titles, whereto each ſide made claime; the matters in controverſie, by direction from the King were decided in Weſtminſter Hall; the firſt Controverſie was betweene *Iohn* Earle of Surrey and Warren, and *Hugh de Lacy* Earle of Lincolne, which went upon *Lacy* his ſide. The ſecond was, betweene this Earle *Warren* and *Allan de la Zouch*, this *Zouch* being Chiefe Iuſtice asked Earle *Warren*, how he held his land, Earle *Warran* drew foorth his ſword and ſaid, by this mine Anceſtors held the ſame, and by this I preſently hold it, and with that ranne the Chiefe Iuſtice through in Weſtminſter Hall, and in his flight wounded alſo his ſonne; thence hee fled to his Caſtle at Riſgate, whome Prince *Edward* the Kings eldeſt ſonne purſued with an Army; to whom the Earle ſubmitted himſelfe, and afterwards with friends, and what with money pacified all.

Anno 1256. in the warres of *Lewelin* Prince of Wales, ſo I find in the records of *Conway* & *Stratflur* Copied by *Gettine Owen*. *Edward* Earle of Cheſter, fell to outrage one while againſt the King, another while againſt the Welſhmen; his Army was 1500. foot and 500. horſe. *Henry* the third together with *Richard* Earle of Cornewall, and King of Almane wrote unto him gently, wiſhing him to returne to his Country and keepe the peace, and not to provoke the Welſhmen to Armes; the which he refuſed to doe, but ſent to the Iriſh.

The Iriſh comming to aid Ed. Earle of Cheſter, were ſlaine and their ſhips ſuncke.

Iriſhmen for ſuccour and ſupplies. Prince *Edward* the Kings eldeſt ſonne, underſtanding thereof, rigged a Navy, met with the Iriſh fleet, killed their men and ſunck their ſhips, few onely remaining to returne, and to make report of this hard ſucceſſe in Ireland; In a while after, the King raiſed warres againſt *Lewellin* Prince of Wales, and the Welſhmen (ſaith *Paris*, *Cauſa autem eorum etiam hoſtibus eorum juſta videbatur*,) and was brought to a narrow ſtraight, ſo that he ſent to Ireland, and to Gaſcoigne for ſuccour; the Iriſhmen not forgetting their late overthrow, were loath to come (being of all ſides driven to ſerve) in the end came, and joyned with their Kings forces, where no memorable act was performed, for God, ſaith *Paris*, defended the poore people that put their whole confidence in him.

The life of *Joannes de Sacro Boſco*.

About this time, to wit, *Anno* 1256. Floriſhed *Iohannes De Sacro Boſco*; *Bale* out of *Leland*, will have him to be a Yorkeſhire man, and terme him *Iohn Holyſaxe*, *Stanihurſt* writeth he was borne in Ireland at Holy Wood, in Fingall, ſome 12. miles from Dublin, and therefore called *Iohannes De Sacro Boſco*, which carried great likly-hood with it, untill they are reconciled (which ſide prevaileth, I waigh not greatly) I thought good to inſert him, for ſo much as his great learning graced him unto the poſterity: In his ſpringing yeeres hee ſuckt the ſweet milk of good learning, in the famous Vniverſity of Oxford; afterwards he went to Paris, where he profeſſed the learned Sciences, with ſingular commendations, and there ſlumbreth in the duſt of the earth, whoſe exequies and funerals were there with great lamentations ſolemnized: firſt, hee followed *Ariſtotle*, afterwards gave himſelfe to the *Mathematikes*, and addicted himſelfe ſo much thereto, that none of the poſterity (as is thought) could follow him; hee wrote.

De Spæra Mundi-lib. 1. *Tractatum de ſpæra, quatuor.*
De Algoriſmo——lib. 1. *Omnia quæ a primeva rerum orig.*
De Anni Ratione--lib. 1. *Cmoputus ſcientiam conſiderans.*
Breviarium Iuris--lib. 1. *Verborum ſuperficie penitus.*

Vpon his Tombe together with the Mathematicall Aſtrolabe, was inſculped as followeth.

The Epitaph of *Johannes de Sacro Boſco*.

M. Chriſti bis. C. quarto deno quater anno,
De Sacro Boſco diſcrevit tempora ramus,
Gratia cui nomen dederat divina Iohannes.

Stepham Eſpee Lord Iuſtice of Ireland. The battell of Downe.

Anno 1258. *Stepham Eſpee, alias De longa ſpatha*, that is *Stepham* with the long ſkeine or two handed ſword, Earle of Salibury, as I ſuppoſe, was made Lord Iuſtice of Ireland; this *Stepham* gave battell unto

unto *Oneile*, and the rebels of Vlſter and Conaght, and ſlue of them together with *Oneile* (ſaith *Clinne*) in one day, three hundred fifty and two, and departed this life, ſaith *Florilegus*, 1260.

S. Willi. Denne Lord Iuſtice, *Anno* 1260.

Anno 1260. *William Denne* was made Lord Iuſtice, in whoſe time Greene Caſtle, *Arx Viridis* was deſtroyed, and the *Carties* plaied the Divells in Deſmond, where they burned, ſpoiled, preyed, and ſlue many an innocent; they became ſo ſtrong, and prevailed ſo mightily that for the ſpace (ſo it is reported) of twelue yeeres the Deſmonds durſt not put plow in ground in his owne Country; at length through the operation of Satan, a bane of diſcord was throwen betweene the *Carties* and the *Odriſcoles*: *Odonovaies Mac Donoch*, *Mac Mahonna*, *Mac Swines*, and the inhabittants of Muſcrie, in ſo much that by their cruell diſſention, they weakened themſelves of all ſides, that the Deſmond in the end overcame and overtopped them all; but in the beginning of theſe garboils, I find that the *Carties* ſlue of the *Deſmonds*, *Iohn Fitz Thomas* founder of the Monaſtery and Covent of Trally, together with *Maurice* his ſonne; eight Barons 15. Knights, beſide infinite others, at a place called Callan, where they were buried. Mine Authors are *Iohn Clinne* onely, and the Booke, of *Houth*. In the end of theſe tumults, dyed Sir *William Denny* Lord Iuſtice, *Anno* 1261. *Richardus de Capella*, otherwiſe called *Rochell* (*Clinne* calleth him *La Rochell de Capella*) became Lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

Richardus de Chappella Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, *Anno* 1261.

Anno 1262. There roſe in Dublin a great ſtirre betweene the Prior and Covent of the bleſſed Trinity now called Chriſt-Church, and the Communalty of the City, about the tithe fiſh of the Liffy.

Anno 1264. *Walter Bourke*, commonly called *Walterus de Burgo* (ſpoken of before) was made Earle of Vlſter, hee had married the daughter and heire of Sir *Hugh Delacy* the younger, and in her right enjoyed the Earledome.

The Booke of *Houth* layeth downe the deſcent, that this *Walter* by the ſaid heire of Vlſter had iſſue *Walter*, and hee had iſſue five daughters; 1. *Ellen* that married *Robert le Bruſe* King of Scotland; 2. *Elizabeth*, that married the Earle of Gloſter; 3. *Iohan*, that married *Thomas* Earle of Kildare; 4. *Katherine*, that married the Earle of Louth; 5. *Margaret*, that married the Earle of Deſmond; the 6. *Ellinor*, that married with the Lord *Multon*, notwithſtanding theſe honourable matches and amity concluded in the outward ſight of the world there roſe deadly warres between the *Giraldins* and *Burks*, which wrought blood ſheds, troubles by partaking throughout the Realme of Ireland; at the ſame time the fury of the *Giraldins* was ſo outragious, in ſo much that *Morice Fitz Maurice* the ſecond, Earle of Deſmond, oppoſed himſelfe againſt the ſword, and tooke at Triſſledermote now called Caſtle Dermocke; *Richard de Capella* the Lord

Lord Iuſtice, *Theobald le Butler* and *Iohn* or *Millis de Cogan*, and committed them to the priſons in Leix and Donamus; but the yeere following, *Henry* the third not pleaſed with theſe commotions and hurly burlies, by mature advice taken of his Councell, pacified the variance betweene them; diſcharged *Denny* of his Iuſticeſhip, and appointed *David Barry* Lord Iuſtice in his place:

David Barry Lord Iuſtice, *Anno* 1267.

Anno 1267. *David Barry* tooke, by the appointment of the King, the ſword of Iuſticeſhip and the command of Ireland, and quelled or tamed (ſaith the Engliſh Anonymos) the inſolent dealing of *Morice Fitz Maurice*, Couſin german to *Girald*.

The Fryers Preachers and Minors came to Ireland.

The ſame yeere, ſaith (*Iohn Clinne*) the Fryers Preachers firſt of all ſettled themſelves at Roſſe in Wexford, and the Minors at Kilkennie, and two yeeres after at Clonemell.

Maurice Fitz Girald Earle of Deſmond drowned.

Anno 1268. *Conechur Obrian* was ſlaine by *Dermot Mac Monard*; and the ſame yeere (ſaith *Felcon* and *Clinne*) *Maurice Fitz Gerald* Earle of Deſmond, was drowned croſſing the ſeas between England and Ireland, leaving behind him a ſonne and heire, of the age of 3. yeeres and a halfe.

Robert Vfford Lord Iuſtice, *Anno* 1268. The Caſtle of Roſcommon.

The ſame yeere, *Robert Vfford* became Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, and began to build the Caſtle of Roſcommon.

Ric. de Exeſter Lord Iuſtice, *Anno* 1269. *Othobone* the Popes Legat.

Anno 1269. *Richard de Exceſter* was made Lord Iuſtice, who dyed the ſame yeere, together with his wife *Margery de Say*; the ſame yeere (ſaith *Florilegus*) *Othobone* the Popes Legat, held a Councell at Paules in London, where he called before him the Clergy of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, and left among them certaine conſtitutions, which were afterward, commended by *Linwood*, and are at this day in requeſt, the which conſtitutions of *Otho* and *Othobon*, were afterwards confirmed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in *Ed.* 1. raigne. *Holinſhead.*

Iames L. Audley Lord Iuſtice, *Anno* 1270. The Iriſh rebels.

Anno 1270. The Lord *Iames Audley* was made Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, and dyed with the fall of a horſe; in his time *Florilegus* and *Holinſhead* note, there was great commotion in Ireland, the Iriſh tooke Armes againſt the Engliſh, burned, ſpoiled, deſtroied and ſlue as well the Magiſtrates as others. *Clinne* goeth more particularly to worke, and delivereth how that the King of Conaght by force of Armes, in the plaine field overthrew *Walter Burke* Earle of Vlſter, who hardly eſcaped with life, yet dyed the yeere following, and ſlue a great number of Nobles, and Knights, that held with the *Burk*, and among others, by eſpeciall name the Lord *Richard Verdon*, and the Lord *Iohn Verdon*, and that there enſued over all Ireland great famine and peſtilence, as the ſequell of warres.

About this time, ſay our Antiquaries, the Biſhop of Rome ſent to Ireland, requiring the tithes of all ſpirituall promotions for 3. yeeres to

to come to maintaine his warres againſt the King of Aragon, the which was greatly murmured at, and gainesaid, yet the Nuntio went not empty away.

Anno 1272. the moſt renowned King *Henry* the third, having lived 65. yeeres, and raigned 56. and 28: dayes, ended his dayes, and was buried at Weſtminſter. *Edward*, the firſt of that name, ſonne of King *Henry* the third, ſurnamed *Long ſhankes*, of the age of 35. yeers, began his raigne, *Anno* 1272.

Maurice Fitz Maurice, Lord Iuſtice, *Anno* 1272. called *Rochfallath.*

Anno 1272. and the firſt of *Edward* the firſt his raigne, *Maurice Fitz Maurice* was made Lord Iuſtice, in whoſe time the Iriſh brake out into cruell rebellion, raſed and deſtroyed the Caſtles of Aldleeke, Roſcommon, Scheligath and Randon; this *Maurice*, (ſaith *Clyn*) not long after was betrayed by his owne followers in Ophali, taken and impriſoned.

Walter Lord *Genevill*, Lord Iuſtice *Anno* 1273.

Anno 1273. the Lord *Walter Genvill* (who lately returned home from the Holy Land) was ſent into Ireland, and appointed Lord Iuſtice: in his time (ſo write *Dowlinge* and *Grace*) the Scots and Redſhankes out of the high land croſſed the ſeas, burned townes and villages, moſt cruelly killed man, woman and childe, tooke a great prey, and returned home afore the country could make preparation to purſue them: but in a while after, to bee revenged of them, Vlſter and Connaught muſtred a great Armie under the leading of *Richardus de Burgo*, and Sir *Euſtace le Poer* knight, made after them, entred the Iſlands, and high land of Scotland, ſlue as many as they could finde, burned their Cabbans and Cottages, and ſuch as dwelt in caves and rockes under ground (as the manner is to denne out Foxes) they fired and ſmothered to death, covering their entrances into the ground with great and huge ſtones, and ſo returned into Ireland.

Anno 1276. what time *Thomas Clare* came into Ireland, and married the daughter of *Maurice Fitz Maurice*. The Caſtle of Roſcommon was taken by the Iriſh, and a great overthrow given vnto the Engliſh men at Glynburry (Glandelory, ſaith *Clyn*) where *William Fitz Roger*, Prior of the Kings hoſpitallers, and many others, were taken priſoners, and a great number of others were ſlaine; at what time alſo *Ralph Pepard*, and *Otholand* gave *O Neale* a ſore battaile.

Robert Vfford Lord Iuſtice, *Anno* 1277.

Anno 1277. *Walter* Lord *Genuill* was ſent for into England, and *Robert Vfford* the ſecond time tooke the office of Iuſticeſhip; at this time *Muridath* or *Murtagh*, a notable rebell, was taken at the Noraght, by *Gualter de Fant*, and executed: *Thomas Clare* likewiſe in this

this rebellion, slue *Obryan Roe*, King of Thomond, and yet after this, the Irish drew such a draught, that they closed him up in Slew Banny, together with *Maurice Fitz Maurice* his father in law, and all their forces, untill they gave hostages to escape with their lives, upon condition to make satisfaction for the death of *O brian* and his followers, and in the meane while to yeeld them up the Castle of Roscommon, although the conditions seemed hard & prejudiciall to the Kings Maiesty, yet were they driven for safeguard of their lives to condiscend thereunto. In this rebellious season, to cleere himselfe, that in his owne person he came not to daunt the enemy, *Robert Vfford* the Lord Iustice was sent for into England, who substituted in his roome, one Fryer *Robert Fulborne*, Bishop of Waterford, who when he had cleered himselfe, came and resigned his place of Iusticeship.

Robert Vfford going into England, substituted *Fulborne* Bishop of Waterford.

Anno 1278. there rose civill warres, no better then rebellion, betweene *Mac Dermot de Moylargo*, and *Cathgur O Conoghor*, King of Connaught, where there was great slaughter and bloud-shed on both sides, and the King of Connaught slaine. *Raphaell Holinshed* in his Irish collection thinketh that there were slaine at that time, above two thousand persons. The King of England hearing thereof, was mightily displeased with the Lord Iustice, and sent for him into England, to yeeld reason why he would permit such shamefull enormities under his governement. *Robert Vfford* substituted *Robert Fulborne*, (as before) satisfied the King that all was not true that hee was charged withall, and for further contentment, yeelded this reason, that in policie he thought it expedient to winke at one knave cutting off another, and that would save the Kings Coffers, and purchase peace to the land; whereat the King smiled, and bid him returne to Ireland.

The groats, pence, halfe pence, and farthings were made.

Anno 1279. (*Stow* is mine Author) King *Edward* commanded groats of foure pence a piece, pence, halfe pence, and farthings, to be coyned, and to be currant through England and Ireland, not decrying the old; whereupon saith he, these verses were made:

Edward did smite round penny, halfe penny, farthing,
The crosse passes the bond, of all throughout the ring:
The Kings side was his head, and his name written,
The crosse side, what Citie it was made in, coyned and smitten.
The poore man ne to Priest, the penny frayses nothing,
Men give God aye the least, they feast him with a farthing:
A thousand two hundred, foure score yeeres and moe,
On this money men wondred, when it first began to goe.

Anno

Waterford burned.

Anno 1280. the Citie of Waterford saith *Clyn*, through some foule mischance was all set on fire; others report that some Merchant stranger being wronged, as they thought, by the Citizens, brought bagges of powder out of their ships, and threw them in the night season, in at their sellers windowes, and coales of fire after them, and spoyled the City in that sort, that it was long after ere they could recover themselves.

Robert Fulborne Lord Iustice of Ireland. *Anno* 1281.

Anno 1281. *Robert Fulborne* Bishop of Waterford, was by direction from the King, ordained Lord Iustice of Ireland. This yeere there was a great rebellion in Connaught, and in upper Ossory, and in Archloe, which cost many mens lives, but the ringleaders were cut off. *Adam Cusack* slue *William Barret* and his brethren, which contended about lands. In Connaught, *Hogken Mac Gill Patricke* was cut off; in Vppsory, *Murtough Mac Murogh*, with *Art:* his brother, lost their heads at Wickloe, another saith at Artchloe, so *Clyn* and *Dowlinge* doe report.

Dublin burned

Anno 1283. (it is remembred by *Clyn* and others) that a great part of Dublin was burned. *Campanile & Capitulum sanctæ Trinitatis*, saith mine Author, the belfrie or steeple and Chapter house of the blessed Trinity, with the Dormiture and Cloyster. Others write that certaine Scots to be revenged upon some Citizens for wronging of them, set Skinner-Row a fire, and by that meanes the fire ranne into Christ Church, but the citizens of Dublin (therein greatly to bee commended) before they went about to repaire their owne private houses, agreed together to make a collection for repayring the ruine of that antient Church.

Galfridus de sancto Leodegario.

Anno 1284. flourished *Ieffery*, or (as *Clyn* writeth) *Galfridus de sancto Leodegario*, Bishop of Ossorie, the second founder of the Cathedrall Church of *Setus Canicus*, and the first founder of the Colledge of the Vicars of the same Church, who gave unto the Colledge and vickars of the same Church, for the maintenance of divine Service, his Manse and lodging, with the edifices thereunto adjoyning, the rectory of Kilkesh, and revenue *de manubrinnio*, one marke sterling, of the Abbot of Duiske, for the land of Scomberlowaie with other revenues. The said *Ieffery* by combate (the combatants I finde not recorded) *anno* 1284. recovered the Mannor of Sirekeran in Elly, now *Ocarolls* country. He builded part of the Mannors of Aghboo and Dorogh, he builded a great part of the Church of Saint *Canicus*, formerly begunne by *Hugh Mapilton* his Predecessor, hee exchanged the towne Scomkarthie, for the towne of Killamerry, with *William Marshall* the Earle of Penbroke, in his kinde of devotion he injoyned the collegiat Vicars of Kilkenny to celebrate the universary and ani-

versary of the reverend fathers his predeceſſors, *Walter Barkeley*, *Galfrid Turvill*, *Hugh Mapilton*, and others, and his ſucceſſors and Canons in the ſaid Church of Oſſory. He eſtabliſhed other things for the good of the Burgeſſes of Croſſe ...ſ. in the Iriſh towne of Kilkenny, as in the foundation of the Burgeſſes there more at large doth appeare: he dyed *Anno* 1286. and lyeth buried before the Chappell of our Lady, in the Cathedrall Church.

Thus farre the Collections of Doctor Hanmer: *the Continuation following is taken out of the Chronicles of* Henry Marleburrough.

HENRY

HENRY MARLEBVRROVGH'S CHRONICLE OF IRELAND.

Anno 1285. the Lord *Theobald Butler* fled from Dublin, and died ſhortly after; and the Lord *Theobald Verdon* loſt his men and horſes, going towards Ophali, and the next morning, *Girald Fitz Maurice* was taken priſoner, and *John Samforde* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin, and the Lord *Ieffery Genuill* fled, and Sir *Gerard Doget*, and *Ralph Petit* were ſlaine.

Anno 1287. deceaſed *Richard Decetir*, *Girald Fitz Maurice*, *Thomas de Clare*, *Richard Taff*, and *Nicholas Telinge* Knights.

Auno 1288. In England a buſhell of Wheate was at foure pence. And Fryer *Stephen Fulburne* Lord Iuſtice of Ireland dyed. And *John Samford* Archbiſhop of Dublin was made Lord Iuſtice. And the Lord *Richard Burgh*, Earle of Vlſter, beſieged *Theobald Verdon* in the Caſtle of Aloan, and came to Trymm with a great power by the working of *Walter Lacy*.

Anno 1290. Was the chaſe or diſcomfiture of Ophaly, and divers Engliſhmen were ſlaine. And *Mac Coghlan* ſlue *Omolaghlin*. And *William Bourgh* was diſcomfited at Delvin by *Mac Coghlan*. And *Gilbert* Earle of Gloceſter, married the daughter of King *John le Bayloll*, King of Scotland. And Sir *William Veſcy* was made Lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

Anno 1294. Deceaſed *John de Samford*, Archbiſhop of Dublin, and *John Fitz Thomas*, and *John de la Mare* tooke priſoners, *Richard Bourgh* Earle of Vlſter, and *William Bourgh* in Meath. And the Caſtle of Kildare was taken, and by the Engliſh and Iriſh, the whole

countrie was wasted. And *Calvagh* burnt all the rolles and tallyes of that countie. And *Richard* was delivered out of the Castle of Leye for his two sonnes: And *Iohn Fitz Thomas* with a great armie, came into Meath.

Anno 1295. *William Dodinsell* Lord Iustice of Ireland dyed, and the Lord *Thomas Fitz Maurice* was made Lord Iustice.

Anno 1296. Fryer *William de Hotham* was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin.

Anno 1298. The Lord *Thomas Fitz Maurice* dyed, and an agreement was made betwixt the Earle of Vlster, and the Lord *Iohn Fitz Thomas*: and Sir *Iohn Wogan* was made Lord Iustice of Ireland.

Anno 1299. *William*, Archbishop of Dublin dyed: and *Richard de Feringes* was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin.

Anno 1302. The King of England (*Edward* the first) went into Scotland, and there Sir *Iohn Wogan* Lord Iustice of Ireland, and the Lord *Iohn Fitz Thomas* with many others met with him.

Anno 1305. King *Edward* made the inquisitions of Treylbaston. The same yeere *Iordan Comin* slue *Conthir de Ophaly*: and *Calvagh* his brother was slaine in the Court of *Peirs de Birmingham* at Carricke: and Balimor was burnt.

Anno 1306. *Edward* the second succeeded his father being dead; in the kingdome. In the beginning of his raigne, he called back from beyond the seas, *Peirs de Gaveston*, whose company in the presence of his father he abjured: and being wholly taken up with him, he neglected *Isabell* his Queene, and his Nobles; for which cause the Nobles being offended, they banished the said *Peirs* into Ireland, where also the Kings treasure that was sent over thither, was wantonly consumed. Then *Peirs* was called backe againe, but in regard the Kings treasure was spent as aforesaid, the Nobles make an insurrection, and put away *Peirs* from the King.

Anno 1308. And in the second of King *Edward* the second, *Peirs de Gaveston*, by the Lords of England, but contrary to the Kings minde, was banished into Ireland, about the nativitie of our Lady: but the next yeere hee was called backe againe, and the King met him at Chester.

Anno 1309. The Lord *Ieffery Genvill* became a Fryer at Trym, of the order of the Preachers: and the Lord *Peirs de Birmingham* dyed.

Anno 1311. Was the consecration of *Iohn Leeke*, Archbishop of Dublin: and *Richard Bourgh* Earle of Vlster, with a great armie went to Bourath in Thomound, and there he was taken prisoner by Sir *Robert de Clare*, and *Iohn Fitz Walter*, *Lacy*, and many others were slaine: and there dyed Sir *Walter la Faint*, and Sir *Eustace Power*. And the next yeere, *Maurice Fitz Thomas*, and *Thomas Fitz Iohn*, married two daughters of the Earle of Vlster. And Saint *Fingay* was

was translated; and *William de Lowndres* the first, and *Iohn* the son of Sir *Richard Bourgh* Knight deceased, and the Lord *Edmund Butler* made 30. Knights.

Anno 1313. Died *Iohn Leek*, Archbishop of Dublin, and *Theobald Verdon* came over Lord Iustice of Ireland, and *William de Montency* and *Richard Loundries* died.

Anno 1315: The Lord *Edward Bruse* brother of the King of Scots, entred the North part of Vlster with a great Army, upon Saint *Augustines* day, in the month of *May*; and afterward hee burned Dundalke, and a great part of Vrgile: and the Church of *Athirde* was burned by the Irish: And in the warre of Comeram in Vlster, *Richard* Earle of Vlster was put to flight: and Sir *William Bourgh*, and Sir *Iohn Mandevill*, and Sir *Alan Fitz Warren* were taken prisoners, and the Castle of Norburgh was taken. Moreover at Kenlis in Meath, the Lord *Roger Mortimer* in the warre together with the said *Edward* were put to flight, and many of the men of the said *Roger* were slaine and taken prisoners, and he burnt the Towne: and after this he went as farre as Finnagh and the Skerries in Leinster; and there incountred him *Edmund Butler* Lord Iustice of Ireland, the Lord *Iohn Fitz Thomas*, afterward Earle of Kildare, and the Lord *Arnold Power*; and every one of them had a great army to war against him: and upon the sodaine there arose a dissention amongst them, and so they left the field; and this dissention hapned upon the 26. day of *Ianuary*: after this hee burnt the Castle of Leye, and afterward hee returned into Vlster, and besieged the Castle of Knockfergus, and slue *Thomas Mandevill* and *Iohn* his brother at Downe, comming out of England; and then returned into Scotland.

Anno 1316. *Edward Bruse* before Easter, came into Ireland with the Earle of Murry and other armies, and besieged the Castle of Knockfergus; afterward they went to Castle Knock, and there tooke the Baron prisoner, and *Edward Bruse* lay there: and *Richard* Earle of Vlster lay in Saint *Maries* Abbey neere Dublin. Then the Major and Commonalty of the City of Dublin, tooke the Earle of Vlster prisoner, and put him in the Castle of Dublin and slew his men and spoiled the Abbey. Then the said *Bruse* went as farre as Lymerick after the Feast of Saint *Matthew* the Apostle, and staied there untill after Easter; and in the meane time *Roger Mortimer* the Kings Lievtenant, landed at Waterford with a great Army, and for feare of him, *Edward Bruse* made haste to goe into the parts of Vlster, and *Iohn Fitz Thomas* was created Earle of Kildare: also *Oconthir* of Conaght and many other of the Irish of Conaght and Meath were slaine, neere Athenry by the English there: also there was a great slaughter made by *Edmond Butler*, neere Testilldermot upon the Irish: and another slaughter by the same *Edmund* upon *Omorthe* at Balitcham.

Anno 1317. The ſaid Lieutenant delivered the Earle of Vlſter out of the Caſtle of Dublin, and after Whitſuntide, hee baniſhed out of Meath Sir *Walter* and Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, and gave their lands unto his ſouldiers, and they together with *Edward Bruſe* went back into Scotland: and *Alexander Bignor* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

Anno 1318. The Lord *Roger Mortimer* went againe into England, and *Alexander Bignor* was made Lord Iuſtice, and *Edward Bruſe* and the ſaid *Walter* and *Hugh de Lacy* with a great Army, landed at Dundalke upon Saint *Calixtus* the Popes day; and there the Lord *Iohn Brimingham*, *Richard Tute* and *Miles Verdon*, with one thouſand three hundred twenty foure men incountred them, and ſlew the ſaid *Edward Bruſe*, with eight thouſand two hundred ſeventie foure of his men; and the ſaid *Iohn Birmingham* did cary the head of the ſaid *Edward* into England, and gave it to King *Edward*, and the King gave unto the ſaid *Iohn* and his heires males, the Earledome of Lowth, and the Barony of Athirdee to him and his heires; alſo Sir *Richard de Clare*, with foure Knights and many others, were ſlaine in Thomond.

Anno 1319. The Lord *Roger Mortimer* came over againe Lord of Iuſtice of Ireland. And the Towne of Atheſſell and Plebs, were burned by the Lord *Iohn Fitz Thomas*, brother to the Lord *Maurice Fitz Thomas*. And the Bridge of Kilcolin was built by *Maurice Iakis*.

Anno 1320. The Lord *Iohn Fitz Iohn*, Earle of Kildare, was made Lord Iuſtice. And the bridge of Leiglin was built by *Maurice Iakis*.

Anno 1321. There was a very great ſlaughter made of the *Oconhurs* at Balibagan, by the Engliſh of Leinſter and Meath. And the ſaid Earle of Lowth was made Lord Iuſtice.

Anno 1322. Died the Lord *Richard Birmingham*, Lord of Athenry, the Lord *Edmund Butler*, and the Lord *Thomas Perſivall*. Moreover the Lord *Andrew Birmingham*, and Sir *Richard de la Londe*, were ſlaine by *Onolan*.

Anno 1323. *Iohn Darcy* came over Lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

Anno 1325. Deceaſed *Nicolas Fitz Simon Gonvill*.

Anno 1326. The Lord *Richard Burgh* Earle of Vlſter died: *Edward* the third, ſonne to *Edward* the ſecond, after the Conqueſt, at the age of fifteene yeeres, in his fathers life time; upon Candlemas day was crowned King at Weſtminſter. In the beginning of whoſe raigne there was great likelyhood of good ſucceſſe to follow: For then alſo the Earth received fruitfulneſſe, the Ayre temperature and, Sea calmeneſſe.

Anno

Anno 1327. *Donald* ſonne to *Art*, *Mac Morch*, and Sir *Henry Traharne* were taken priſoners.

Anno 1328. Deceaſed the Lord *Thomas Fitz Iohn* Earle of Kildare, and the Lord *Arnold Power*, and *William* Earle of Vlſter came into Ireland.

Anno 1329: *Iohn Brimingham* Earle of Lowth, and *Peter* his brother with many other, were ſlaine on Whitſun, even at Balibragan by the men of the Country: Alſo the Lord *Thomas Butler*, and divers other Noble men were ſlaine by *Macgohegan* and other Iriſhmen, neere to Molingar.

Anno 1330. There died Sir *Richard Deicetir*: Alſo the Earle of Vlſter went with a great Army into Mounſter upon *Obren*: Alſo the Prior of the Hoſpitall, then Lord Iuſtice, put the Lord *Maurice Fitz Thomas* Earle of Deſmond, into the cuſtody of the Marſhall, out of the which hee freely eſcaped. And Sir *Hugh de Lacy* returned into Ireland, and obteined peace of the King.

Anno 1331. The Earle of Vlſter went into England, and great ſlaugher was made upon the Iriſh in *Okenſlie*; alſo the Caſtle of Arclow was taken by the Iriſh, and great ſlaughter made of the Engliſh ni the Cowlagh by *Otothell*, where Sir *Philip Bryt* and many others were ſlaine; and the Lord *Anthony Lacy* came over Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, and great ſlaugter was made of the Iriſh at Thurles, by the men of the Country, and at Finnath in Meath; there were many of them ſlaine by the Engliſh: alſo the Caſtle of Fernis was taken and burned by the Iriſh: alſo *Maurice Fitz Thomas* Earle of Deſmond was apprehended at Limerick by the Lord Iuſtice, upon the day of the Aſſumption, and ſent unto the Caſtle of Dublin. Moreover, the Lord Iuſtice tooke Sir *William Birmingham* and *Walter* his ſonne at Clomell by a wile, whileſt hee was ſick in his bed, and ſent them likewiſe unto the Caſtle of Dublin on the 19. day of *Aprill*.

Anno 1332. Sir *William Birmingham* was hanged at Dublin, but *Walter* his ſonne was delivered, by reaſon hee was within orders. Alſo the Caſtle of Clonmore was taken by the Engliſh, and the Caſtle of *Bonrath* was deſtroyed by the Iriſh of Thomond: alſo *Henry Mandevill* was ſent priſoner to Dublin; likewiſe *Walter Burgh* with two of his brethren were taken in Conaght, by the Earle of Vlſter, and ſent to the Caſtle of Norburgh: alſo the ſaid Lord Iuſtice was depoſed by the King, and went into England with his wife and children; and *Iohn Darcy* was made Lord Iuſtice, and great ſlaughter was made upon *Bren Obren* and *Mac Carthy* in Munſter, by the Engliſh of that Country.

Anno 1333. The Earle of Deſmond by the Parliament held at Dublin, was ſent over into England unto the King; and *William*

Earle

Earle of Vlſter, in going toward Knockfergus, upon the ſeventh day of *Iune* was treachercuſly ſlaine, neere to the foords in Vlſter by his owne people: but his wife with his daughter and heire, eſcaped into England; which daughter was married unto the Lord *Lionell*, the Kings ſonne, and afterward died at Dublin; and had a daughter and heire, which was afterward married unto *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of March, and Lord of Trim: And to revenge the death of the ſaid Earle, the Lord Iuſtice of Ireland with a great Army, went into Vlſter. But before that hee came thither, the men of that Country had done the revenge: and the Lord Iuſtice with his Army, went into Scotland to the King of England; becauſe at that time hee was there in warre; and hee left the Lord *Thomas Burgh* his Lievtenant in Ireland: alſo on Saint *Margarets* Eve, great ſlaughter was made in Scotland by the Iriſh; and ſo what by the King in one part, and the Lord Iuſtice in another, Scotland was Conquered, and *Edward Balioll* was eſtabliſhed King of Scotland; and *Iohn Darcy* came back Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, and delivered *Walter Birmingham* out of the Caſtle of Dublin.

Anno 1336. On Saint *Laurence* day, the Iriſh of Conaght were diſcomfited and put to flight by the Engliſh of the Country there, and there were ſlaine tenne thouſand and one Engliſhman.

Anno 1342. And in the ſixteenth of King *Edward* the 3. Pope *Benedict* deceaſed; *Clement* the ſixth ſucceeded, a man truly of great learning, but exceeding prodigall, ſo that hee would beſtow upon his Cardinals Church livings in England when they were vacant, and would goe about to impoſe new titles for them. For which cauſe the King of England about the yeere 1344. diſannulled the proviſions ſo made by the Pope, interdicting upon paine of impriſonment, and death, that none ſhould bring any of them.

Anno 1348. There was great mortality in all places, eſpecially in and about the Court of Rome, Ayinion, and about the ſea coaſtes of England and Ireland.

Anno 1349. Deceaſed *Alexander Bignor*, upon the foureteenth day of *Iuly*, and the ſame yeere was *Iohn de Saint Paul* conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

Anno 1355. Died *Maurice Fitz Thomas*, Earle of Deſmond, L. Iuſtice of Ireland.

Anno 1356. Deceaſed the Lord *Thomas de Rokesbie*, L. Iuſtice of Ireland.

Anno 1357. Began great variance betwixt Maſter *Richard Fitz Ralphe* Primat of Ardmagh, and the foure Orders of begging Fryers.

Anno 1360. Deceaded *Richard* Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, upon the ſeventeenth day of the Kalends of *December* in the Popes Court, and

and *Richard Kilminton* dyed in England, therefore the controverſie ceaſed betwixt the Clergie and the orders of begging Fryers.

Anno 1361: and in the thirty fourth yeere of K. *Edward* the third, about Eaſter, began a great mortalitie of men, conſuming many men, but few women, in England and Ireland. Alſo the ſame yeere, the Lord *Lionell*, Sonne to King *Edward* the third, Duke of Clarence, came over the Kings lievetenant into Ireland.

Anno 1362. deceaſed *Iohn de Saint Paule*, Archbiſhop of Dublin, on the fift day before the Ides of September.

Anno 1363: *Thomas Minot* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

Anno 1369. the Lord *William Windſor* came over, the Kings Lievetenant in Ireland.

Anno 1370. there was a third great Peſtilence in Ireland. And the Lord *Gerald Fitz Maurice*, Earle of Deſmond, and the Lord *Iohn Fitz Richard*, and the Lord *Iohn Fitz Iohn*, and many other Noble men, were taken priſoners, and many others were ſlaine by *Obren* and *Maccoinnard* of Thomond, in the moneth of Iuly.

Anno 1372 Sir *Robert Aſheton* came over Lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

Anno 1373. there was great warre betwixt the Engliſh of Meth, and Offerolle; in which warre, many upon both ſides were ſlaine,

Anno 1375. *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of Dublin departed this life, and the ſame yeere was *Richard de Wikeford* conſecrated Archbiſhop there.

Anno 1381, *Edmund Mortimer* the Kings Lievetenant in Ireland, Earle of March and Vlſter, dyet at Corke.

Anno 1383. the fourth great Peſtilence was in Ireland.

Anno 1385. Dublin Bridge fell.

Anno 1387. about Martilmas, the Peeres of England roſe againſt thoſe that were of the ſide of King *Richard* the ſecond: but *Robert Veer*, Duke of Ireland, came over to Cheſter, and got together many men, and put them in array to march backe toward the King: whom the ſaid Peeres met at Rotcotebridge, and ſlue *Thomas Molleners*, and ſpoyled the reſt: nevertheleſſe, the Duke of Ireland eſcaped. But in the ſame yeere on the morrow after Candlemas day, a Parliament beganne at London: in which were adjudged the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Duke of Ireland, the Earle of Suffolke, &c.

Anno 1388. foure Lord Iuſtices of England were baniſhed into Ireland, by a decree of the Parliament: and it was not lawfull for them either to make lawes, or to give counſell, upon paine of the ſentence of death.

Anno 1390. *Robert de Wikeford* Archbiſhop of Dublin, departed this

this life, and the ſame yeere was *Robert Waldebie* tranſlated unto the Archbiſhopricke of Dublin, being an Auguſtine Fryer.

Anno 1394. and in the ſeaventeenth yeere of King *Richard* the ſecond, died *Anne*, Queene of England: and the ſame yeere about Michaelmas, the King croſſed the ſeas over into Ireland, and landed at Waterford the ſecond day of the moneth of October, and went back about Shrovetide.

Anno 1397. Fryer *Richard de Northalis*, of the order of the Carmelites, was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopricke of Dublin, and died the ſame yeere. Alſo the ſame yeere, *Thomas de Craulie*, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin. And Sir *Thomas Burgh*, and Sir *Walter Birningham* ſlue ſixe hundred *Iriſh* men with their Captaine *Macdowne*. Moreover, *Edmund* Earle of March, *Lord* lievetenant of *Ireland*, with the aide of the Earle of Ormond, waſted *Obren's* country, and at the winning of his chiefe houſe, hee made ſeaven Knights, to wit, Sir *Chriſtopher Preſton*, Sir *Iohn Bedlow*, Sir *Edmund Loundres*, Sir *Iohn Lounndres*, Sir *William Nugent*, *Walter de la Hide*, and *Robert Cadell*.

Anno 1398. and in the two and twentieth of King *Richard* the ſecond, on Aſcention day, the Tothillis ſlue forty Engliſh men. Among whom theſe were accounted as principall, *Iohn Fitz Williams*, *Thomas Talbot*, and *Thomas Comyn*. The ſame yeere upon Saint *Margarets* day, *Edmund*, Earle of March, the Kings lievetenant, was ſlaine, with divers other by *Obren*, and other Iriſhmen of *Leinſter*, at Kenlis in *Leinſter*. Then was *Roger Greye* elected *Lord Iuſtice* of *Ireland*. The ſame yeere on the feaſt day of Saint *Marke*, the Pope and Confeſſor came to Dublin, the Noble Duke of Surrey, the Kings lievetenant in *Ireland*, and with him came *Thomas Crauly*, Archbiſhop of Dublin.

Anno 1399. and of King *Richard* the three and twentieth, on Sunday being the morrow after Saint *Petronilla* the Virgins day, the illuſtrious King *Richard* landed at Waterford with two hundred ſhippes: and the Friday after, at Ford in Kenlis, in the Countie of Kildare, there were ſlaine, two hundred *Iriſh* men by *Ienicho* and other Engliſh men, and the morrow after, the Citizens of Dublin brake into *Obrens* country, ſlue three and thirty of the *Iriſh*, and tooke foureſcore men, women, and children. The ſame yeere King *Richard* came to Dublin upon the fourth Kalends of Iuly, where hee was advertized of the comming of *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter* into England; whereupon he alſo ſpeedily went over into England: and a little while after, the ſame King was taken priſoner by the ſaid *Henry*, and brought to *London*, and there a Parliament was holden the morrow after Michaelmas day, in which King *Richard* was depoſed from his kingdome, and the ſaid *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, was crowned King of England, on the feaſt day of Saint *Edward* the Confeſſor.

Anno

Anno 1400. and in the firſt yeere of the raigne of King *Henry* the fourth, at Whitſontide, the Conſtable of Dublin Caſtle, and divers others at Stranford in Vlſter, fought at Sea with the Scots, where many Engliſhmen were ſlaine and drowned. The ſame yeere on the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, King *Henry*, with a great army, entred Scotland, and there he was advertized that *Owen Glendor*, with the Welſh men, had taken armes againſt him: for which cauſe he haſtened his iourney into Wales.

Anno 1401. in the ſecond yeere of King *Henry* the fourth, Sir *Iohn Stanley* the kings *Lievetenant*, in the moneth of May, went over into England, leaving in his roome Sir *William Stanley*. The ſame yeere on Bartholomew Eeven, arrived in *Ireland*, *Stephen Scroope*, *Lievetenant* unto the *Lord Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, the kings *Lievetenant* of *Ireland*. The ſame yeere on Saint *Brices* day, the *Lord Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, the kings Sonne, and *Lord Lievetenant* of *Ireland*, arrived at Dublin.

Anno 1402. on the fift *Ides* of *Iuly*, was the dedication of the Church of the Fryers Preachers in Dublin, by the Archbiſhop of Dublin. And the ſame day the Maior of Dublin, namely, *Iohn Drake*, with the citizens and townesmen, neere to Bre, ſlue of the *Iriſh*, foure hundred ninety three, being all men of warre. The ſame yeere in September a Parliament was held at Dublin; during the which, in Vrgile, Sir *Bartholomew Verdon*, knight, *Iames White*, *Stephen Gernond*, and their complies, ſlue *Iohn Dowdall* Sheriffe of *Lowth*.

Anno 1403. in the fourth yeere of king *Henry*, in the moneth of May, Sir *Walter Betterley*, Steward of Vlſter, a right valiant knight, was ſlaine, and to the number of thirty other with him. The ſame yeere on Saint *Maudlins* Eeven, neere unto Shrewesbury, a battell was fought betweene king *Henry*, and *Henry Percy*, and *Thomas Percy* then Earle of Worceſter; which *Percyes* were ſlaine, and on both ſides there were ſixe thouſand and more ſlaine in the battaile. The ſame yeere about Martlemas, the *Lord Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, the kings Sonne, went over into England, leaving *Stephen Scroope* his Deputy there: who alſo in the beginning of *Lent*, ſayled over into England, and then the *Lords* of the land choſe the Earle of Ormond to be *Lord Iuſtice* of *Ireland*.

Anno 1404. in the fift yeere of king *Henry*, *Iohn Colton*, Archbiſhop of Armagh, departed this life upon the fift of May, unto whom *Nicholas Flemming* ſucceeded. The ſame yeere on the day of Saint *Vitall* the Martyr, the Parliament began at Dublin, before the Earle of Ormond, then *Lord Iuſtice* of *Ireland*, where the Statutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were confirmed, and likewiſe the Charter of *Ireland*. The ſame yeere *Patricke Savage* was treacherouſly ſlaine in Vlſter, by *Mac Kilmori*, and his brother *Richard* was given

for

for a pledge, who was murthered in the prison, after hee had paid two thousand markes. The same yeere upon Martilmas day, deceased *Nicholas Houth*, Lord of Houth, a man of singular honesty.

Anno 1405. in the sixt yeere of King *Henry*, in the moneth of May, three Scottish Barkes were taken, two at Greenecastle, and one at Dalkay, with Captaine *Thomas Macgolagh*. The same yeere the Merchants of Droghedah entred Scotland, and tooke pledges and preyes. The same yeere on the Eeven of the feast day of the seaven brethren, Oghgard was burnt by the *Irish*. The same yeere in the moneth of *June*, *Stephen Scroope* crossed the seas over into England, leaving the Earle of Ormond, *Lord Iustice* of *Ireland*. The same yeere in the moneth of *June*, they of Dublin entred Scotland at Saint *Ninian*, and valiantly behaved themselves: and afterward they entred Wales, and there did much hurt to the Welch men, and brought away the shrine of Saint *Cubius*, and placed it in the Church of the holy Trinitie in Dublin. The same yeere on the Eeven of the feast of the blessed Virgin, *James Butler*, Earle of Ormond, dyed at Raligauran, (whose death was much lamented) whilest hee was *Lord Iustice* of *Ireland*, unto whom succeeded *Girald*, Earle of Kildare.

Anno 1406. in the seaventh yeere of King *Henry*, on *Corpus Christi* day, the citizens of Dublin, with the country people about them, manfully vanquished the *Irish* enemies, and slue divers of them, and tooke two *Ensignes*, bringing with them to Dublin, the heads of those whom they had slaine. The same yeere the Prior of Conall, in the Plaine of Kildare, fought valiantly, and vanquished two hundred of the *Irish* that were well armed, slaying some of them, and chasing others; and the Pryor had not with him, but twenty English men: and thus God assisteth those that put their trust in him. The same yeere after Michaelmas, came into Ireland, *Scroope*, Deputie *Iustice* to the *Lord Thomas* of *Lancaster*, the Kings Sonne, *Lord Lievetenant* of *Ireland*. The same yeere dyed *Innocent* the seaventh, to whom succeeded *Gregorie* in the Popedome. The same yeere a Parliament was holden at Dublin, on the feast of Saint *Hillary*, which in Lent after was ended at Trym, and *Meiler Birmingham* slue *Cathole O Conghir*, in the end of Frebruary; and there dyed Sir *Ieffery Vanlx*, a Noble Knight in the Countie of Carlogh:

Anno 1407. a certaine most false fellow, an Irish man, named *Mac Adam Mac Gilmori*, that had caused forty Churches to be destroyed, who was never baptized, and therefore hee was called *Corbi*; tooke prisoner *Patricke Savage*, and received for his ransome, two thousand markes, and afterwards slue him, together with his Brother *Richard*.

The same yeere, in the feast of the exaltation of the holy Crosse, *Stephen Scroope*, Deputy to the Lord *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, the Kings Sonne,

sonne, Lord Lievtenant of Ireland, with the Earles of Ormond and Desmond, and the Prior of Kilmainan and divers other Captaines, and men of warre of Meath, set from Dublin, and invaded the land of Mac Murch, where the Irish had the better part of the field for the former part of the day, but afterwards they were valiantly rescued by the said Captaines, so that *Onolad* with his sonne and divers others, were taken prisoners. But then and there being advertised that the *Barkens* and *Okeroll*, in the County of Kilkenny, had for the space of two dayes together done much mischiefe, they rode with all speed unto the Towne of Callan, and there encountring with the adversaries, manfully put them to flight, slue *Okeroll* and eight hundred others; and it was averred by many, that the Sunne stoodstill for a space that day, till the Englishmen had ridden 6. miles, which was much to be wondred at.

The same yeere, *Stephen Scrope* went over into England, and *James Butler* Earle of Ormond, was elected by the Country *L. I.* of Ireland.

The same yeere, in England neere unto Yorke, was slaine *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland, and the Lord *Bardolf*, and the Bishop of Bangor, were taken prisoners.

Anno 1408. The said Lord Iustice held a Parliament at Dublin, in which the Statutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were established, and the Charter granted under the great Seale of England against Purveiors.

The same yeere, the morrow after *Lammas* day, the Lord *Thomas* of Lancaster the Kings sonne, Lord Lievtenant of Ireland, landed at Garlingford, and in the weeke following, he came unto Dublin and arrested the Earle of Kildare, comming to him with three of his familie; hee lost all his goods, being spoiled and rifled by the Lord Lievtenant his servants, and himselfe kept still in the Castle of Dublin, till he had paid three hundred markes fine.

The same yeere on the day of Saint *Marcell* the Martyr, the L. *Stephen Scrope* died at Tristledermot.

The same yeere, the said L. *Thomas* of Lancaster, at Kilmainan was wounded, and hardly escaped death; and after caused summons to be given by Proclamation, that all such as ought by their tenures to serve the King, should assemble at Rosse: and after the Feast of Saint *Hillary*, he held a Parliament at Kilkenny, for a tallage to be granted; and after the 13. of *March* he went over into England, leaving the Prior of Kilmainan his Deputy in Ireland.

This yeere, *Hugh Mac Gilmore* was slaine in Cragfergus within the Church of the Fryers Minors, which Church hee had before destroyed, and broken downe the Glasse-windowes, to have the Iron barres, through which his enemies the Savages entred upon him.

Anno 1409. Of King *Henry* the fourth in *Iune*, *Ianico de Artois*, with the Engliſhmen ſlue foureſcore of the Iriſh in Vlſter.

The ſame yeere, on the day of Saint *Iohn* and *Paul*, *Alexander* the fifth of the Order of Fryers Minors was conſecrated Pope, and Pope *Gregory* and Antipope *Clemens* were condēned for heretickes: and by theſe meanes unity was made in the Church.

The ſame yeere a heretick or Lollard of London was burned, becauſe he did not beleeve in the ſacrament of the altar.

Anno 1410. Pope *Alexander* died on the day of the Apoſtles *Philippe* and *Iacob*, at Bononia; to whom ſucceeded *Iohn* the XXIII.

Anno 1411. On Thurſday before *Septuageſima*, marriage was celebrated betwixt *William Preſton* and the daughter of *Edward Paris*; and on Saint *Valentines* even and day, marriages were celebrated between *Iohn Wogan* and the daughter of *Chriſtopher Preſton* and *Walter de la Hide*, and the ſecond daughter of the ſame *Chriſtopher*, with a great deale of charges.

Anno 1412. About the feaſt of *Tiburtius* and *Valerianus*, *Oconthird* did much miſchiefe in Meath, and tooke a hundred and three ſcore Engliſhmen.

The ſame yeere *Odoles* a Knight and *Thomas Fitz Maurice* Sherife of Limerick ſlue each other.

The ſame yeere, on the nineth Kalends of *Iune*, there died *Robert Mountaine* Biſhop of Meath, to whom ſucceeded *Edward Dandiſey* ſometimes Archdeacon of Cornward.

The ſame yeere in Harveſt, the Lord *Thomas* of Lanceſter Duke of Clarence, went over into France, and with him went the Duke of Yorke, the Earle of Ormond and Green-Cornwall with many others.

The ſame yeere, on Saint *Cutberts* day, King *Henry* the fourth departed this life. To whom ſucceeded *Henry* the fifth his eldeſt ſonne.

Anno 1413. On the fifth Ides of *Aprill*, namely, the firſt Sunday of the Paſſion of our Lord, *A.* being the Dominicall letter, *Henry* the fifth, was crowned King of England at Weſtminſter.

The ſame yeere, on the firſt of *October*, there landed in Ireland at Clontarf, *Iohn Stanley* the Kings Lievtenant in Ireland; he departed this life the 18. of *Ianuary*.

The ſame yeere, after the death of *Iohn Stanly* Lievtenant, *Thomas Crawly* Archbiſhop of Dublin, was choſen Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, on the 11. Kalends of February; the morrow after Saint *Mathias* day, a Parliament began at Dublin, and continued for the ſpace of 15. daies. In which time the Iriſh burned all that ſtood in their way, as

as their uſuall cuſtome was in times of other Parliaments: whereupon a tallage was demaunded but not granted.

Anno 1414. The Engliſh ſlue of the Iriſh of the Omordris and Odemſis, neer to Kilka, *Thomas Crawly* Archbiſhop of Dublin, then Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, in Triſtledermot, praying in Proceſſion with his Clergy, and his men, with the helpe of thoſe of the Country, ſlue one hundred of the Iriſh enemies. In the feaſt of Saint *Gordian* and *Epimachus*, the Engliſh of Meath were diſcomfited, and there *Thomas Manreward* Baron of Skrine was ſlaine, and *Chriſtopher Flemnig* and *Iohn Dardis* taken priſoners, and many others were ſlaine by *Oconthir* and the Iriſh. On Saint *Martins* Eve, Sir *Iohn Talbot*, Lord *Furnivall*, the Kings Lievtenant in Ireland landed at Dalkey.

Anno 1415: In the moneth of *November* a right noble man that walled the ſuburbs of Kilkenny departed this life; and after Hallonide Fryer *Patricke Baret* Biſhop of Fernes a Canon of Kenlis dyed, and was buried there.

Anno 1416. On the feaſt day of Saint *Gervaſius* and *Prothaſius* the Lord *Furnivall* Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, had a ſonne borne at Finglaſſe; about this time *Stephen Flemming* Archbiſhop of Armagh, a venerable man died, after whom ſucceeded *Iohn Suaing*: And the ſame time dyed the Lord and Fryer *Adam Leins*, of the Order of the Preaching Fryers, Biſhop of Ardmagh. On the day of Saint *Laurence* the Martyr, the Lord *Furnivals* ſonne *Thomas Talbot*, that was borne at Finglaſſe departed this life, and was buried in the Quire of the Fryers Preachers Church in Dublin. About the ſame time the Iriſh fell upon the Engliſhmen and ſlue many of them, among whom *Thomas Balimore* of Baliquelan was one. The Parliament which the laſt yeere had beene called and holden at Dublin; was this yeere removed to Trim, and there began the 11. of *May*, where it continued for the ſpace of 11. dayes, in the which was granted unto the L.L. a ſubſidy of foure hundred markes.

Anno 1417. Vpon *May* Eve, *Thomas Granly* Archbiſhop of Dublin, went over into England, and deceaſed at Faringdon, but his body was buried in the New Colledge at Oxford. This man is greatly praiſed for his liberality, he was a good almeſ-man, a great Clerk, a Doctor of Divinity, an excellent Preacher, a great builder, beautifull, courteous, of a ſanguine complexion, and of a tall ſtature, in ſomuch as in his time it might be ſaid unto him; *Thou art fairer then the ſons of men, grace and eloquence proceeded from thy lips*: He was 80. yeeres of age when he died, and had governed the Church of Dublin almoſt 20. yeeres in great quiet.

Anno 1418. The Annunciation of our Lady was in Eaſter weeke, and ſhortly after, the Lord Deputy ſpoiled the tenants of *Henry Crus* and *Henry Bethat*; alſo at Slane upon the feaſt day of S.

Iohn and S. *Paul*, the Earle of Kildare, Sir *Chriſtopher Preſton*, and Sir *Iohn Bedlow* were arreſted and committed to ward, within the Caſtle of Trim, becauſe they ſought to commune with the Prior of Kilmaynan. Vpon the 29. of *Iune*, *Mathew Huſſeil* Baron of Galtrim deceaſed, and was buried in the Covent of the Fryers Preachers of Trim.

Anno 1419. upon the eleventh of *May*, dayed *Edmund Brel* ſometime Major of Dublin, and was buried at the Fryers Preachers of the ſame City. A Royall Councell was holden at the Naas, where were granted unto the Lord Lievtenant 300. markes. At the ſame time died Sir *Iohn Loundres* Knight.

The ſame yeere upon Cene thurſday, *Otheill* tooke fowre hundred Cowes belonging unto *Balimore*, breaking the peace, contrary to his oath: The fourth Ides of *May*, *Mac Morthe*, chiefe Captaine of his Nation, and of all the Iriſh in Leinſter, was taken priſoner: And the ſame day, was Sir *Hugh Cokeſey* made Knight. The laſt of *May*, the Lord Lievtenant and the Archbiſhop of Dublin, with the Major, raſed the Caſtle of Kenini. The morrow after the feaſt of *Proceſſus* and *Martinianus*, the Lord *William de Burgh* and other Engliſhmen, ſlue five hundred of the Iriſh, and tooke Okelly: On the feaſt day of *Mary Magdalen*, the Lord Lievtenant *Iohn Talbot* went over into England; leaving his Deputy there the Archbiſhop of Dublin, carying along with him the curſes of many, becauſe hee being runne much in debt for victuall and divers other things, would pay little or nothing at all. About Saint *Laurence* day, divers dyed in Normandy, as Fryer *Thomas Butler*, that was Prior of Kilmainan, and many others. Whom Fryer *Iohn Fitz Henry* ſucceeded in the Priory. The Archbiſhop of Dublin, being Lord Deputy, made an aſſault upon Scohies, and ſlue thirtie of the Iriſh, neere unto Rodiſton. Alſo the thirteenth of February, *Iohn Fitz Henry*, Prior of Kilmainan departed this life; and *William Fitz Thomas* was choſen to ſucceed in his place, & was confirmed the morrow after Saint *Velentines* day. Alſo the morrow after the Lord *Iohn Talbot* Lord *Furnivall* delivered up his place into the hands of the Lord *Richard Talbot* Archbiſhop of Dublin, who was afterward choſen to be Lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

Anno 1420. about the fourth des of Aprill, *Iames Butler*, Earle of Ormond, Lord Lievetenant of Ireland, landed at Waterford, and ſhortly after he cauſed a combat to be fought betwixt two of his couſins: of whom one was ſlaine in the place, and the other was carried away ſore wounded unto Kilkenny.

On Saint *Georges* day, the ſame Lord Lievetenant held a Councell at Dublin, and there ſummoned a Parliament, and after the midſt thereof, he made great preyes upon *O Rely Mac Mahon*, *Mac Gyneys*. And

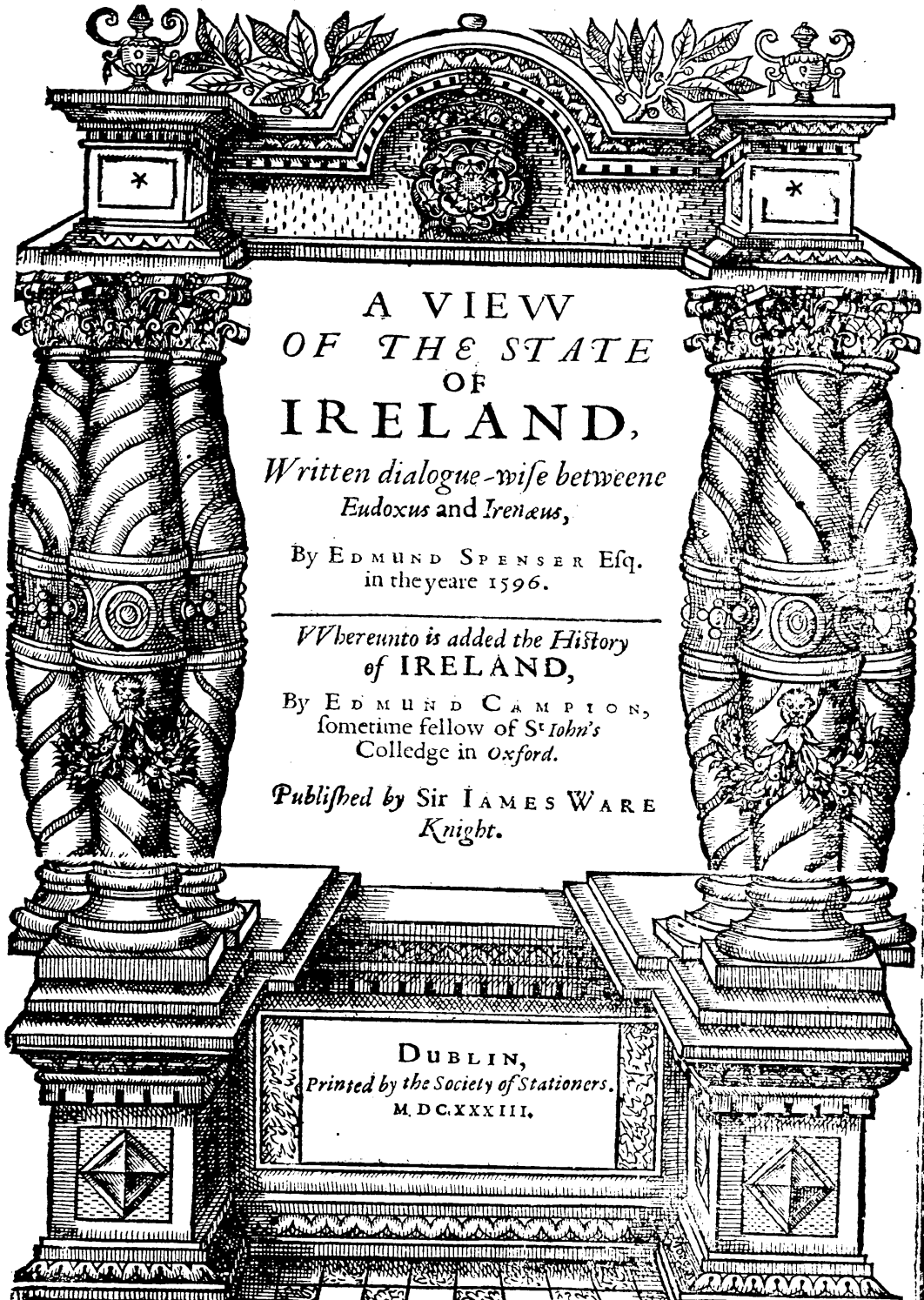
And the ſeventh of Iune, the Parliament began at Dublin, and there were granted to the Lord Lieveteuant, ſeaven hundred markes. And that Parliament continued for ſixteene dayes, and was adjourned againe to Dublin untill Munday after Saint *Andrewes* day. And in the ſaid Parliament were reckoned up the debts of the Lord *Iohn Talbot*, late Lord Lievetenant, which amounted to a great ſumme. Alſo on the morrow after Michaelmas day, *Michael Bodley* departed this life. Vpon Saint *Francis* Eeve, dyed Fryer *Nicholas Talbot*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of Saint *Thomas* the Martyr at Dublin, whom Fryer *Iohn Whiting* ſucceeded. The morrow after the feaſt day of the Apoſtles *Simon* and *Iude*, the Caſtle of Colmolin was taken by *Thomas Fitz Girald*. And on Saint *Katherines* Eeven, *Buttler*, Sonne and heire unto the Earle of Ormond, was borne: and the Munday after Saint *Andrewes* day, the Parliament was begun at Dublin, and continued for thirteene dayes; and there were granted unto the Lord Lievetenant, three hundred markes, and then againe the Parliament was adjourned untill Munday after Saint *Ambroſe* day: Then rumours were ſpread abroad, that the Lord *Thomas Fitz Iohn*, Earle of Deſmond, was departed this life at Paris, upon Saint *Laurence* day, and that he was buried in the Covent of the Fryers Preachers there, the King of England being there preſent. After whom ſucceeded his Vncle *Iames Fitz Girald*, whom he had three ſeverall times renounced, alledging that he was an unthrift, and had waſted his Patrimony both in Ireland and England, and that hee gave or would give lands unto the Monaſtery of Saint *Iames* of Keyniſham.

Anno 1421. Our Lady day fell out to be upon Munday in Eaſter weeke. Alſo the Parliament began the third time at Dublin, the Munday after Saint *Ambroſes* day; and there it was ordained that agents ſhould be ſent over unto the King for reformation of matters touching the ſtate of the land; namely, the Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Sir *Chriſtopher Preſton*, Knight. At the ſame time *Richard Ottdian*, Biſhop of Caſhell, was accuſed of *Iohn Geſe*, Biſhop of Liſmore and Waterford, upon thirty articles: among other, one was, that he made very much of the Iriſh, and that he loved none of the Engliſh nation, and that he beſtowed no Benefice upon any Engliſh man, and that he counſelled other Biſhops not to give the leaſt Benefice to any of them: that he counterfeited the Kings Seale and letters Patents: that he went about to make himſelfe King of Munſter: and that hee had taken a Ring from the image of Saint *Patricke*, (which the Earle of Deſmond had offered) and beſtowed it upon his Concubine. And he exhibited many other enormious matters againſt him in writing, by whom the Lords and Commons were troubled. Alſo in the ſame Parliament, there aroſe a contention betwixt *Adam Payn*, Biſhop of Clone, becauſe the ſaid *Adam* would have united unto his See, the Church of another Prelate, and the other would not give way unto

it;andſo they were diſmiſſed unto the Court of Rome, & the Parliament continued eighteene dayes. Then newes were ſtirring, that the Lord *Thomas* of Lancaſter, Duke of Clarence, was ſlaine in France, and many other with him. Vpon the ſeventh of May there was ſlaughter made upon the Earle of Ormonds, the Lord Lievetenants men, by Omordris, neere unto the Monaſtery of Leys, and there were ſeaven and twenty Engliſh men ſlaine: the chiefe whereof were *Purcell* and *Grant*, tenne Noble men were taken priſoners, and two hundred fled unto the ſaid Abbey, and ſo ſaved themſelves. About the Ides of May, dyed Sir *Iohn Bedloe*, knight, and *Ieffery Galon*, ſometime Maior of Dublin, who was buried in the houſe of the Fryers Preachers of the ſame City. About the ſame time, *Mac Mahon* an Iriſh Lord, did much hurt in Vrgile, by waſting and burning all before him. Vpon the ſeaventh of Iune, the Lord Lievetenant entred into the Country, about Leys, upon Omordris, leading a very great army, and for the ſpace of foure dayes together, ſlaying the people, till the Iriſh were glad to ſue for peace. On the feaſt of Saint *Michael* the Arch-angell, *Thomas Stanley*, with all the Knights and Eſquires of Meath and Irel, tooke *Neyle O Donnell* priſoner, and ſlue the reſt, in the fourteenth yeere of the raigne of King *Henry* the ſixt.

Here endeth the Chronicle of Henry Marleburrough.

FINIS.



A VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND,

Written dialogue-wise betweene Eudoxus and Irenæus,

By EDMUND SPENSER Esq. in the yeare 1596.

Whereunto is added the History of IRELAND,

By EDMUND CAMPION, sometime fellow of S^t *Iohn's* Colledge in *Oxford.*

Published by Sir IAMES WARE *Knight.*

DUBLIN,
Printed by the Society of Stationers.
M.DC.XXXIII.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE THOMAS

LO. VISCOVNT WENTWORTH,
LO. DEPVTY GENERALL
OF IRELAND,

LO. PRESIDENT OF HIS MAIESTIES COVNCELL ESTABLISHED IN THE NORTH PARTS OF ENGLAND, AND ONE OF HIS MAIESTIES MOST HONORABLE PRIVIE COVNCELL.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

THE ſence of that happy peace, which by the divine providence this Kingdome hath enjoyed, ſince the beginning of the raigne of his late Majeſtie of ever ſacred memory, doth then take the deeper impreſſion, when theſe our halcyon dayes are compared with the former turbulent and tempeſtuous times, and with the miſeries (of ſeverall kindes) incident unto them. Thoſe

calamities are fully ſet out, and to the life by Mr Spenſer, *with a diſcovery of their cauſes, and remedies, being for the moſt part excellent grounds of reformation. And ſo much may be juſtly expected from him in regard of his long abode and experience of this Kingdome. In theſe reſpects, and for other good uſes, which the collections (now communicated) doe afford for matter of* hiſtory *and* policy, *I am incouraged to dedicate them to your Lordſhip, and humbly to deſire your favourable acceptance of them, and of*

Your Lordſhips ever

humbly devoted

IAMES WARE.

THE PREFACE.

HOw far theſe collections may conduce to the knowledge of the *antiquities* and *ſtate* of this Land, let the fit reader judge: yet ſomething I may not paſſe by touching Mr *Edmund Spenſer* & the worke it ſelfe, leſt I ſhould ſeeme to offer injury to his worth, by others ſo much celebrated. Hee was borne in *London* of an ancient and noble family, and brought up in the Vniverſitie of *Cambridge*, where (as the fruites of his after labours doe manifeſt) he miſpent not his time. After this he became Secretary to *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, a valiant and worthy Governour, and ſhortly after for his ſervices to the Crowne, he had beſtowed upon him by Queene *Elizabeth*, 3000. acres of land in the Countie of *Corke*. There hee finiſhed the later part of that excellent poem of his *Faery Queene*, which was ſoone after unfortunately loſt by the diſorder and abuſe of his ſervant, whom he had ſent before him into *England*, being then *à rebellibus* (as [a] *Camdens* words are) *è laribus ejectus & bonis ſpoliatus*. He deceaſed

[a] *Annal. rer. Anglic. & Hiburn. pag. 729. edit. 1625.*

sed at *Westminster* in the yeare 1599. (others have it wrongly 1598.) soone after his returne into *England*, and was buried according to his owne desire, in the collegiat Church there, neere unto *Chaucer*, whom he worthily imitated, (at the costes of *Robert* Earle of *Essex*,) wherupon this Epitaph was framed,

Hic prope Chaucerum *situs est* Spenserius, *illi*
proximus ingenio, proximus ut tumulo.
Hic prope Chaucerum Spensere *poeta poetam*
conderis, & versu quàm tumulo propior.
Anglica te vivo vixit plausitq; poesis,
nunc moritura timet te moriente mori.

As for his worke now [b] published, although it sufficiently testifieth his learning and deepe judgement, yet we may wish that in some passages it had bin tempered with more moderation. The troubles and miseries of the time when he wrote it, doe partly excuse him, And surely wee may conceive, that if hee had lived to see these times, and the good effects which the last 30. yeares peace have produced in this land, both for obedience to the lawes, as also in traffique, husbandry, civility, & learning, he would have omitted those passages which may seeme to lay either any particular aspersion upon some families, or generall upon the Nation. For now we may truly say, *jam cuncti gens una sumus*, and that upon just cause those ancient statutes, wherein

[b] *Ex Bibliothecâ Rem. in Christo patris D. Iacobi Vsserij Archiep. Armachani.*

mr spencer censured by Sr. Iame wares mistake of immoderation

for the rebellion of oct. 23. 1641. Justified spencers nose & deepe insight into that barbarous nation

& were wofully deluded by a false people

wherein the natives of *Irish* descent were held to be, and named *Irish* enemies, and wherein those of *English* bloud were forbidden to marry and commerce with them, were repealed by [c] act of Parlament, in the raigne of our late Soveraigne King IAMES of ever blessed memory.

[c] *Vid. lib. Statut. Hibern. edit. Dubl. an. 1621. pag. 427.*

His proofes (although most of them conjecturall) concerning the originall of the language, customes of the Nation, and the first peopling of the severall parts of the Iland, are full of good reading, and doe shew a sound judgment. They may be further confirmed by comparing them with *Richard Creagh's* Booke *de linguâ Hibernicâ*, which is yet extant in the original manuscript, & althogh mixed with matter of story, leaning too much to some fabulous traditions, yet in other respects worthy of light.

His proofes full of good reading and shew a sound judgment

Richard Creagh de lingua Hibernica &c for his worthy of Light

Touching the generall scope intended by the author for the reformation of abuses and ill customes, This we may say, that although very many have taken paines in the same subject, during the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, and some before, as the [d] author of the booke intituled *Salus populi*, and after him [e] *Patrick Finglas*, cheife Baron of the Exchequer here, and afterwardes cheife Iustice of the common pleas, yet none came so neere to the best grounds for reformation, a few passages excepted, as *Spenser* hath done in this. Some marginall notes I have added, although not intending any, untill the fourth part of the Booke was printed.

[d] *Floruit sub Iacobo rege Edw. 4.*

[e] *Floruit sub Hen. 8.*

Patrick Finglas &c

A VIEVV OF THE STATE OF IRELAND,

VVritten Dialogue-wise betweene *Eudoxus* and *Irenæus*,

By *Edmund Spenser* Esq. in the yeare 1596.

Eudox. BVT if that Countrey of *Ireland*, whence you lately came, bee of so goodly and commodious a soyle as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.

Iren. Marry so there have bin divers good plottes devised, & wise Councels cast already about reformation of that Realme, but they say, it is the fatall destiny of that Land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, wil prosper or take good effect, which whether it proceed from the very *Genius* of the soyle, or influence of the starres, or that almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto *England*, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

Eudox. Surely I suppose this but a vaine conceipt of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather thinke the cause of this evill, which hangeth upon that Countrey, to proceed rather of the unsoundnes of the Councels, and plots which you say have bin oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintnes in following & effecting the same, then of any such fatall course appointed of God, as you misdeeme, but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions succeede not as they would, they are alwayes readie to impute the

Ireland of a good & and commodious soyle

wise councels haue been laid for reformation of Ireland

But haue not succeeded, and why

blame thereof unto the Heavens, ſo to excuſe their owne follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wished alſo, (even of ſome whoſe great wiſedomes in opinion ſhould ſeeme to judge more ſoundly of ſo weighty a conſideration) that all that land were a Sea poole: which kinde of ſpeech, is the manner rather of deſperate men farre driven, to wiſh the utter ruine of that which they cannot redreſs, then of grave Counſellors, which ought to thinke nothing ſo hard but that thorough wiſedome, it may bee maſtered and ſubdued, ſince the *Poet* ſaith, that *the wiſeman ſhall rule even over the Starres*, much more over the Earth, for were it not the part of a deſperate Phiſitian to wiſh his diſeaſed Patient dead, rather then to apply the beſt indeavour of his ſkill, for his recovery. But ſince we are ſo farre entred, let us, I pray you, a little deviſe of thoſe evils, by which that country is held in this wretched caſe, that it cannot (as you ſay) be recured. And if it be not painefull to you, tell us what things during your late continuance there, you obſerved to bee moſt offenſive, and greateſt impeachment to the good rule and government thereof.

Iren. Surely *Eudox.* the evils which you deſire to be recounted are very many, & almoſt countable with thoſe which were hidden in the baſket of *Pandora*. But ſince you pleaſe I will out of that infinite number, reckon but ſome that are moſt capitall, & commonly occurrant both in the life & conditions of private men, as alſo in the managing of publicke affaires and pollicy, the which you ſhall underſtand to be of divers natures, as I obſerved them: For ſome of them are of verie great antiquity and continuance, others more late and of leſſe indurance, others dayly growing and increaſing continuallie by their evill occaſions, which are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell them then, I pray you, in the ſame order that you haue now rehearſed the, for there can be no better method then this which the very matter it ſelfe offereth. And when you have reckoned all the evils, let us heare your opinion for the redreſſing of the: After which there will perhaps of it ſelfe appeare ſome reaſonable way to ſettle a ſound and perfect rule of government, by ſhunning the former evils, and following the offered good. The which method we may learne of the wiſe Phiſitians, which firſt require that the malady be knowne throughly, and diſcovered: Afterwards to teach how to cure and redreſſe it: And laſtly doe preſcribe a dyet with ſtraight rule and orders to be dayly obſerved, for feare of relapſe into the former diſeaſe, or falling into ſome other more dangerous then it.

Iren. I will then according to your adviſement begin to declare the evils, which ſeeme to me, moſt hurtfull to the common-weale of that land; And firſt thoſe (I ſay) which were moſt auncient and long growne. And they alſo are of three ſorts: The firſt in the Lawes, the ſecond in Cuſtomes, and the laſt in Religion.

Eudox. Why *Irenæus* can there be any evill in the lawes, can things which are ordained for the good and ſafety of all, turne to the evill and hurt of them? This well I wote both in that State, and in all other

other, that were they not contained in duty with feare of law, which reſtraineth offences, and inflicteth ſharpe puniſhment to miſdoers, no man ſhould enjoy any thing; every mans hand would be againſt an other. Therfore in finding fault with the Lawes, I doubt me, you ſhall much over-ſhoote your ſelfe, and make me the more diſlike your other diſlikes of that government.

Iren. The Lawes *Eudox.* I doe not blame for themſelves, knowing right well that all Lawes are ordained for the good of the common-weale, and for repreſſing of licentiouſneſſe and vice, but it falleth out in Lawes, no otherwiſe then it doth in Phyſick, which was at firſt deviſed, and is yet daylie ment, and miniſtred for the health of the Patient. But nevertheleſſe we often ſee, that either thorough ignorance of the diſeaſe, or thorough unſeaſonableneſſe of the time, or other accidents comming betweene, in ſtead of good, it worketh hurt, and out of one evill, throweth the Patient into many miſeries. So the Lawes were at firſt intended for the reformation of abuſes, and peaceable continuance of the Subiects, but are ſithence either diſanulled, or quite prevaricated thorough change and alteration of times, yet are they good ſtill in themſelves, but in that commō-wealth which is ruled by them, they worke not that good which they ſhould, and ſometimes alſo that evill which they would not.

Eudox. Whether doe you meane this by the Common-Lawes of that Realme, or by the Statute Lawes, and Acts of Parliaments.

Iren. Surely by them both: for even the Common law being that which *William* of *Normandy* brought in with his conqueſt, and laid upon the neck of *England*, though perhaps it fitted well with the ſtate of *England* then being, and was readily obeyed thorough the power of the Commander, which had before ſubdued the people unto him, & made eaſie way to the ſetling of his will, yet with the ſtate of *Ireland* peradventure it doth not ſo well agree, being a people very ſtubborne and untamed, or if it were ever tamed, yet now lately having quite ſhooken off their yoake, & broken the bonds of their obedience. For *England* (before the entrance of the Conqueror) was a peaceable Kingdome, and but lately inured to the milde and goodly government of *Edward* ſurnamed the Confeſſor, beſides now lately growne into a loathing and deteſtation of the unjuſt and tyrannous rule of *Harold* an uſurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reaſonable conditiōs, & order of the new victor, thinking ſurely that it could be no worſe then the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former, yet what the proofe of firſt bringing in & eſtabliſhing of thoſe lawes was, was to many full bitterly made knowne. But with *Ireland* it is farre otherwiſe, for it is a Nation ever acquainted with warres, though but amongſt themſelves, & in their owne kinde of military diſcipline, trayned up ever from their youthes, which they have never yet beene taught to lay aſide, nor made to learne obedience unto Lawes, ſcarcely to know the name of Law, but in ſtead thereof have alwayes preſerved and

The Brehon Law.

kept their owne Law, which is the *Brehon* Law.

Eudox. What is that which you call the *Brehon* law, it is a word unto us altogether unknowne?

Described a rule of right unwritten.

Iren. It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great shew of equity, in determining the right betweene party and party, but in many things repugning quite both to Gods Law, and mans: As for example in the case of murder, the *Brehon*, that is their judge, will compound betweene the murderer, and the friends of the party murdered which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child, or wife of him that is slain, a recompence, which they call an *Eriach*: By which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongst them are made up, and smothered. And this Iudge being as hee is called the Lords *Brehon*, adjudgeth for the most part, a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the soyle, or the head of that Sept, and also unto himselfe for his judgement a greater portion, then unto the Plantiffes or parties greived.

Eria hig

The Brehon law used amongst many Irish since S. Patrick &c

Eudox. This is a most wicked law indeed: But I trust it is not now used in Ireland, since the Kings of *England* have had the absolute dominion thereof, and established their owne Lawes there.

And how it comes to passe

Iren. Yes truly, for there be many wide countries in *Ireland* which the lawes of *England* were never established in, nor any acknowledgment of subjection made, & also even in those which are subdued; & seeme to acknowledge subjection, yet the same *Brehon* law is practised among themselues, by reason, that dwelling as they doe, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, they may doe what they list, and compound or altogether conceale amongst themselves their owne crimes, of which no notice can be had, by them which would and might amend the same, by the rule of the Lawes of *England*.

Eudox. What is this which you say? And is there any part of that Realme or any Nation therein, which have not yet beene subdued to the Crowne of *England*? Did not the whole Realme universally accept and acknowledge our late Prince of famous memory *Henry* the VIIIth for their onely King and Leige Lord?

Though all Ireland in parliament accepted K. H. 8 for their only King & Liege Lord

Iren. Yes verily: in a Parliament holden in the time of Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger* then Lord Deputy, all the Irish Lords and principall men came in, and being by faire meanes wrought thereunto, acknowledged King *Henry* for their Soveraigne Lord, reserving yet (as some say) unto themselves all their owne former priviledges and Seignories inviolate.

Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his Soveraignty they also accepted of his lawes. Why then should any other lawes be now used amongst them?

yet not being held to his Lawes, like wild colts shooke of their bridles.

Iren. True it is that thereby they bound themselves to his lawes & obedience, and in case it had beene followed upon them, as it should have beene, and a government thereupon setled among them agree-

agreeable thereunto, they should have beene reduced to perpetuall civilitie, and contained in continuall dutie. But what bootes it to breake a Colte, and to let him straight runne loose at randome. So were these people at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledge allegiance to the Kings of England: but being straight left unto themselves and their owne inordinate life and manners, they eftsoones forgot what before they were taught, and so soone as they were out of sight, by themselves shooke off their bridles, and beganne to colte anew, more licentiously then before.

And now doe not acknowledge the submission they made

Eudox. It is a great pittie, that so good an oportunity was omitted, and so happie an occasion fore-slacked, that might have beene the eternall good of the Land. But doe they not still acknowledge that submission?

Iren. No, they doe not: for now the heires and posterity of them which yeelded the same, are (as they say) either ignorant thereof, or doe wilfully deny, or stedfastly disavow it.

and for reasons &c of

Eudox. How can they so doe justly? Doth not the act of the Parent in any lawfull graunt or conveyance, bind their heires for ever thereunto? Sith then the Aunce stors of those that now live, yeelded themselves then subjects and Liegemen, shall it not tye their Children to the same subiection?

Iren. They say no: for their Aunce stours had no estate in any their Lands, Seigniories, or Hereditaments, longer then during their own lifes, as they alledge, for all the Irish doe hold their Land by *Tanistrie*; which is (say they) no more but a personall estate for his life time, that is, *Tanist*, by reason that he is admitted thereunto by election of the Country.

Tanist & Tanistry

Eudox. What is this which you call *Tanist* and *Tanistry*? They be names and termes never heard of nor knowne to us.

Iren. It is a custome amongst all the Irish, that presently after the death of any of their chiefe Lords or Captaines, they doe presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed & knowne unto them to choose another in his steed, where they doe nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of the Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest & worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that kinred or sept, and then next to him doe they choose the next of the blood to be *Tanist*, who shall next succeed him in the said Captainry, if he live therunto.

Tanist

Eudox. Doe they not use any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites.

The inauguration of their captaine

Iren. They vse to place him that shalbe their Captaine, upon a stone alwayes reserved for that purpose, & placed commonly upon a hill: In some of which I have seen formed & ingraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captaines foot, whereon hee standing, receive an oath to preserve all the auncient former cu-

ſtomes of the Countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the ſucceſſion peaceably to his *Taniſt*, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by ſome whoſe proper office that is: after which, deſcending from the ſtone, he turneth himſelfe round, thrice forward, & thrice backward.

How ye Tanist is chosen.

Eudox. But how is the *Taniſt* choſen?

Iren. They ſay he ſetteth but one foot upon the ſtone, and receiveth the like oath that the Captaine did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occaſion and firſt beginning of this cuſtome? for it is good to know the ſame, and may perhaps diſcover ſome ſecret meaning and intent therein, very materiall to the ſtate of that government.

The beginning and cause of Tanistry

Iren. I have heard that the beginning & cauſe of this ordinance amongſt the Iriſh, was ſpecially for the defence and maintenance of their Lands in their poſteritie, and for excluding all innovation or alienation thereof unto ſtrangers, and ſpecially to the Engliſh. For when their Captaine dieth, if the Signiorie ſhould deſcend to his child, & he perhaps an Infant, another peradventure ſtep in between, or thruſt him out by ſtrong hand, being then unable to defend his right, or to withſtand the force of a forreiner, and therfore they doe appoint the eldeſt of the kinne to have the Signiorie, for that he commonly is a man of ſtronger yeares, and better experience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the Countrey, either againſt the next bordering Lords, which uſe commonly to incroach one upon another, as each one is ſtronger, or againſt the Engliſh, which they thinke lye ſtill in waite to wype them out of their Lands and Territoryes. And to this end the *Taniſt* is alwayes ready knowne, if it ſhould happen the Captaine ſuddenly to dye, or to be ſlaine in battell, or to be out of the Countrey, to defend and keepe it from all ſuch doubts and dangers. For which cauſe the *Taniſt* hath alſo a ſhare of the Country allotted unto him, and certaine cuttings and ſpendings upon all the inhabitants under the Lord.

The Irish Lords incroach one upon another

The Tanist how maintained

Eudox. When I heard this word *Taniſt*, it bringeth to my remembrance what I have read of *Tania*, that it ſhould ſignifie a Province or Seigniorie, as *Aquitania*, *Luſitania*, and *Britania*; the which ſome thinke to be derived of *Dania*, that is, from the *Danes*; but, I thinke, amiſſe. But ſure it ſeemeth, that it came anciently from thoſe barbarous nations that over-ranne the world, which poſſeſſed thoſe Dominions, whereof they are now ſo called. And ſo it may well be that from thence the firſt originall of this word *Taniſt* and *Taniſtry* came, and the cuſtome thereof hath ſithence, as many others els, beene continued, But to that generall ſubjection of the Land, whereof wee formerly ſpake, me ſeemes that this cuſtome or tenure can be no barre nor impeachment, ſeeing that in open Parliament by their ſaid acknowledgment they waved the benefite thereof, and ſubmitted themſelves to the benefite of their new Soveraigne.

The Chimology of Tanist & Tanistry

Iren. Yea but they ſay as I earſt tolde you, that they reſerved their

their titles, tenures and Seigniories whole and ſound to themſelves, and for proofe alledge, that they have ever ſithence remained to them untouched, ſo as now to alter them, ſhould (ſay they) be a great wrong.

They are tenacious of this custome.

Eudox. What remedie is there then, or meanes to avoide this inconvenience? for without firſt cutting of this dangerous cuſtome, it ſeemeth hard to plant any ſound ordenance, or reduce them to a civill government, ſince all their ill cuſtomes are permitted unto them.

The meanes to abolish it

Iren. Surely nothing hard: for by this Act of Parliament whereof wee ſpeake, nothing was given to K. *Henry* which he had not before from his Auncеſtors, but onely the bare name of a King, for all other abſolute power of principality he had in himſelfe before derived from many former Kings, his famous Progenitours and worthy Conquerors of that Land. The which ſithence they firſt conquered and by force ſubdued unto them, what needed afterwards to enter into any ſuch idle termes with them to be called their King, when it is in the power of the Conqueror to take upon himſelf what title he will, over his Dominions conquered. For all is the Conquerours, as *Tully* to *Brutus* ſaith. Therefore (me ſeemes) inſtead of ſo great and meritorious a ſervice as they boaſt they performed to the King, in bringing all the Iriſh to acknowledge him for their Liege, they did great hurt unto his Title, and have left a perpetuall gall in the minde of the people, who before being abſolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed but with termes, whereas elſe both their lives, their lands, and their liberties were in his free power to appoint what tenures, what lawes, what conditions hee would over them, which were all his: againſt which there could be no rightfull reſiſtance, or if there were, he might when he would eſtabliſh them with a ſtronger hand.

The 25 act of H. 8. did hurt to his title to Ireland.

Eudox. Yea but perhaps it ſeemed better unto that noble King to bring them by their owne accord to his obedience, and to plant a peaceable government amongſt them, then by ſuch violent means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he therby loſt any thing that he formerly had, for having all before abſolutely in his owne power, it remaineth ſo ſtill unto him, he having thereby neither forgiven, nor forgone any thing thereby unto them, but having received ſomthing from them, that is a more voluntary and loyall ſubjection. So as her Majeſty may yet when it ſhall pleaſe her, alter any thing of thoſe former ordinances, or appoint other lawes, that may be more both for her owne behoofe, and for the good of that people.

not easie to change things growen to a habit.

Iren. Not ſo: for it is not ſo eaſie, now that things are growne unto an habit, and have their certaine courſe to change the channell, & turne their ſtreames another way; for they may have now a colorable pretence to withſtand ſuch innovations, having accepted of other lawes and rules already.

Eudox. But you ſay they do not accept of them, but delight rather to leane to their old cuſtomes & *Brehon* lawes, though they be more unjuſt

unjuſt and alſo more inconvenient for the common people, as by your late relation of them I have gathered. As for the lawes of England they are ſurely moſt juſt and moſt agreeable, both with the government and with the nature of the people. How falls it then that you ſeeme to diſlike of them, as not ſo meete for that Realme of Ireland, and not onely the Common Law, but alſo the Statutes and Actes of Parliament, which were ſpecially provided and intended for the onlie benefit thereof?

Reason why ye laws of England are not meete for Ireland

Iren. I was about to have told you my reaſon therein, but that your ſelfe drewe me away with other queſtions, for I was ſhewing you by what meanes, and by what ſort, the Poſitive Lawes were firſt brought in and eſtabliſhed by the *Norman Conquerour*: which were not by him deviſed nor applyed unto the ſtate of the Realme then being, nor as yet might beſt be (as ſhould by Lawgivers principally be regarded) but were indeed the very Lawes of his owne Countrey of *Normandie*. The condition whereof, how farre it differeth from this of *England*, is apparant to every leaſt judgement. But to tranſferre the ſame lawes for the governing of the Realme of *Ireland*, was much more inconvenient and unmeete, for he found a better advantage of the time, then was in the planting of them in Ireland, and followed th'execution of them with more ſeverity, and was alſo preſent in perſon to overlooke the Magiſtrates, and to over awe theſe ſubjects with the terrour of his Sword, and countenance of his Majeſty. But not ſo in Ireland, for they were otherwiſe affected, and yet doe ſo remaine, ſo as the ſame Lawes (me ſeemes) can ill fit with their diſpoſition, or worke that reformation that is wiſhed. For Lawes ought to be faſhioned unto the manners & conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be impoſed upon them according to the ſimple rule of right, for then (as I ſaid) in ſtead of good they may worke ill, and pervert Iuſtice to extreame injuſtice. For hee that tranſferres the Lawes of the *Lacedemonians* to the people of *Athens*, ſhould finde a great abſurditie and inconvenience. For thoſe Lawes of *Lacedemon* were deviſed by *Licurgus* as moſt proper and beſt agreeing with that people, whom hee knew to be enclined altogether to warres, and therefore wholly trained them up even from their Cradles in armes and military exerciſes, cleane contrary to the inſtitution of *Solon*, who in his Lawes to the *Athenians* laboured by all meanes to temper their warlike courages with ſweet delightes of learning and ſciences, ſo that aſmuch as the one excelled in armes, the other exceeded in knowledge. The like regard & moderation ought to be had in tempering and managing of this ſtubborne nation of the *Iriſh* to bring them from their delight of licentious barbariſme unto the love of goodnes and civilitie.

The Irish a stuborne nation.

Eudox. I cannot ſee how that may better bee then by the Diſcipline of the Lawes of *England*: for the Engliſh were at firſt, as ſtoute and warlike a people as ever the Iriſh, and yet you ſee are now brought unto that civillity, that no nation in the world excelleth them

How ye English were reduced to civility

them in all goodly converſation, and all the ſtudies of knowledge and humanitie.

Iren. What they now be, both you and I ſee very well, but by how many thornie and hard wayes they are come thereunto, by how many civill broiles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazzarded oftentimes the whole ſafety of the kingdome, may eaſily be conſidered: all which they nevertheleſſe fairely overcame, by reaſon of the continuall preſence of their King, whoſe onely perſon is oftentimes in ſtead of an Army, to containe the unrulie people from a thouſand evill occaſions, which this wretched kingdome for want thereof is dayly carried into. The which whenſoever they make head, no lawes, no penalties, can reſtraine, but that they doe in the violence of that furie, tread downe and trample under foote all both divine and humane things, and the lawes themſelues they doe ſpecially rage at, and rend in peeces, as moſt repugnant to their libertie and naturall freedome, which in their madnes they affect.

By the continuall presence of the King.

want of Irish meant.

Eudox. It is then a very unſeaſonable time to plead law, when Swords are in the hands of the vulgar; or to thinke to retaine them with feare of puniſhments, when they looke after liberty, and ſhake off all governement.

Iren. Then ſo it is with *Ireland* continually, *Eudoxus*; for the ſword was never yet out of their hand, but when they are weary of warres and brought downe to extreame wretchedneſſe, then they creepe a little perhaps and ſue for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered their ſtrength againe. So as it is in vaine to ſpeake of planting lawes, and plotting pollicie, till they be altogether ſubdued.

In vain to speak of lawes till Irish are altogether subdued

Eudox. Were they not ſo at the firſt conquering of them by *Strongbowe* in the time of King *Henry* the ſecond? was there not a thorough way then made by the ſword, for the impoſing of the lawes upon them? and were they not then executed with ſuch a mightie hand as you ſaid was uſed by the *Norman Conquerour*? What oddes is there then in this caſe? why ſhould not the ſame lawes take as good effect in that people as they did here, being in like ſort prepared by the ſword, and brought under by extreamity? and why ſhould they not continue in as good force and vigour for the containing of the people?

Strongbowe in H. 2 time

Difference betweene the conquest of England and of Ireland

Iren. The caſe yet is not like, but there appeareth great oddes betweene them: for by the conqueſt of *Henry* the ſecond, true it is that the Iriſh were utterly vanquiſhed and ſubdued, ſo as no enemy was able to hold up head againſt his power, in which their weakenes hee brought in his lawes, and ſettled them as now they there remaine; Like as *William* the Conquerour did, ſo as in thus much they agree; but in the reſt that is the cheifeſt, they varie: for to whom did King *Henry* the ſecond impoſe thoſe lawes, not to the Iriſh, for the moſt part of them fled from his power, into deſerts and mountaines, leaving the wyde countrey to the *Conquerour*: who in their ſtead eftſoones placed Engliſh men, who poſſeſſed all their lands and did quite

The English Lawes in H. 2 time were not given to Irish

who fled to deserts and mountaines

quite ſhut out the *Iriſh*, or the moſt part of them. And to thoſe new inhabitants and Colonies, he gave his lawes, to wit the ſame lawes, under which they were borne and bred, the which it was no difficultie to place amongſt them, being formerly well inured thereunto, unto whom afterwards they repaired diverſe of the poore diſtreſſed people of the *Iriſh*, for ſuccour and reliefe of whom, ſuch as they thought fit for labour and induſtriouſly diſpoſed, as the moſt part of their baſer ſort are, they received unto them as their vaſſalls, but ſcarcely vouchſafed to impart unto them the benefit of thoſe lawes under which themſelves lived, but every one made his will and commandement a law unto his owne vaſſall: Thus was not the Law of *England* ever properly applyed unto the *Iriſh* Nation, as by a purpoſed plot of government, but as they could inſinuate and ſteale themſelves under the ſame, by their humble carriage and ſubmiſſion.

Eudox. How comes it then to paſſe, that having beene once ſo low brought, and thoroughly ſubjected, they afterwards lifted up themſelves ſo ſtrongly againe, and ſithence doe ſtand ſo ſtiffely againſt all rule and government?

Iren. They ſay that they continued in that lowlineſſe, untill the time that the diviſion between the two houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* aroſe for the Crowne of *England*: at which time all the great *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen which had great poſſeſſions in *Ireland*, repaired over hither into *England*, ſome to ſuccour their Friends here, and to ſtrengthen their partie for to obtaine the Crowne, others to defend their lands and poſſeſſions here againſt ſuch as hovered after the ſame upon hope of the alteration of the kingdome and ſucceſſe of that ſide which they favoured and affected. Then the *Iriſh* whom before they had baniſhed into the mountaines, where they lived onely upon whitt meates, as it is recorded, ſeeing now their lands ſo diſpeopled, and weakened, came downe into all the plaines adjoyning, and thence expelling thoſe few *Engliſh* that remained, repoſſeſſed them againe, ſince which they have remained in them, and growing greater, have brought under them many of the Engliſh, which were before their Lords. This was one of the occaſions by which all thoſe Countreyes, which lying neere unto any Mountaines, or *Iriſh* deſarts, had beene planted with *Engliſh*, were ſhortly diſplanted and loſt. As namely in *Mounſter* all the lands adjoyning unto *Slewlogher*, *Arlo*, and the bog of *Allon*. In *Connaght* all the Countries bordering upon the *Curlues*, *Mointerolis*, and *Orourkes* Countrey. In *Leinſter* all the lands bordering unto the Mountaines of *Glanmalour*, unto *Shillelah*, unto the *Brackenah*, and *Polmonte*. In *Vlſter* all the Countreyes neere unto *Tirconnel*, *Tyrone*, and the *Scottes*.

Eudox. Surely this was a great violence: but yet by your ſpeach it ſeemeth that onely the Countreyes and valleyes neere adjoyning unto thoſe mountaines and deſarts, were thus recovered by the *Iriſh*: but how comes it now that we ſee almoſt all that Realme repoſſeſſed of them? was there any more ſuch evill occaſions growing by the

the troubles of *England*. Or did the Iriſh out of thoſe places ſo by them gotten breake further and ſtretch themſelves out thorough the whole land: for now, for ought that I can underſtand, there is no part but the bare *Engliſh Pale*, in which the Iriſh have not the greateſt footing.

Iren. But out of theſe ſmall beginings by them gotten neare to the mountaines, did they ſpread themſelves into the Inland, and alſo to their further advantage, there did other like unhappy accidents happen out of *England*; which gave heart and good opportunity to them to regaine their old poſſeſſions: For in the raigne of King *Edward* the fourth, things remained yet in the ſame ſtate that they were after the late breaking out of the *Iriſh*, which I ſpake of; and that noble Prince began to caſt an Eye unto *Ireland*, and to minde the reformation of things there runne amiſſe: for he ſent over his brother the worthy Duke of *Clarence*, who having married the heire of the Earle of *Vlſter*, and by her having all the Earledome of *Vlſter*, and much in *Meath* and in *Mounſter*, very carefully went about the redreſſing of all thoſe late evills, and though he could not beate out the *Iriſh* againe, by reaſon of his ſhort continuance, yet hee did ſhut them up within thoſe narrow corners and glynnes under the mountaines foote, in which they lurked, and ſo kept them from breaking any further, by building ſtrong holdes upon every border, and fortifying all paſſages. Amongſt the which hee repaired the *Caſtle* of *Clare* in *Thomond*, of which Countrey he had the inheritance, and of *Mortimers* lands adjoyning, which is now (by the *Iriſh*) called *Killaloe*. But the times of that good King growing alſo troubleſome, did lett the thorough reformation of all things. And thereunto ſoone after was added another farall miſchiefe, which wrought a greater calamity then all the former. For the ſaid Duke of *Clarence* then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was by practiſe of evill perſons, about the King his brother, called thence away: and ſoone after by ſiniſter meanes was cleane made away. Preſently after whoſe death, all the North revolting, did ſet up *Omale* for their Captaine, being before that of ſmall power and regard and there aroſe in that part of *Thomond*, one of the *O-Briens*, called *Murrogh-in-Ranagh*, that is, *Morrice* of the *Ferne* or waſt wilde places, who gathering unto him all the reliques of the diſcontented *Iriſh*, eftſoones ſurpriſed the ſaid Caſtle of *Clare*, burnt, and ſpoyled all the *Engliſh* there dwelling, and in ſhort ſpace poſſeſſed all that country beyond the River of *Shanan* and neere adjoyning: Whence ſhortly breaking forth like a ſuddaine tempeſt he over-ran all *Mounſter* and *Connaght*; breaking downe all the holds and fortreſſes of the *Engliſh*, defacing and utterly ſubverting all corporate Townes, that were not ſtrongly walled: for thoſe, he had no meanes nor Engines to overthrow, neither indeed would hee ſtay at all about them, but ſpeedily ran forward, counting his ſuddenneſſe his moſt advantage, that he might overtake the *Engliſh* before they could fortifie or gather themſelves together. So in ſhort ſpace hee cleane wyped out many

many great Townes, as firſt *Inchequin*, then *Killalow*, before called *Clariford*, alſo *Thurles*, *Mourne*, *Buttevant*, and many others, whoſe names I cannot remember, and of ſome of which there is now no memory nor ſigne remaining. Vpon report whereof there flocked unto him all the ſcumme of the *Iriſh* out of all places, that ere long he had a mighty Army, and thence marched foorth into *Leinſter*, where he wrought great out-rages, waſting all the Countrey where he went; for it was his policie to leave no hold behinde him, but to make all plaine and waſte. In the which he ſoone after created himſelfe King, and was called King of all *Ireland*, which before him I doe not reade that any did ſo generally, but onely *Edward le Bruce*.

Eudox. What? was there ever any generall King of all *Ireland*? I never heard it before, but that it was alwayes (whilſt it was under the *Iriſh*) divided into foure, and ſometimes into five kingdomes or dominions. But this *Edward le Bruce* what was hee, that could make himſelfe King of all *Ireland*?

Iren. I would tell you in caſe you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is, the inconvenience and unfitneſſe which I ſuppoſed to be in the lawes of the Land.

Eudox. No ſurely, I have no cauſe, for neither is this impertinent thereunto; for ſithence you did ſet your courſe (as I remember in your firſt part) to treate of the evils which hindered the peace and good ordering of that Land, amongſt which, that of the inconvenience in the lawes, was the firſt which you had in hand; this diſcourſe of the over-running & waſting of the Realme, is very materiall thereunto, for that it was the begining of al the other evils, which ſithence have afflicted that land, & opened a way unto the *Iriſh* to recover their poſſeſſion, & to beat out the *Engliſh* which had formerly wonne the ſame. And beſides, it will give a great light both unto the ſecond and third part, which is the redreſſing of thoſe evils, & planting of ſome good forme or policy therin, by renewing the remembrance of theſe occaſiõs & accidents, by which thoſe ruines hapned, & laying before us the enſamples of thoſe times, to be cõpared to ours, & to be warned by thoſe which ſhall have to doe in the like. Therefore I pray you tell them unto us, and as for the point where you left, I will not forget afterwards to call you backe againe thereunto.

Iren. This *Edw. le Bruce* was brother of *Robert le Bruce*, who was King of *Scotland*, at ſuch time as K. *Edward* the ſecond raigned here in *England*, and bare a moſt malicious and ſpightfull minde againſt K. *Edward*, doing him all the ſcathe that hee could, and annoying his Territoryes of *England*; whileſt hee was troubled with civill warres of his Barons at home. Hee alſo to worke him the more miſchiefe, ſent over his ſaid brother *Edward* with a power of *Scottes* and *Red-ſhankes* into *Ireland*, where by the meanes of the *Lacies*, and of the *Iriſh*, with whom they combined, they gave footing, and gathering unto him all the ſcatterlings and out-lawes out of all the

the woods and mountaines, in which they long had lurked, marched foorth into the *Engliſh* pale, which then was chiefly in the North from the point of *Donluce* and beyond unto *Dublin*: Having in the middeſt of her *Knockfergus*, *Belfaſt*, *Armagh*, and *Carlingford*, which are now the moſt out-bounds and abandoned places in the *Engliſh* Pale, and indeede not counted of the *Engliſh* Pale at all: for it ſtretcheth now no further then *Dundalke* towardes the North. There the ſaid *Edward le Bruce* ſpoyled and burnt all the olde *Engliſh* Pale Inhabitants, and ſacked and raſed all Citties and Corporate Townes, no leſſe then *Murrough en Ranagh*, of whom I earſt tolde you: For hee waſted *Belfaſt*, *Greene-Caſtle*, *Kelles*, *Bellturbut*, *Caſtletowne*, *Newton*, and many other very good Townes and ſtrong holdes, hee rooted out the noble Families of the *Audlies*, *Talbotts*, *Tuchets*, *Chamberlaines*, *Maundevills*, and the *Savages* out of *Ardes*, though of the Lo: *Savage* there remaineth yet an heire, that is now a poore Gentleman of very meane condition, yet dwelling in the *Ardes*. And comming laſtly to *Dundalke*, hee there made himſelfe King, and raigned the ſpace of one whole yeare; untill that *Edward* King of *England* having ſet ſome quiet in his affaires at home, ſent over the Lord *Iohn Birmingham* to bee Generall of the Warres againſt him; who incountering him neere to *Dundalke*, over-threw his Army, and ſlew him. Alſo hee preſently followed the victory ſo hotly upon the *Scottes*, that hee ſuffered them not to breathe, or gather themſelves together againe, untill they came to the Sea-coaſt. Notwithſtanding all the way that they fledde, for very rancor and deſpight, in their returne they utterly conſumed and waſted whatſoever they had before left unſpoyled, ſo as of all Townes, Caſtles, Forts, Bridges, and Habitations, they left not any ſticke ſtanding, nor any people remayning, for thoſe few which yet ſurvived, fledde from their fury further into the *Engliſh* Pale that now is. Thus was all that goodly countrey utterly waſted. And ſure it is yet a moſt beautifull and ſweet Countrey as any is under Heaven, being ſtored throughout with many goodly Rivers, repleniſhed with all ſorts of Fiſh moſt abundantly, ſprinkled with many very ſweet Ilands and goodly Lakes, like little inland Seas, that will carry even ſhippes upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods even fit for building of houſes & ſhips, ſo commodiouſly, as that if ſome Princes in the world had them, they would ſoone hope to be Lords of all the Seas, and ere long of all the world: alſo full of very good Ports and Havens opening upon *England*, as inviting us to come unto them, to ſee what excellent cõmodities that Countrey can afford, beſides the ſoyle it ſelfe moſt fertile, fit to yeeld all kinde of fruit that ſhall be committed thereunto. And laſtly, the Heavens moſt milde and temperate, though ſomwhat more moiſt then the parts towards the Weſt.

Eudox. Truly *Iren.* what with your praiſes of the countrey, and

what with your diſcourſe of the lamentable deſolation therof, made by thoſe *Scottes*, you have filled mee with a great compaſſion of their calamities, that I doe much pitty that ſweet Land, to be ſubiect to ſo many evills as I ſee more and more to bee layde upon her, and doe halfe beginne to thinke, that it is (as you ſaid at the beginning) her fatall miſfortune above all other Countreyes that I know, to bee thus miſerably toſſed and turmoyled with theſe variable ſtormes of affliction. But ſince wee are thus farre entred into the conſideration of her miſhaps, tell mee, have there beene any more ſuch tempeſts as you terme them, wherein ſhe hath thus wretchedly beene wracked?

Iren. Many more God wot, have there beene, in which principall parts have beene rent and torne aſunder, but none (as I can remember) ſo univerſall as this. And yet the rebellion of *Thomas fitz Garret* did well-nye ſtretch it ſelfe into all parts of *Ireland*. But that which was in the time of the government of the Lord *Grey*, was ſurely no leſſe generall then all thoſe, for there was no part free from the contagion, but all conſpired in one, to caſt off their ſubiection to the Crowne of *England*. Nevertheleſſe thorough the moſt wiſe and valiant handling of that right noble Lord, it got not the head which the former evills found; for in them the Realme was left like a ſhip in a ſtorme, amidſt all the raging ſurges, unruled, and undirected of any: for they to whom ſhe was committed, either fainted in their labour, or forſooke their charge. But hee (like a moſt wiſe Pilote,) kept her courſe carefully, and held her moſt ſtrongly even againſt thoſe roaring billowes, that he ſafely brought her out of all; ſo as long after, even by the ſpace of 12. or 13. whole yeares, ſhe roade at peace, thorough his onely paines and excellent indurance, how ever envy liſt to blatter againſt him. But of this wee ſhall have more occaſion to ſpeake in another place. Now (if you pleaſe) let us returne againe unto our firſt courſe.

Eudox. Truely I am very glad to heare your iudgement of the government of that honorable man ſo ſoundly, for I have heard it oftentimes maligned, and his doings depraved of ſome, who (I perceive) did rather of malicious minde, or private grievance, ſeeke to detract from the honour of his deeds and Counſels, then of any iuſt cauſe, but hee was nevertheleſſe in the iudgements of all good and wiſe men, defended and maintained. And now that hee is dead, his immortall fame ſurviveth, and flouriſheth in the mouthes of all people, that even thoſe which did backbite him, are checked with their owne venome, and breake their galls to heare his ſo honorable report. But let him reſt in peace, and turne we to our more troubleſome matters of diſcourſe, of which I am right ſorry that you make ſo ſhort an end, and covet to paſſe over to your former purpoſes, for there be many other parts of *Ireland*, which I have heard have bin no leſſe vexed with the like ſtormes, then theſe which you have treated of, as the Countries of the *Birnes* & *Tooles* neere *Dublin*, with

with the inſolent out-rages and ſpoyles of *Feagh mac Hugh*, the Countreyes of *Catherlagh*, *Wexford*, and *Waterford*, by the *Cavenaghes*. The Countreyes of *Leix*, *Kilkenny*, and *Kildare* by the *O Moores*. The Countreyes of *Ofaly* and *Longford* by the *Connors*. The Countreyes of *Weſtmeath*, *Cavan*, and *Lowth*, by the *O Relyes*, the *Kellyes*, and many others; ſo as the diſcourſing of them, beſides the pleaſure which would redound out of their Hiſtory, be alſo very profitable for matters of policy.

Iren. All this which you have named, and many more beſides, often times have I right well knowne, and yet often doe kindle great fires of tumultuous broyles in the Countreyes bordering upon them. All which to rehearſe, ſhould rather bee to Chronicle times, then to ſearch into reformation of abuſes in that Realme, and yet very needfull it will bee to conſider them, and the evills which they have often ſtirred up, that ſome redreſſe thereof, and prevention of the evills to come, may thereby rather be deviſed. But I ſuppoſe wee ſhall have a fitter oportunity for the ſame, when wee ſhall ſpeake of the particular abuſes, and enormities of the government, which will bee next after theſe generall defects and inconveniences which I ſaide were in the Lawes, Cuſtomes, and Religion.

Eudox. Goe to then a Gods name, and follow the courſe which you have promiſed to your ſelfe, for it fitteth beſt, I muſt confeſſe with the purpoſe of our diſcourſe. Declare your opinion as you began about the Lawes of the Realme, what incommoditie you have conceived to bee in them, chiefly in the common Law, which I would have thought moſt free from all ſuch diſlike.

Iren. The Common Law is (as I ſaide before) of it ſelfe moſt rightfull and very convenient (I ſuppoſe) for the Kingdome, for which it was firſt deviſed: for this (I thinke) as it ſeeemes reaſonable, that out of your manners of your people, and abuſes of your Countrey, for which they were invented, they take their firſt beginning, or elſe they ſhould bee moſt unjuſt; for no Lawes of man (according to the ſtraight rule of right) are juſt, but as in regard of the evills which they prevent, and the ſafety of the Common-weale which they provide for. As for example, in your true ballancing of Iuſtice, it is a flat wrong to puniſh the thought or purpoſe of any before it bee enacted, for true Iuſtice puniſheth nothing but the evill act or wicked word, that by the Lawes of all Kingdomes it is a capitall cryme to deviſe or purpoſe the death of your King: The reaſon is, for that when ſuch a purpoſe is effected, it ſhould then bee too late to deviſe thereof, and ſhould turne the Common-wealth to more loſſe by the death of their Prince, then ſuch puniſhment of the malefactors. And therefore the Law in that caſe puniſheth the thought, for better is a miſchiefe, then an inconvenience. So that *Ius politicum*, though

though it bee not of it ſelfe juſt, yet by application, or rather neceſſity it is made juſt, and this onely reſpect maketh all Lawes juſt. Now then, if theſe Lawes of *Ireland* bee not likewiſe applyed and fitted for that Realme, they are ſure very inconvenient.

Eudox. You reaſon ſtrongly: but what unfitneſſe doe you finde in them for that Realme, ſhew us ſome particulars.

Iren. The Common Law appointeth, that all tryalls, as well of Crimes, as Titles and Rights, ſhall bee made by verdict of a Iury, choſen out of the honeſt and moſt ſubſtantiall Free-holders. Now, moſt of the Free-holders of that Realme, are *Iriſh*, which when the cauſe ſhall fall betwixt an Engliſhman and an Iriſh, or betweene the Queene, and any Free-houlder of that Countrey, they make no more ſcruple to paſſe againſt an Engliſhman, and the Queene, though it bee to ſtrayne their oathes, then to drinke milke unſtrayned. So that before the Iury goe together, it is all to nothing what the verdict ſhall be. The tryall have I ſo often ſeene, that I dare confidently avouch the abuſe thereof. Yet is the Law of it ſelfe, (as I ſaid) good, and the firſt inſtitution thereof being given to all Engliſhmen very rightfully, but now that the Iriſh have ſtepped into the very roomes of your Engliſh, wee are now to become heedfull and provident in Iuryes.

Eudox. In ſooth *Iren.* you have diſcoverſed a point worthy the conſideration; for heereby not onely the Engliſh ſubject findeth no indifferencie in deciding of his cauſe, bee it never ſo juſt; but the Queene aſwell in all pleas of the Crowne, as alſo in inquiries for Eſcheates, Lands attainted, Wardſhipps, Concealements, and all ſuch like, is abuſed and exceedingly dammaged.

Iren. You ſay very true; for I dare undertake, that at this day there are more attainted Lands, concealed from her Majeſtie, then ſhee hath now poſſeſſions in all *Ireland*, and it is no ſmall inconvenience: for beſides that, ſhee looſeth ſo much Land as ſhould turne to her great profite, ſhee beſides looſeth ſo many good ſubjects, which might bee aſſured unto her, as thoſe Landes would yeelde Inhabitants and living unto.

Eudox. But doth many of that people (ſay you) make no more conſcience to perjure themſelves in their verdicts, and damne their ſoules?

Iren. Not onely ſo in their verdicts, but alſo in all other their dealings: eſpecially with the Engliſh they are moſt willfully bent: for though they will not ſeeme manifeſtly to doe it, yet will ſome one or other ſubtle-headed fellow amongſt them, put ſome quirke, or deviſe ſome evaſion, whereof the reſt will likely take hold, and ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be led by him to that

that themſelves deſired. For in the moſt apparant matter that may bee, the leaſt queſtion or doubt that may bee mooved, will make a ſtoppe unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Beſides, that of themſelves (for the moſt part) they are ſo cautelous and wylie-headed, eſpecially being men of ſo ſmall experience, and practice in law matters, that you would wonder whence they borrow ſuch ſubtiltyes and ſlye ſhifts.

Eudox. But mee thinkes this inconvenience might bee much helped in the Iudges and chiefe Magiſtrates which have the chooſing and nominating of thoſe Iurors, if they would have dared to appoint either moſt Engliſhmen, and ſuch Iriſhmen as were of the ſoundeſt judgment and diſpoſition, for no doubt but ſome there bee incorruptible.

Iren. Some there bee indeede as you ſay, but then would the *Iriſh* partie crye out of partialitie, and complaine hee hath no Iuſtice, hee is not uſed as a ſubject, hee is not ſuffered to have the free benefite of the Law, and theſe out-cryes the Magiſtrates there doe much ſhunne, as they have cauſe, ſince they are readily hearkened unto heere, neither can it bee indeede, although the *Iriſh* party would bee ſo contented to be ſo compaſſed, that ſuch *Engliſh* free-houlders which are but few, and ſuch faithfull *Iriſh-men*, which are indeede as few, ſhall alwayes bee choſen for tryalls, for being ſo few, they ſhould bee made weary of their free-houldes. And therefore a good care is to bee had by all good occaſions, to encreaſe their number, and to plant more by them. But were it ſo, that the Iurors could bee picked out of ſuch choyce men as you deſire, this would nevertheleſſe bee as bad a corruption in the tryall, for the evidence being brought in by the baſer *Iriſh* people, will bee as deceiptfull as the verdict, for they care much leſſe then the others, what they ſweare, and ſure their Lordes may compell them to ſay any thing, for I my ſelfe have heard, when one of the baſer ſort (which they call Churles) being challenged and reproved for his falſe oath, hath anſwered confidently, that his Lord commaunded him, and it was the leaſt thing that hee could doe for his Lord, to ſweare for him; ſo inconſcionable are theſe common people, and ſo little feeling have they of God, or their owne ſoules good.

Eudox. It is a moſt miſerable caſe, but what helpe can there then bee in this? for though the manner of the tryalls ſhould bee altered, yet the proofe of every thing muſt needes bee by the teſtimony of ſuch perſons as the partyes ſhall produce, which if they ſhall bee corrupt, how can there ever any light of the truth appeare, what remedy is there for this evill, but to make heavy Lawes and Penalties againſt Iurors.

Iren. I thinke ſure that will doe ſmall good, for when a people be inclined to any vice, or have no touch of Conſcience, nor fence of their evill doings; it is booteleſſe to thinke to reſtraine them by any penalties or feare of puniſhment, but either the occaſion is to be taken away, or a more underſtanding of the right, and ſhame of the fault to be imprinted. For if that *Licurgus* ſhould have made it death for the *Lacedemonians* to ſteale, they being a people which naturally delighted in ſtealth, or if it ſhould bee made a capitall crime, for the *Flemmings* to be taken in drunkenneſſe, there ſhould have beene few *Lacedemonians* then left, and few *Flemmings* now. So unpoſſible it is, to remove any fault ſo generall in a people, with terrour of lawes or moſt ſharpe reſtraints.

Eudox. What meanes may there be then to avoyde this inconvenience, for the caſe ſeemes very hard?

Iren. We are not yet come to the point to deviſe remedies for the evils, but only have now to recount them, of the which, this which I have told you is one defect in the Common Law.

Eudox. Tell us then (I pray you) further, have you any more of this ſort in the Common Law?

Iren. By rehearſall of this, I remember alſo of an other like, which I have often obſerved in trialls, to have wrought great hurt and hinderance, and that is the exceptions which the common law alloweth a Fellon in his tryall, for he may have (as you know) 56. exceptions peremptory againſt the Iurors, of which he ſhal ſhew no cauſe. By which ſhift there being (as I have ſhewed you) ſo ſmall ſtore of honeſt Iurymen, he will either put off his tryall, or drive it to ſuch men as (perhaps) are not of the ſoundeſt ſort, by whoſe meanes, if he can acquite himſelfe of the crime, as he is likely, then will he plague ſuch as were brought firſt to bee of his Iurie, and all ſuch as made any party againſt him. And when he comes forth, he will make their Cowes and Garrons to walke, if he doe no other harme to their perſons.

Eudox. This is a ſlye deviſe, but I thinke might ſoone bee remedied, but we muſt leave it a while to the reſt. In the meane-while doe you goe forwards with others.

Iren. There is an other no leſſe inconvenience then this, which is, the tryall of acceſſaries to fellony, for by the common Law, the acceſſaries cannot be proceeded againſt, till the principall have received his tryall. Now to the caſe, how it often falleth out in *Ireland*, that a ſtealth being made by a rebell, or an outlawe, the ſtolne goods are conveyed to ſome husbandman or Gentleman, which hath well to take to, and yet liveth moſt by the receipt of ſuch ſtealthes, where they are found by the owner, and handled: whereupon the partie is perhaps apprehended and committed to Goale, or put upon ſureties, till the Seſſions, at which time the owner preferring a bill of Indictment, proveth ſufficiently the ſtealth to have beene committed upon him, by ſuch an Outlaw, and to have beene found in the poſſeſſion of the priſoner, againſt whom, nevertheleſſe, no courſe of law can proceede

ceede, nor tryall can be had, for that the principall Theife is not to be gotten, notwithſtanding that he likewiſe, ſtanding perhaps indicted at once, with the Receiver, being in rebellion, or in the woods: where peradventure he is ſlaine before he can be gotten, and ſo the Receiver cleane acquitted and diſcharged of the crime. By which meanes the Theeves are greatly incouraged to ſteale, and their maintainers imboldened to receive their ſtealthes, knowing how hardly they can be brought to any tryall of Law.

Eudox. Truely this is a great inconvenience, and a great cauſe (as you ſay) of the maintenance of Theeves, knowing their Receivers alwayes ready, for were there no receivers, there would be no theeves: but this (me ſeemes) might eaſily be provided for, by ſome act of Parliament, that the receiver being convicted by good proofes might receive his tryall without the principall.

Iren. You ſay very true *Eudox.* but that is almoſt impoſſible to be compaſſed: And herein alſo you diſcover another imperfection, in the courſe of the Common Law, and firſt ordinance of the Realme: for you know that the ſaid Parliament muſt conſiſt of the Peeres, Gentlemen, Free-holders, and Burgeſſes of that Realme it ſelfe. Now theſe being perhaps themſelves, or the moſt part of them (as may ſeeme by their ſtiffe with-ſtanding of this Act) culpable of this crime, or favourers of their freinds, which are ſuch, by whom their Kitchins are ſometimes amended, will not ſuffer any ſuch Statute to paſſe. Yet hath it oftentimes beene attempted, and in the time of Sir *Iohn Parrot* very earneſtly (I remember) laboured, but could by no meanes be effected. And not onely this, but many other like, which are as needefull for the reformation of that Realme.

Eudox. This alſo is ſurely a great defect, but wee may not talke (you ſay) of the redreſſing of this, untill our ſecond part come, which is purpoſely appointed thereunto. Therefore proceed to the recounting of more ſuch evils, if at leaſt, you have any more.

Iren. There is alſo a great inconvenience, which hath wrought great damage, both to her Majeſty, and to that common wealth, thorough cloſe and colourable conveyances of the lands and goods of Traytors, Fellons and Fugitives. As when one of them mindeth to goe into rebellion, hee will convey away all his lands and Lordſhips, to Feoffees in truſt, wherby he reſerveth to himſelfe, but a ſtate for terme of life, which being determined either by the ſword or by the halter, their lands ſtraight commeth to their heire, and the Queen is defrauded of the intent of the Law, which laide that grievous puniſhment upon Traytors, to forfeite all their lands to the Prince, to the end that men might the rather be terrified from committing treaſons, for many which would little eſteeme of their owne lives, yet for remorſe of their wives and children would bee with-held from that haynous crime. This appeared plainely in the late *Earle* of *Deſmond*. For before his breaking forth into open Rebellion, hee had conveyed ſecretly all his lands to Feoffees of truſt, in hope to have

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cut off her Maieſtie from the eſcheate of his Lands.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well enough avoided, for the Act of Parliament which gave all his lands to the Queene, did (as I have heard) cut off and fruſtrate all ſuch conveyances, as had at any time by the ſpace of twelve yeares before his rebellion, beene made, within the compaſſe whereof, the fraudulent Feoffement, and many the like of others his accomplices and fellow-traytors were contained.

Iren. Very true, but how hardly that Act of Parliament was wrought out of them, I can witneſſe; and were it to be paſſed againe, I dare undertake it would never be compaſſed. But were it alſo that ſuch Acts might be eaſily brought to paſſe againſt Traytors and Fellons, yet were it not an endleſſe trouble, that no Traitour or Fellon ſhould be attainted, but a Parliament muſt be called for bringing of his Lands to the Queene, which the Common-Law giveth her.

Eudox. Then this is no fault of the Common Law, but of the perſons which worke this fraud to her Majeſtie.

Iren. Yes marry; for the Common-Law hath left them this benefite, whereof they make advantage, and wreſt it to their bad purpoſes. So as thereby they are the bolder to enter into evill actions, knowing that if the worſt befall them, they ſhall loſe nothing but themſelves, whereof they ſeeme ſurely very careleſſe.

Eudox. But what meant you of Fugitives herein? Or how doth this concerne them?

Iren: Yes, very greatly, for you ſhall underſtand that there bee many ill diſpoſed and undutifull perſons of that Realme, like as in this point there are alſo in this Realme of *England* too many, which being men of good inheritance, are for diſlike of Religion, or danger of the law, into which they are run, or diſcontent of the preſent government, fled beyond the ſeas, where they live under Princes, which are her Mties profeſſed enemies, & converſe, & are confederat with other traitors & fugitives, which are there abiding. The which nevertheleſſe have the benefits & profits of their lands here, by pretence of ſuch colourable conveyances thereof, formerly made by them unto their privie Friends heere in truſt, who privily doe ſend over unto them the ſaid Revenues wherwith they are there maintained and enabled againſt her Majeſtie.

Eudox. I doe not thinke that there be any ſuch fugitives, which are relieved by the profite of their Lands in *England*, for there is a ſtraighter order taken. And if there bee any ſuch in *Ireland*, it were good it were likewiſe looked unto, for this evill may eaſily be remedied. But proceede.

Iren. It is alſo inconvenient in the Realme of *Ireland*, that the Wards and Marriages of Gentlemens children ſhould be in the diſpoſition of any of thoſe *Iriſh* Lords, as now they are, by reaſon that their Lands bee held by Knights ſervice of thoſe Lords. By which means it comes to paſſe that thoſe Gentlemen being thus in the ward of

of thoſe Lords, are not onely thereby brought up lawdly, and *Iriſh*-like, but alſo for ever after ſo bound to their ſervices, they will runne with them into any diſloyall action.

Eudox. This grievance *Iren.* is alſo complained of in *England*, but how can it be remedied, ſince the ſervice muſt follow the tenure of the lands, and the lands were given away by the Kings of *England* to thoſe Lords, when they firſt conquered that Realme, and to ſay troth, this alſo would be ſome prejudice to the Prince in her wardſhipps.

Iren. I doe not meane this by the Princes wards, but by ſuch as fall into the hands of *Iriſh* Lords, for I could wiſh, and this I could enforce that all thoſe wardſhips were in the Princes diſpoſition, for then it might be hoped, that ſhe for the univerſall reformation of that Realme, would take better order for bringing up thoſe wards in good nurture, and not ſuffer them to come into ſo bad hands. And although theſe things bee already paſſed away, by her Progenitours former grants unto thoſe ſaid Lords; yet I could finde a way to remedie a great part thereof, as hereafter, when fit time ſerves ſhall appeare. And ſince we are entred into ſpeech of ſuch graunts of former Princes, to ſundry perſons of this Realme of *Ireland*, I will mention unto you ſome other, of like nature to this, and of like inconvenience, by which the former Kings of *England*, paſſed unto them a great part of their prerogatives, which though then it was well intended, and perhaps well deſerved of them which received the ſame, yet now ſuch a gapp of miſcheife lyes open thereby, that I could wiſh it were well ſtopped. Of this ſort are the graunts of Counties palatines in *Ireland*, which though at firſt were granted upon good conſideration when they were firſt conquered, for that thoſe lands lay then as a very border to the wild *Iriſh*, ſubject to continuall invaſion, ſo as it was needfull to give them great priviledges for the defence of the Inhabitants thereof: yet now that it is no more a border, nor frontired with enemies, why ſhould ſuch priviledges bee any more continued?

Eudox. I would gladly know what you call a County palatine, and whence it ſo called.

Iren. It was (I ſuppoſe) firſt named palatine of a pale, as it were a pale and defenſe to their inward lands, ſo as it is called the *Engliſh Pale*, and therefore is a Palſgrave, named an Earle Palatine. Others thinke of the Latine, *palare*, that is to forrage or out-run, becauſe thoſe marchers and borderers uſe commonly ſo to doe. So as to have a county palatine is, in effect, to have a priviledge to ſpoyle the enemies borders adjoyning. And ſurely ſo it is uſed at this day, as a priviledged place of ſpoiles and ſtealthes, for the county of *Tipperary*, which is now the onely countie palatine in *Ireland*, is by abuſe of ſome bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the reſt of the Counties about it, by meanes of whoſe priviledges none will follow their ſtealthes, ſo as it being ſituate in the very lap of all the land, is made now

now a border, which how inconvenient it is, let every man judge. And though that right noble man, that is the Lord of the liberty, do paine himſelfe, all he may, to yeeld equall Iuſtice unto all, yet can there not but great abuſes lurke in ſo inward and abſolute a priviledge, the conſideration whereof is to be reſpected carefully, for the next ſucceſſion. And much like unto this graunt, there are other priviledges graunted unto moſt of the corporations there: that they ſhal not be bound to any other government then their owne, that they ſhall not be charged with garriſons, that they ſhall not bee travailed forth of their owne franchiſes, that they may buy and ſell with theeves and rebels, that all amercements and fines that ſhal be impoſed upon them, ſhall come unto themſelves. All which, though at the time of their firſt graunt they were tollerable, and perhaps reaſonable, yet now, are moſt unreaſonable and inconvenient, but all theſe will eaſily be cut off with the ſuperiour power of her Majeſties prerogative, againſt which her owne grants are not to be pleaded or enforced.

Iren. Now truely *Irenæus* you have (me ſeemes) very well handled this point, touching inconveniences in the Common-Law there, by you obſerved; and it ſeemeth that you have had a mindefull regard unto the things that may concerne the good of that Realme. And if you can aſwell goe thorough with the Statute lawes of that land. I will thinke you have not loſt all your time there. Therefore I pray you, now take them in hand, and tell us, what you thinke to bee amiſſe in them.

Iren. The Statutes of that Realme are not many, and therefore we ſhall the ſooner runne thorough them. And yet of thoſe few there are impertinent and unneceſſary: the which though perhaps at the time of the making of them, were very needfull, yet now thorough change of time are cleane antiquated, and altogether idle: As that which forbiddeth any to weare their beards all on the upper lippe, and none under the Chinne. And that which putteth away ſaffron ſhirts and ſmockes. And that which reſtraineth the uſe of guilt bridles and petronels. And that which is appointed for the Recorders and Clerks of *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, to take but ij.d. for the coppy of a plainte. And that which commaunds Bowes and Arrowes. And that which makes, that all Iriſhmen which ſhall converſe among the Engliſh, ſhall be taken for ſpyes, and ſo puniſhed. And that which forbids perſons ameſnable to Law, to enter and diſtraine in the lands in which they have title, and many other the like, I could rehearſe.

Eudox. Theſe truely, which yee have repeated, ſeeme very frivolous and fruiteleſſe, for by the breach of them, little dammage or inconvenience, can come to the Common-wealth: Neither indeed, if any tranſgreſſe them, ſhall he ſeeme worthy of puniſhment, ſcarce of blame, ſaving but for that they abide by that name of Lawes. But Lawes ought to be ſuch, as that the keeping of them, ſhould be greatly

ly for the behoofe of the Common-weale, and the violating of them ſhould be very haynous, and ſharpely puniſhable. But tell us of ſome more weighty diſlikes in the Statutes then theſe, and that may more behoofefully import the reformation of them.

Iren. There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongfull diſtrayning of any mans goods, againſt the forme of Common Law, to be fellony. The which Statutes ſeeme ſurely to have beene at firſt meant for the good of that Realme, and for reſtrayning of a foule abuſe, which then raigned commonly amongſt that people, and yet is not altogether laide aſide: That when any one was indebted to another, he would firſt demaund his debt, and if he were not payed, hee would ſtraight goe and take a diſtreſſe of his goods or cattell, where he could finde them, to the value; which he would keepe till he were ſhiffied, and this the ſimple Churle (as they call him) doth commonly uſe to doe, yet thorough ignorance of his miſdoing, or evill uſe, that hath long ſettled amongſt them. But this, though it bee ſure moſt unlawfull, yet ſurely (me ſeemes) too hard to make it death, ſince there is no purpoſe in the party to ſteale the others goods, or to conceale the diſtreſſe, but doth it openly, for the moſt part, before witneſſes. And againe, the ſame Statutes are ſo ſlackely penned (beſides the later of them is ſo unſenſibly contryved, that it ſcarce carryeth any reaſon in it) that they are often and very eaſily wreſted to the fraude of the Subject, as if one going to diſtrayne upon his own land or Tenement, where lawfully he may, yet if in doing thereof he tranſgreſſe the leaſt point of the Common Law, hee ſtraight committeth fellony. Or if one by any other occaſion take any thing from another, as Boyes uſe ſometimes to cap one another, the ſame is ſtraight fellony. This is a very hard Law.

Eudox. Nevertheles that evill uſe of diſtrayning of another mans goods yee will not deny, but it is to be aboliſhed and taken away.

Iren. It is ſo, but not by taking away the ſubject withall, for that is too violent a medecine, ſpecially this uſe being permitted, and made lawfull to ſome; and to other ſome death. As to moſt of the corporate Townes there, it is graunted by their Charter, that they may, every man by himſelfe, without an Officer (for that were more tollerable) for any debt, to diſtraine the goods of any *Iriſh*, being found within their liberty, or but paſſing thorough their townes. And the firſt permiſſion of this, was for that in thoſe times when that graunt was made, the *Iriſh* were not ameſnable to Law, ſo as it was not ſafety for the Towneſ-man to goe to him forth to demaund his debt, nor poſſible to draw him into Law, ſo that he had leave to bee his owne Bayliffe, to arreſt his ſaid debters goods, within his owne francheſe. The which the *Iriſh* ſeeing, thought it as lawfull for them to diſtrayne the Towneſ-mans goods in the Countrey, where they found it. And ſo by enſample of that graunt to Towneſ-men, they thought it lawfull, and made it a uſe to diſtrayne on anothers goods for ſmall debts. And to ſay truth, mee thinkes it hard for every trifling

fling debt, of 2. or 3. ſhil: to be driven to Law, which is ſo farre from them ſometimes to be ſought, for which me thinketh it too heavy an ordinance to give death, eſpecially to a rude man that is ignorant of law, and thinketh that a common uſe or graunt to other men, is a law for himſelfe.

Eudox. Yea, but the Iudge when it commeth before him to tryall, may eaſily decide this doubt, and lay open the intent of the Law, by his better diſcretion.

Iren. Yea, but it is dangerous to leave the ſence of the Law unto the reaſon or will of the Iudge, who are men and may bee miſcaried by affections, and many other meanes. But the Lawes ought to bee like ſtony Tables, plaine, ſtedfaſt, and unmoveable. There is alſo ſuch another Statute or two, which make *Coigny* and *Livery* to bee treaſon, no leſſe inconvenient then the former, being as it is penned, how ever the firſt purpoſe thereof were expedient, for thereby now no man can goe into another mans houſe for lodging, nor to his owne Tennants houſe to take victuall by the way, notwithſtanding that there is no other meanes for him to have lodging, nor horſe meate, nor mans meate, there being no Innes, nor none otherwiſe to bee bought for money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for treaſon, whenſoever he ſhall happen to fall out with his Tennant, or that his ſaid hoſte liſt to complaine of greivance, as oftentimes I have ſeene them very malitiouſly doe, thorough the leaſt provocation.

Eudox. I doe not well know, but by gheſſe, what you doe meane by theſe termes of *Coigny* and *Livery*, therefore I pray you explaine them.

Iren. I know not whether the words bee Engliſh or Iriſh, but I ſuppoſe them to bee rather auncient Engliſh, for the Iriſh men can make no derivation of them. What *Livery* is, wee by common uſe in *England* know well enough, namely, that it is allowance of horſe-meate, as they commonly uſe the word in ſtabling, as to keepe horſes at *Livery*, the which word, I gueſſe, is derived of livering or delivering forth their nightly foode: So in great houſes, the *livery* is ſaid to be ſerved up for all night, that is their evenings allowance for drinke. And *livery* is alſo called, the upper weede which a ſerving man weareth, ſo called (as I ſuppoſe) for that it was delivered and taken from him at pleaſure: So it is apparant, that by the word *Livery*, is there meant horſe meate, like as by the word *Coigny*, is underſtood mans meate. But whence the word is derived is hard to tell: Some ſay of Coine, for that they uſed commonly in their *Coignies*, not onely to take meate, but coine alſo: and that taking of money was ſpeciallie meant to be prohibited by that Statute: but I thinke rather this word *Coigny* is derived of the Iriſh. The which is a common uſe amongſt Land-lords of the *Iriſh*, to have a common ſpending upon their Tennants: for all their Tennants, being commonly but Tennants at will, they uſe to take of them what victuals they liſt: For of victuals they were wont to make ſmall reckoning: neither in this was the Tennant wronged

wronged, for it was an ordinary and knowne cuſtome, and his Lord commonly uſed ſo to covenant with him, which if at any time the tenant diſliked, hee might freely depart at his pleaſure. But now by this Statute, the ſaid *Iriſh* Lord is wronged, for that hee is cut off from his cuſtomary ſervices, of the which this was one, beſides many other of the like, as *Cuddy*, *Coſhery*, *Bonnaght*, *Shrah*, *Sorehin*, and ſuch others: the which (I thinke) were cuſtomes at firſt brought in by the *Engliſh* upon the *Iriſh*, for they were never wont, and yet are loath to yeeld any certaine Rent, but only ſuch ſpendings: for their common ſaying is, *Spend me and defend me.*

Eudox. Surely I take it as you ſay, that therein the *Iriſh* Lord hath wrong, ſince it was an auncient cuſtome, and nothing contrary to Law, for to the willing there is no wrong done. And this right well I wot, that even heere in *England*, there are in many places as large cuſtomes, as that of *Coignie* and *Livery*. But I ſuppoſe by your ſpeach, that it was the firſt meaning of the ſtatute, to forbid the violent taking of victuaſls upon other mens Tenants againſt their wills, which ſurely is a great out-rage, and yet not ſo great (mee ſeemes) as that it ſhould be made treaſon: for conſidering that the nature of treaſon is concerning the Royall eſtate or Perſon of the Prince, or practizing with his enemies, to the derogation and danger of his Crowne and dignitie, it is hardly wreſted to make this treaſon. But (as you earſt ſaid) *Better a miſchiefe then an inconvenience.*

Iren. Another Statute I remember, which having beene an auncient *Iriſh* Cuſtome, is now upon adviſement made a Law, and that is called the Cuſtome of *Kin-cogiſh*, which is, that every head of every Sept, and every chiefe of every kinred or family, ſhould bee anſwereable and bound to bring foorth every one of that ſept and kinred under it, at all times to be juſtified, when hee ſhould be required or charged with any treaſon, felony, or other haynous crime.

Eudox. Why? ſurely this ſeemes a very neceſſary Law. For conſidering that many of them bee ſuch Loſells and ſcatterlings, as that they cannot eaſily by any Sheriffe, Conſtable, Bayliffe, or other ordinary Officer bee gotten, when they are challenged for any ſuch fact, this is a very good meanes to get them to bee brought in by him, that is the head of that ſept, or chiefe of that houſe, wherfore I wonder what juſt exception you can make againſt the ſame.

Iren. Truely *Eudoxus*, in the pretence of the good of this Statute, you have nothing erred, for it ſeemeth very expedient and neceſſary, but the hurt which commeth thereby is greater then the good. For whileſt every chiefe of a ſept ſtandeth ſo bound to the Law, for every man of his blood or ſept that is under him, and hee made great, by the commaunding of them all. For if hee may not commaund them, then that Law doth wrong, that bin-

deth him to bring them foorth to bee iuſtified. And if hee may commaund them, then hee may commaund them aſwell to ill as to good. Heereby the Lords and Captaines of Countreyes, the principall and heades of ſepts are made ſtronger, whome it ſhould bee a moſt ſpeciall care in policie to weaken, and to ſet up and ſtrengthen diverſe of his underlings againſt him, which whenſoever hee ſhall offer to ſwarve from duty, may bee able to beard him; for it is very dangerous to leave the commaund of ſo many as ſome ſepts are, being five or ſixe thouſand perſons, to the will of one man, who may leade them to what he will, as he himſelfe ſhall be inclined.

Eudox. In very deede *Iren.* it is very dangerous, ſeeing the diſpoſition of thoſe people is not alwayes inclineable to the beſt. And therefore I holde it no wiſedome to leave unto them too much commaund over their kinred, but rather to with-drawe their followers from them aſmuch as may bee, and to gather them under the commaund of Law, by ſome better meane then this cuſtome of *Kin-tegiſh*. The which word I would bee glad to know what it namely ſignifieth, for the meaning thereof I ſeeme to underſtand reaſonably well.

Iren. It is a word mingled of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* together, ſo as I am partly ledde to thinke, that the cuſtome thereof was firſt *Engliſh*, and afterwardes made *Iriſh*: for ſuch an other Law they had heere in *England*, as I remember, made by King *Alured*, that every Gentleman ſhould bring foorth his kinred and followers to the Law. So *Kin* is *Engliſh*, and *Congiſh* Affinitie in *Iriſh*.

Eudox. Sith then wee that have thus reaſonably handled the inconveniences in the Lawes, let us now paſſe unto the ſecond part, which was, I remember, of the abuſes of cuſtomes; in which mee ſeemes, you have a faire champian layde open unto you, in which you may at large ſtretch out your diſcourſe into many ſweete remembrances of antiquities, from whence it ſeemeth that the cuſtomes of that nation proceeded.

Iren. Indeede *Eudox.* you ſay very true; for all the cuſtomes of the *Iriſh* which I have often noted and compared with that I have read, would miniſter occaſion of a moſt ample diſcourſe of the originall of them, and the antiquity of that people, which in truth I thinke to bee more auncient then moſt that I know in this end of the world, ſo as if it were in the handling of ſome man of ſound judgement and plentifull reading, it would bee moſt pleaſant and profitable. But it may bee wee may at ſome other time of meeting, take occaſion to treate thereof more at large. Heere onely it ſhall ſuffiſe to touch ſuch cuſtomes of the *Iriſh* as ſeeme offenſive and repugnant to the good government of that Realme.

Eudox. Follow then your owne courſe, for I ſhall the better content my ſelfe to forbeare my deſire now, in hope that you

you will, as you ſay, ſome other time more aboundantly ſatiſfie it.

Iren. Before we enter into the treatie of their cuſtomes, it is firſt needfull to conſider from whence they firſt ſprung; for from the ſundry manners of the nations, from whence that people which now is called *Iriſh*, were derived, ſome of the cuſtomes which now remain amongſt them, have beene firſt fetcht, and ſithence there continued amongſt them; for not of one nation was it peopled, as it is, but of ſundry people of different conditions and manners. But the chiefeſt which have firſt poſſeſſed and inhabited it, I ſuppoſe to bee *Scythians*.

Eudox. How commeth it then to paſſe, that the *Iriſh* doe derive themſelves from *Gathelus* the *Spaniard*?

Iren. They doe indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground. For if there were any ſuch notable tranſmiſſion of a Colony hether out of *Spaine*, or any ſuch famous conqueſt of this Kingdome by *Gathelus* a *Spaniard*, as they would faine believe, it is not unlikely, but that the very Chronicles of *Spaine*, (had *Spaine* then beene in ſo high regard, as they now have it) would not have omitted ſo memorable a thing, as the ſubduing of ſo noble a Realme to the *Spaniard*, no more then they doe now neglect to memorize their conqueſt of the *Indians*, ſpecially in thoſe times, in which the ſame was ſuppoſed, being nearer unto the flouriſhing age of learning and Writers under the *Romanes*. But the *Iriſh* doe heerein no otherwiſe, then our vaine *Engliſhmen* doe in the Tale of *Brutus*, whom they deviſe to have firſt conquered and inhabited this Land, it being as impoſſible to proove, that there was ever any ſuch *Brutus* of *England*, as it is, that there was any ſuch *Gathelus* of *Spaine*. But ſurely the *Scythians* (of whom I earſt ſpoke) at ſuch time as the Northerne nations over-flowed all Chriſtendome, came downe to the ſea-coaſt, where inquiring for other Countries abroad, & getting intelligence of this countrey of *Ireland*, finding ſhipping convenient, paſſed thither, and arrived in the North part thereof, which is now called *Vlſter*, which firſt inhabiting, and afterwards ſtretching themſelves forth into the Land, as their numbers increaſed, named it all of themſelves *Scuttenland*, which more briefly is called *Scutland*, or *Scotland*.

Eudox. I wonder (*Irenæus*) whether you runne ſo farre aſtray, for whileſt wee talke of *Ireland*, mee thinkes you rippe up the originall of *Scotland*, but what is that to this?

Iren. Surely very much, for *Scotland* and *Ireland* are all one and the ſame.

Eudox. That ſeemeth more ſtrange; for we all know right well that they are diſtinguiſhed with a great Sea running between them, or elſe there are two *Scotlands*.

Iren. Never the more are there two *Scotlands*, but two kindes of Scots were indeed (as you may gather out of *Buchanan*) the one *Irin*, or *Iriſh Scots*, the other *Albin-Scots*; for thoſe *Scots* are *Scythians*, arrived (as I ſaid) in the North parts of *Ireland*, where ſome of them after paſſed into the next coaſt of *Albine*, now called *Scotland*, which (after much trouble) they poſſeſſed, & of themſelves named *Scotland*; but in proceſſe of time (as it is commonly ſeene) the dominion of the part prevaileth in the whole, for the *Iriſh Scots* putting away the name of *Scots*, were called onely *Iriſh*, & the *Albine Scots*, leaving the name of *Albine*, were called only *Scots*. Therefore it commeth thence that of ſome writers, *Ireland* is called *Scotia maior*, and that which now is called *Scotland*, *Scotia minor*.

Eudox. I doe now well underſtand your diſtinguiſhing of the two ſorts of *Scots*, & two *Scotlands*, how that this which now is called *Ireland*, was anciently called *Erin*, and afterwards of ſome written *Scotland*, & that which now is called *Scotland*, was formerly called *Albin*, before the comming of the *Scythes* thither; but what other nation inhabited the other parts of *Ireland*?

Iren. After this people thus planted in the North (or before) for the certaintie of times in things ſo farre from all knowledge cannot be juſtly avouched) another nation comming out of *Spaine*, arrived in the Weſt part of *Ireland*, & finding it waſte, or weakely inhabited, poſſeſſed it, who whether they were native *Spaniards*, or *Gaules*, or *Africans*, or *Gothes*, or ſome other of thoſe Northerne nations which did over-ſpread all Chriſtendome, it is impoſſible to affirme, only ſome naked conjectures may be gathered, but that out of *Spaine* certainely they came, that doe all the *Iriſh* Chronicles agree.

Eudox. You doe very boldly *Iren.* adventure upon the Hiſtories of auncient times, and leane too confidently on thoſe *Iriſh* Chronicles which are moſt fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the originall of ſuch a nation ſo antique, as that no monument remaines of her beginning and firſt inhabiting, eſpecially having bin in thoſe times without letters, but only bare traditions of times & remembrances of *Bardes*, which uſe to forge and falſifie every thing as they liſt, to pleaſe or diſpleaſe any man.

Iren. Truly I muſt confeſſe I doe ſo, but yet not ſo abſolutely as you ſuppoſe. I do herein relye upon thoſe *Bardes* or *Iriſh* Chroniclers, though the *Iriſh* themſelves through their ignorance in matters of learning and deepe judgement, doe moſt conſtantly beleeve and avouch them, but unto them beſides I adde mine owne reading, and out of the both together, with compariſon of times, likewiſe of manners & cuſtomes, affinity of words and names, properties of natures, & uſes, reſemblances of rites & ceremonies, monuments of Churches and Tombes, and many other like circumſtances, I doe gather a likelyhood of truth, not certainely affirming any thing, but by conferring

conferring of times, language, monuments, and ſuch like, I doe hunt out a probability of things, which I leave to your judgement to believe or refuſe. Nevertheleſſe there be ſome very auncient Authors that make mention of theſe things, and ſome moderne, which by comparing them with preſent times, experience, and their owne reaſon, doe open a window of great light unto the reſt that is yet unſeene; as namely of the elder times, *Cæſar*, *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Ptolomie*, *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Beroſus*: of the later, *Vincentius*, *Æneas Sylvius*, *Luidus*, *Buchanan*, for that hee himſelfe being an *Iriſh* Scot or Pict by nation, and being very excellently learned and induſtrious to ſeeke out the truth of all things concerning the originall of his owne people, hath both ſet downe the teſtimony of the auncients truely, and his owne opinion together withall very reaſonably, though in ſome things he doth ſomewhat flatter. Beſides the *Bardes* and Iriſh Chroniclers themſelves, though through deſire of pleaſing perhappes too much, and ignorances of Arts, and purer learning they have clauded the truth of thoſe lines, yet there appeares among them ſome reliques of the true antiquitie, though diſguiſed, which a well eyed man may happily diſcover and finde out.

Eudox. How can there be any truth in them at all, ſince the ancient nations which firſt inhabited *Ireland*, were altogether deſtitute of letters, much more of learning, by which they might leave the verity of things written. And thoſe *Bardes* comming alſo ſo many hundred yeares after, could not know what was done in former ages, nor deliver certainty of any thing, but what they fayned out of their unlearned heads.

Iren. Thoſe *Bardes* indeed, *Cæſar* writeth, delivered no certaine truth of any thing, neither is there any certaine hold to be taken of any antiquity which is received by tradition, ſince all men be lyars, & many lye when they wil, yet for the antiquities of the written Chronicles of *Ireland*, give me leave to ſay ſomething, not to juſtifie them, but to ſhew that ſome of them might ſay truth. For where you ſay the *Iriſh* have alwayes bin without letters, you are therein much deceived; for it is certaine, that *Ireland* hath had the uſe of letters very anciently, and long before *England*.

Eudox. Is it poſſible? how comes it then that they are ſo unlearned ſtill, being ſo old ſchollers? For learning (as the Poet ſaith) *Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros*: whence then (I pray you) could they have thoſe letters?

Iren. It is hard to ſay, for whether they at their firſt comming into the Land, or afterwards by trading with other nations which had letters, learned them of them, or deviſed them amongſt themſelves, is very doubtfull, but that they had letters auncienly, is nothing doubtfull, for the *Saxons* of *England* are ſaid to have their letters, & learning, and learned men from the *Iriſh*, and that alſo appeareth by the likeneſſe of the Character, for the *Saxons* Character

is the ſame with the *Iriſh*. Now the *Scythians*, never, as I can reade, of old had letters amongſt them, therfore it ſeemeth that they had them from the nation which came out of *Spaine*, for in *Spaine* there was (as *Strabo* writeth) letters anciently uſed, whether brought unto them by the *Phenicians*, or the *Perſians*, which (as it appeareth by him) had ſome footing there, or from *Marſellis*, which is ſaid to have bin inhabited by the *Greekes*, & from them to have had the *Greeke* Character, of which *Marſilians* it is ſaid, that the *Gaules* learned them firſt, & uſed them only for the furtherance of their trades & privat buſines, for the *Gaules* (as is ſtrongly to be proved by many ancient & authenticall writers) did firſt inhabite all the ſea coaſt of *Spaine*, even unto *Cales*, & the mouth of the ſtraights, & peopled alſo a great part of *Italy*, which appeareth by ſundry havens & cities in *Spaine* called from them, as *Portugallia*, *Gallecia*, *Galdunum*, & alſo by ſundry nations therin dwelling, which yet have received their own names of the *Gaules*, as the *Rhegni*, *Preſamarei*, *Tamari*, *Cineri*, and divers others. All which *Pomponius Mela* being himſelfe a *Spaniard*, yet ſaith to have deſcended from the *Celts* of *France*, whereby it is to be gathered, that that Nation which came out of *Spaine* into *Ireland*, were anciently *Gaules*, and that they brought with them thoſe letters which they had anciently learned in *Spaine*, firſt into *Ireland*, which ſome alſo ſay, doe much reſemble the olde *Phenician* Character, being likewiſe diſtinguiſhed with pricke and accent, as theirs anciently, but the further enquirie hereof needeth a place of longer diſcourſe then this our ſhort conference.

Eudox. Surely you have ſhewed a great probability of that which I had thought impoſſible to have bin proved, but that which you now ſay, that *Ireland* ſhould have bin peopled with the *Gaules*, ſeemeth much more ſtrange, for all the Chronicles doe ſay, that the Weſt & South was poſſeſſed & inhabited of *Spaniards*: and *Cornelius Tacitus* doth alſo ſtrongly affirme the ſame, all which you muſt overthrow and falſifie, or elſe renounce your opinion.

Iren. Neither ſo, nor ſo; for the *Iriſh* Chronicles (as I ſhewed you) being made by unlearned men, & writing things according to the appearance of the truth, which they conceived doe erre in the circumſtances, not in the matter. For all that came out of *Spaine* (they being no diligent ſearchers into the differences of the nations) ſuppoſed to be *Spaniards*, & ſo called them: but the ground-work therof is nevertheleſſe true & certain, howſoever they through ignorance diſguiſe the ſame, or through vanity, whilſt they would not ſeem to be ignorant, doe thereupon build & enlarge many forged Hiſtories of their owne antiquity, which they deliver to fooles, and make them believe for true; as for example, That firſt of one *Gathelus* the ſonne of *Cecrops* or *Argos*, who having married the King of *Egypts* his daughter, thence ſailed with her into *Spaine*, & there inhabited. Then that of *Nemedius* and his ſonnes, who comming out of *Scythia*, peopled *Ireland*, and inhabited it with his ſonnes 250. yeares, until he was over-come of the Giants

Giants dwelling then in *Ireland*, and at the laſt quite baniſhed and rooted out, after whom 200. yeares, the ſonnes of one *Dela*, being *Scythians* arrived there againe, and poſſeſſed the whole land, of which the youngeſt called *Slanius*, in the end made himſelfe a *Monarch*. Laſtly of the 4. ſonnes of *Mileſius* King of Spaine, which conquered the land from the *Scythians*, and inhabited it with *Spaniards*, and called it of the name of the yongeſt *Hiberus*, *Hibernia*: All which are in truth fables, and very *Mileſian* lyes, as the later proverbe is: for never was there ſuch a King of *Spaine*, called *Mileſius*, nor any ſuch Colonie ſeared with his ſonnes as they faine, that can ever be proved, but yet under theſe tales you may in a manner ſee the truth lurke. For *Scythians* here inhabiting, they name and put *Spaniards*, whereby appeareth that both theſe nations here inhabited, but whether very *Spaniards*, as the *Iriſh* greatly affect, is no wayes to be proved.

Eudox. Whence commeth it then that the *Iriſh* doe ſo greatly covet to fetch themſelves from the *Spaniards*, ſince the old *Gaules* are a more auncient and much more honorable nation.

Iren. Even of a very deſire of new fanglenes and vanity, for they derive themſelves from the *Spaniards*, as ſeeing them to be a very honourable people, and neere bordering unto them: but all that is moſt vaine, for from the *Spaniards* that now are, or that people that now inhabite *Spaine*, they no wayes can prove themſelves to deſcende neither ſhould it be greatly glorious unto them, for the *Spaniard* that now is, is come from as rude and ſavage nations as they, there being, as there may be gathered by courſe of ages, and view of their owne Hiſtory (though they therein labour much to endule themſelves) ſcarce any drop of the old *Spaniſh* blood left in them, for all *Spaine* was firſt conquered by the *Romans*, and filled with colonies from them, which were ſtill increaſed, and the native *Spaniard* ſtill cut off. Afterwards the *Carthaginians* in all the long *Punick* warres (having ſpoiled all *Spaine*, and in the end ſubdued it wholly unto themſelves) did as it is likely, root out all that were affected to the *Romans*. And laſtly the *Romans* having againe recovered that countrey, and beate out *Hannibal*, did doubtleſſe cut off all that favored the *Carthaginians*, ſo that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was ſcarce a native *Spaniard* left, but all inhabited of *Romans*. All which tempeſts of troubles being over-blowne, there long after aroſe a new ſtorme, more dreadfull then all the former, which over-ran all *Spaine*, and made an infinite confuſion of all things; that was, the comming downe of the *Gothes*, the *Hunnes*, and the *Vandals*: And laſtly all the nations of *Scythia*, which like a mountaine flood, did over-flow all *Spaine*, and quite drowned and waſht away whatſoever reliques there was left of the land-bred people, yea, and of all the *Romans* too. The which Northerne nations finding the nature of the ſoyle, and the vehement heat thereof farre differing from their conſtitutions, tooke no felicity in that Country, but from thence paſſed over, and did ſpread themſelves into all Countryes of Chriſtendome, of all which there is

none

none but hath ſome mixture or ſprinckling, if not throughly peopleing of them. And yet after all theſe the *Moores* and the *Barbarians* breaking over out of *Affrica*, did finally poſſeſſe all *Spaine*, or the moſt part thereof, and did tread under their heatheniſh feete, what ever little they found yet there ſtanding. The which though after they were beaten out by *Ferdinando* of *Arragon* and *Elizabeth* his wife, yet they were not ſo cleanſed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture with the people of the land, during their long continuance there, they had left no pure drop of *Spaniſh* blond, no more then of *Roman* or of *Scythian*. So that of all nations under heaven (I ſuppoſe) the *Spaniard* is the moſt mingled, and moſt uncertaine, wherefore moſt fooliſhly doe the *Iriſh* thinke to enoble themſelves by wreſting their Auncientry from the *Spaniard*, who is unable to derive himſelfe from any in certaine.

Eudox. You ſpeake very ſharpely *Iren.* in diſpraiſe of the *Spaniard*, whom ſome others boaſt to be the onely brave nation under the Skie.

Iren. So ſurely he is a very brave man, neither is that any thing which I ſpeake to his derogation, for in that I ſaid he is a mingled people, it is no diſpraiſe, for I thinke there is no nation now in Chriſtendome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others: for it was a ſingular providence of God, and a moſt admirall purpoſe of his wiſedome, to draw thoſe northerne heathen nations downe into thoſe Chriſtian parts, where they might receive Chriſtianity, and to mingle nations ſo remote miraculouſly, to make as it were one blood and kindred of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.

Eudox. Neither have you ſure any more diſhonoured the *Iriſh*, for you have brought them from very great and ancient nations, as any were in the world, how ever fondly they affect the *Spaniſh*. For both *Scythians* and *Gaules* were two as mighty nations as ever the world brought forth. But is there any token, denomination or monument of the *Gaules* yet remaining in *Ireland*, as there is of the *Scythians?*

Iren. Yea ſurely very many words of the *Gaules* remaining, and yet dayly uſed in Common ſpeech.

Eudox. What was the *Gauliſh* ſpeech, is there any part of it ſtill uſed among any nation?

Iren. The *Gauliſh* ſpeech, is the very *Britiſh*, the which was very generally uſed here in all *Brittaine*, before the comming of the *Saxons*: and yet is retained of the *Welſhmen*, *Corniſhmen*, and the *Brittaines* of *France*, though time working the alterarion of all things, and the trading and interdeale with other nations round about, have changed and greatly altered the dialect thereof, but yet the originall words appeare to be the ſame, as who hath liſt to read in *Camden* and *Buchanan*, may ſee at large. Beſides there be many places, as havens, hills, townes and Caſtles, which yet beare the names from the *Gaules*, of the which, *Buchanan* rehearſeth above 500. in *Scotland*, and I can (I

(I thinke) recount neere as many in *Ireland* which retaine the old denomination of the *Gaules*, as the *Menapij*, *Cauci*, *Venti*, and others; by all which and many other reaſonable probabilities (which this ſhort courſe will not ſuffer to be laide forth) it appeareth that the cheife Inhabitants in *Ireland* were *Gaules*, comming thither firſt out of *Spain*, and after from beſides *Tanais*, where the *Gothes*, the *Hunnes*, and the *Getes* ſate downe, they alſo being (as it is ſaid of ſome) ancient *Gaules*, and laſtly paſſing out of *Gallia* it ſelfe, from all the Sea-coaſt of *Belgia* and *Celtica*, into al the ſoutherne coaſts of *Ireland*, which they poſſeſſed and inhabited, whereupon it is at this day, amongſt the *Iriſh* a common uſe, to call any ſtranger Inhabitant there amongſt them, *Gald*, that is deſcended from the *Gaules*.

Eudox. This is very likely; for even ſo did thoſe *Gaules* anciently poſſeſſe all the ſoutherne coaſts of our *Brittaine*, which yet retaine their old names, as the *Belgæ*, in *Sommerſet-ſhire*, *Wilſhire*, and part of *Hamſhire*, *Attrebatij* in *Barkeſhire*, *Regni* in *Suſſex* and *Surry*, and many others. Now thus farre then, I underſtand your opinion, that the *Scythians* planted in the north part of *Ireland*: the *Spaniards* (for ſo we call them, what ever they were that came from *Spaine*) in the weſt, the *Gaules* in the ſouth: ſo that there now remaineth the eaſt parts towards *England*, which I would be glad to underſtand from whence you doe thinke them to be peopled.

Iren. Mary I thinke of the *Brittaines* themſelves, of which though there be little footing now remaining, by reaſon that the *Saxons* afterwards, and laſtly the *Engliſh*, driving out the Inhabitants thereof, did poſſeſſe and people it themſelves. Yet amongſt the *Tooles*, the *Birns*, or *Brins*, the *Cavenaghes*, and other nations in *Leinſter*, there is ſome memory of the *Britans* remayning. As the *Tooles* are called of the old Britiſh word *Tol*, that is, a hill Countrey, the *Brins* of the Britiſh word *Brin*, that is, woods, and the *Cavenaghes* of the word *Caune*, that is, ſtrong, ſo that in theſe three people the very denomination of the old *Britons* doe ſtill remaine. Beſides when any flieth under the ſuccour and protection of any againſt an enemie, he cryeth unto him, *Comericke*, that is in the Brittiſh, helpe, for the *Brittaine* is called in their owne language, *Comeroy*. Furthermore to prove the ſame, *Ireland* is by *Diodorus Siculus*, and by *Strabo*, called *Britannia*, and a part of great *Brittaine*. Finally it appeareth by good record yet extant, that King *Arthur*, and after him *Gurgunt*, had all that Iland under their alleagiance and ſubjection, hereunto I could add many probabilities of the names of places, perſons, and ſpeeches, as I did in the former, but they ſhould be too long for this, and I reſerve them for another. And thus you have had my opinion, how all that Realme of *Ireland* was firſt peopled, and by what nations. After all which the *Saxons* ſucceeding, ſubdued it wholly to themſelves. For firſt *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, did utterly waſte and ſubdue it, as appeareth out of *Beda's* complaint againſt him, and after him, King *Edgar* brought it under his obedience, as appeareth by an auncient Record, in which it

it is found written, that he ſubdued all the Iſlands of the North, even unto *Norway*, and brought them into his ſubjection.

Eudox. This ripping of Aunceſtors, is very pleaſing unto me, and indeede favoureth of good conceipt, and ſome reading withall. I ſee hereby how profitable travaile, and experience of forraine nations, is to him that will apply them to good purpoſe. Neither indeed would I have thought, that any ſuch antiquities could have beene avouched for the *Iriſh*, that maketh me the more to long to ſee ſome other of your obſervations, which you have gathered out of that country, and have earſt halfe promiſed to put forth: And ſure in this mingling of Nations appeareth (as you earſt well noted) a wonderfull providence and purpoſe of Almighty God, that ſtirred up the people in the furtheſt parts of the world, to ſeeke out their regions ſo remote from them, and by that meanes, both to reſtore their decayed habitations, and to make himſelfe knowne to the heathen. But was there I pray you no more generall employing of that Iland, then firſt by the *Scythians*, which you ſay were the *Scottes*, and afterward by the *Spaniards*, beſides the *Gaules*, *Brittaines* and *Saxons*?

Iren. Yes, there was another, and that laſt and greateſt, which was by the *Engliſh*, when the Earle *Strangbowe* having conquered that land, delivered up the ſame into the hands of *Henry* the ſecond then King, who ſent over thither, great ſtore of Gentlemen, and other warlike people, amongſt whom, he diſtributed the Land, and ſetled ſuch a ſtrong Colonie therein, as never ſince could with all the ſubtle practices of the *Iriſh* be rooted out, but abide ſtill a mighty people, of ſo many as remaine *Engliſh* of them.

Eudox What is this that you ſay, of ſo many as remaine *Engliſh* of them? Why? are not they that were once *Engliſh*, *Engliſh* ſtill?

Iren. No, for ſome of them are degenerated and growne almoſt meere *Iriſh*, yea and more malitious to the *Engliſh* then the *Iriſh* themſelves.

Eudox. What heare I? And is it poſſible that an *Engliſhman* brought up in ſuch ſweet civility as *England* affords, ſhould find ſuch liking in that barbarous rudenes, that he ſhould forget his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation, how may this bee, or what (I pray you) may be the cauſe thereof?

Iren. Surely, nothing but the firſt evill ordinance and inſtitution of that Common-wealth. But thereof here is no fit place to ſpeake, leaſt by the occaſion thereof, offering matter of a long diſcourſe, we might be drawne from this, that we have in hand, namely the handleing of abuſes in the Cuſtomes of *Ireland*.

Eudox. In truth *Iren.* you doe well remember the plot of your firſt purpoſe; but yet from that (me ſeemes) yee have much ſwarved in all this long diſcourſe, of the firſt inhabiting of *Ireland*, for what is that to your purpoſe?

Iren. Truely very materiall, for if you marked the courſe of all that ſpeech well, it was to ſhew, by what meanes the cuſtomes, that now

now are in *Ireland*, being ſome of them indeede very ſtrange and almoſt heatheniſh, were firſt brought in: and that was, as I ſaid, by thoſe Nations from whom that Countrey was firſt peopled; for the difference in manners and cuſtomes, doth follow the difference of nations and people. The which I have declared to you, to have beene three eſpecially which ſeated themſelves here: to wit firſt the *Scythian*, then the *Gaules*, and laſtly the *Engliſh*. Notwithſtanding that I am not ignorant, that there were ſundry Nations which got footing in that land, of the which there yet remaine divers great families and ſepts, of whom I will alſo in their proper places make mention.

Eudox. You bring your ſelfe *Iren.* very well into the way againe, notwithſtanding that it ſeemeth that you were never out of the way, but now that you have paſſed thorough thoſe antiquities, which I could have wiſhed not ſo ſoone ended, begin when you pleaſe, to declare what cuſtomes and manners have beene derived from thoſe nations to the *Iriſh*, and which of them, you finde fault withall.

Iren. I will begin then to count their cuſtomes in the ſame order that I counted their Nations, and firſt with the *Scythian* or *Scottiſh* manners. Of the which there is one uſe, amongſt them to keepe their cattle, and to live themſelves the moſt part of the yeare in *Boolies*, paſturing upon the mountaine, and waſte wilde places; and removing ſtill to freſh land, as they have depaſtured the former. The which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the *Scythians*, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus*, and *Ioh: Boemus*, and yet is uſed, amongſt all the *Tartarians* and the people about the *Caſpian Sea*, which are naturally *Scythians*, to live in heards as they call them, being the very ſame, that the *Iriſh Boolies* are, driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding onely on their milke and white meates.

Eudox. What fault can you finde with this cuſtome? for though it be an old *Scythian* uſe, yet is it very behoofefull in this Country of *Ireland*, where there are great mountaines, and waſte deſerts full of graſſe, that the ſame ſhould be eaten downe, and nouriſh many thouſands of cattle, for the good of the whole Realme, which cannot (me thinks) well be any other way, then by keeping thoſe *Boolies* there, as yee have ſhewed.

Iren: But by this cuſtome of *Boolying*, there grow in the meane time many great enormityes unto that Common-wealth. For firſt if there be any out-lawes, or looſe people, (as they are never without ſome) which live upon ſtealthes and ſpoyles, they are evermore ſuccoured and finde releife only in theſe *Boolies*, being upon the waſte places, whereas elſe they ſhould be driven ſhortly to ſtarve, or to come downe to the townes to ſeeke releife, where by one meanes or other, they would ſoone be caught. Beſides ſuch ſtealthes of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to thoſe *Boolies*, being upon thoſe waſte places, where they are readily received, and the theife harboured from danger of law, or ſuch Officers as might light upon him. Moreover the people that thus live in thoſe *Boolies*, grow thereby the more barbarous,

barbarous, and live more licentiouſly then they could in Townes, uſing what manners they liſt, and practizing what miſcheifes and villainies they will, either againſt the government there, by their combynations, or againſt private men, whom they maligne, by ſtealing their goods, or murdering themſelves. For there they thinke themſelves halfe exempted from law and obedience, and having once taſted freedome, doe like a ſteere, that hath beene long out of his yoke, grudge and repyne ever after, to come under Rule againe.

Eudox. By your ſpeech *Iren.* I perceive more evill come by this uſe of *Boolies*, then good by their graſing: and therefore it may well be reformed: but that muſt be in his due courſe, doe you proceed to the next.

Iren. They have another cuſtome from the *Scythians*, that is the wearing of *Mantles*, and long *Glibbes*, which is a thicke curled buſh of haire, hanging downe over their eyes, and monſtrouſly diſguiſing them, which are both very bad and hurtfull.

Eudox. Doe you thinke that the *Mantle* commeth from the *Scythians?* I would ſurely thinke otherwiſe, for by that which I have read, it appeareth that moſt Nations of the world aunciently uſed the *Mantle*. For the *Iewes* uſed it, as you may read of *Elyas Mantle*, &c. The *Chaldees* alſo uſed it, as yee may read in *Diodorus*. The *Egyptians* likewiſe uſed it, as yee may read in *Herodotus*, and may bee gathered by the deſcription of *Berenice*, in the *Greeke* Commentary upon *Callimachus*. The *Greekes* alſo uſed it aunciently, as appeareth by *Venus Mantle* lyned with ſtarrs, though afterwards they changed the forme thereof into their cloakes, called *Pallia*, as ſome of the *Iriſh* alſo uſe. And the auncient *Latines* and *Romans* uſed it, as you may read in *Virgil*, who was a very great Antiquary. That *Euander*, when *Æneas* came to him at his Feaſt, did entertaine and feaſt him, ſitting on the ground, and lying on *Mantles*. Inſomuch as he uſeth the very word *Mantile* for a *Mantle*.

——— *Humi mantilia ſternunt.*

So that it ſeemeth that the *Mantle* was a generall habite to moſt Nations, and not proper to the *Scythians* onely, as you ſuppoſe.

Iren. I cannot deny but that aunciently it was common to moſt, and yet ſithence diſuſed and laide away. But in this later age of the world, ſince the decay of the *Romane Empire*, it was renewed and brought in againe by thoſe Northerne nations, when breaking out of their cold caves and frozen habitations, into the ſweet ſoyle of *Europe*, they brought with them their uſuall weedes, fit to ſheild the cold, and that continuall froſt, to which they had at home beene inured: the which yet they left not off, by reaſon that they were in perpetuall warres, with the Nations whom they had invaded, but ſtill removing from place to place, carried alwayes with them that weed, as their houſe, their bed, and their garment, and comming laſtly into *Ireland*, they found there more ſpeciall uſe thereof, by reaſon of the rawe cold climate, from whom it is now growne into that generall uſe,

uſe, in which that people now have it. After whom the *Gaules* ſucceeding, yet finding the like neceſſitie of that garment, continued the like uſe thereof.

Eudox. Since then the neceſſity thereof is ſo commodious, as you alledge, that it is inſteed of houſing, bedding, & cloathing, what reaſon have you then to wiſh ſo neceſſarie a thing caſt off?

Iren. Becauſe the commoditie doth not countervaile the diſcommoditie: for the inconveniences which thereby doe ariſe, are much more many. For it is a fit houſe for an Out-law, a meet bed for a Rebell, & an apt cloake for a thiefe. Firſt the Out-law being for his many crimes and villanyes, baniſhed from the Townes & houſes of honeſt men, & wandring in waſte places, far from danger of law, maketh his Mantle his houſe, & under it covereth himſelfe from the wrath of Heaven, frō the offence of the Earth, & from the ſight of men. When it raineth it is his pent-houſe; when it bloweth it is tent, when it freezeth it is his Tabernacle. In ſommer he can weare it looſe, in winter he can wrap it cloſe, at all times he can uſe it; never heavy, never cumberſome. Likewiſe for a Rebell it is as ſerviceable. For in his warre that he maketh (if at leaſt it deſerve the name of warre) when he ſtill flyeth from his foe, & lurketh in the thicke woods & ſtraite paſſages, waiting for advantages, it is his bed, yea and almoſt as his houſhold ſtuff. For the wood is his houſe againſt all weathers, & his Mantle is his couch to ſleepe in. Therein he wrappeth himſelf round, & coucheth himſelfe ſtrongly againſt the gnats, which in that countrey doe more annoy the naked Rebels, whilſt they keepe the woods, & doe more ſharply wound them then all their enemies ſwords, or ſpeares, which can ſeldome come nigh them: yea & oftentimes their Mantle ſerveth them, when they are neere driven, being wrapped about their left arme in ſteed of a Target, for it is hard to cut thorough with a ſword, beſides it is light to beare, light to throw away, and being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Laſtly for a Theife it is ſo handſome, as it may ſeeme it was firſt invented for him, for under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that commeth handſomly in his way, & when he goeth abroad in the night in free-booting, it is his beſt & ſureſt friend; for lying as they often do 2. or 3. nights together abroad to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily ſhroud themſelves under a buſh or a banke ſide, till they may conveniently do their errand: & when all is over, he can in his mantle paſſe thorough any town or company, being cloſe hooded over his head, as he uſeth, from knowledge of any to whom he is indangered. Beſides this, he or any man els that is diſpoſed to miſchief or villany, may under his mantle goe privily armed without ſuſpition of any, carry his head-peece, his skean, or piſtol if he pleaſe, to be alwayes in readines. Thus neceſſary & fitting is a mantle for a bad man, & ſurely for a bad huſwife it is no leſſe convenient, for ſome of them that bee wandring woemen, called of them *Mona-Shul*, it is halfe a wardrobe: for in ſummer you ſhal find her arrayed commonly, but in her ſmock & mantle

to

to be more ready for her light ſervices: in winter, and in her travaile, it is her cloake and ſafeguard, and alſo a coverlet for her lewde exerciſe. And when ſhe hath filled her veſſell, under it ſhe can hide both her burden, and her blame; yea, and when her Baſtard is borne, it ſerves inſteed of ſwadling clouts. And as for all other good women which love to doe but little worke, how handſome it is to lye in and ſleepe, or to louſe themſelves in the Sun-ſhine, they that have beene but a while in *Ireland* can well witnes. Sure I am that you will thinke it very unfit for a good huſwife to ſtirre in, or to buſie her ſelfe about her huſwifry in ſuch ſort as ſhe ſhould. Theſe be ſome of the abuſes for which I would thinke it meet to forbid all Mantles.

Eudox. O evill minded man, that having reckoned up ſo many uſes of a Mantle, will yet wiſh it to be abandoned! Sure I thinke *Diogenes* diſh did never ſerve his Maſter for more turnes, notwithſtanding that he made it his Diſh, his Cup, his Cap, his Meaſure, his Water-pot, then a Mantle doth an *Iriſh* man. But I ſee they be moſt to bad intents, & therefore I will joyne with you in aboliſhing it. But what blame lay you to the glibbe? take heed (I pray you) that you be not too buſie therewith for feare of your owne blame, ſeeing our *Engliſhmen* take it up in ſuch a generall faſhion to weare their haire ſo immeaſurably long, that ſome of them exceed the longeſt *Iriſh* glibs.

Iren. I feare not the blame of any undeſerved diſlikes: but for the *Iriſh* glibbes, they are as fit maskes as a mantle is for a thiefe. For whenſoever he hath run himſelfe into that perill of Law, that he will not be knowne, he either cutteth off his glibbe quite, by which he becommeth nothing like himſelfe, or pulleth it ſo low downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to diſcerne his theeviſh countenance. And therefore fit to be truſſed up with the Mantle.

Eudox. Truly theſe three *Scythian* abuſes, I hold moſt fit to bee taken away with ſharpe penalties, and ſure I wonder how they have beene kept thus long, notwithſtanding ſo many good proviſions and orders, as have beene deviſed for that people.

Iren. The cauſe thereof ſhall appeare to you hereafter: but let us now go forward with our *Scythian* cuſtomes. Of which the next that I have to treat of, is the manner of raiſing the cry in their conflicts, & at other troubleſome times of uproare: the which is very natural *Scythian*, as you may read in *Diodorus Siculus*, & in *Herodotus*, deſcribing the maner of the *Scythians* & *Parthians* comming to give the charge at battles: at which it is ſaid that they came running with a terrible yell as if heaven & earth would have gone together, which is the very Image of the *Iriſh Hubub*, which their *Kerne* uſe at their firſt encounter. Beſides, the ſame *Herodotus* writeth, that they uſed in their battles to call upon the names of their Captains or Generals, & ſomtimes upon their greateſt Kings deceaſed, as in that battle of *Thomyris* againſt *Cyrus*: which cuſtome to this day manifeſtly appeareth amongſt the *Iriſh*. For at their joyning of Battle, they likewiſe call upon their Captaines name, or the word of his Auncеſtours. As they under *Oneale* cry *Laundarg-abo*, that is, the bloody hand, which is *Oneales* badge. They under *O Brien* call *Laun-laider*, that is, the ſtrong hand. And to their enſample, the old *Engliſh* alſo which there remayneth, have gotten up their cryes *Scythian*-like, as *Crom-abo*, and *Butler-abo*. And here alſo lyeth open an other manifeſt proofe, that the *Iriſh* bee *Scythes* or *Scots*, for in all their incounters they uſe one very common word, crying *Ferragh, Ferragh*, which is a *Scottiſh* word, to wit, the name of one of the firſt Kings of *Scotland*, called *Feragus*, or *Fergus*, which fought againſt the *Pictes*, as you may reade in *Buchanan, de rebus Scoticis*; but as others write, it was long before that, the name of their chiefe Captaine, under whom they fought againſt the *Africans*, the which was then ſo fortunate unto them, that ever ſithence they have uſed to call upon his name in their battailes.

Eudox. Believe me, this obſervation of yours *Irenæus*, is very good and delightfull; far beyond the blinde conceipt of ſome, who (I remember) have upon the ſame word *Ferragh*, made a very blunt conjecture, as namely M. *Stanihurſt*, who thogh he be the ſame countreyman borne, that ſhould ſearch more neerely into the ſecret of theſe things, yet hath ſtrayed from the truth all the heavens wyde, (as they ſay) for he thereupon groundeth a very groſſe imagination, that the *Iriſh* ſhould deſcend from the *Egyptians* which came into that Iſland, firſt under the leading of one *Scota* the daughter of *Pharaoh*, whereupon they uſe (ſaith he) in all their battailes, to call upon the name of *Pharaoh*, crying *Ferragh, Ferragh*. Surely he ſhootes wyde on the Bow hand, & very far from the marke. For I would firſt know of him what auncient ground of authority he hath for ſuch a ſenſeleſſe fable; & if he have any of the rude *Iriſh* bookes, as it may be hee hath, yet (me ſeemes) that a man of his learning ſhould not ſo lightly have bin carried away with old wives tales, from approvance of his owne reaſon, for whether it be a ſmack of any learned iudgment, to ſay, that *Scota* is like an *Egyptian* word, let the learned iudge. But his *Scota* rather comes of the *Greeke* σκότος, that is, darknes, which hath not let him ſee the light of the truth.

Iren. You know not *Eudoxus*, how well M. *Stan.* could ſee in the darke, perhaps he hath Owles or Cats eyes: but well I wot he ſeeth not well the very light in matters of more weight. But as for *Ferragh* I have told my coniecture only, and yet thus much I have more to prove a likelyhood, that there be yet at this day in *Ireland*, many *Iriſh* men (chiefly in the Northerne parts) called by the name of *Ferragh*. But let that now be: this only for this place ſuffiſeth, that it is a word uſed in their cõmon hububs, the which (with all the reſt) is to be aboliſhed, for that it diſcovereth an affectatiõ to *Iriſh* captainry, which in this platform I indevour ſpecially to beat down. There be other ſorts of cryes alſo uſed among the *Iriſh*, which favour greatly of the *Scythian* barbariſme, as their lamentations at their buryals, with diſpairfull out-cryes, and immoderate waylings, the which Maſter *Stanihurſt* might alſo have uſed for an Argument to proove them *Egyptians*.

For ſo in Scripture it is mentioned, that the *Egyptians* lamented for the death of *Ioſeph*. Others thinke this cuſtome to come from the *Spaniards*, for that they doe immeaſurably likewiſe bewayle their dead. But the ſame is not proper *Spaniſh*, but altogether Heatheniſh, brought in thither firſt either by the *Scythians*, or the *Moores* that were *Africans*, and long poſſeſſed that Countrey. For it is the manner of all *Pagans* and *Infidels* to be intemperate in their waylings of their dead, for that they had no faith nor hope of ſalvation. And this ill cuſtome alſo is ſpecially noted by *Diodorus Siculus*, to have beene in the *Scythians*, and is yet amongſt the Northerne *Scots* at this day, as you may reade in their Chronicles.

Eudox. This is ſure an ill cuſtome alſo, but yet doth not ſo much concerne civill reformation, as abuſe in Religion.

Iren. I did not rehearſe it as one of the abuſes which I thought moſt worthie of reformation; but having made mention of *Iriſh* cryes I thought this manner of lewd crying and howling, not impertinent to be noted as uncivill and *Scythian*-like: for by theſe old cuſtomes, and other like coniecturall circumſtances, the deſcents of nations can only be proved, where other monuments of writings are not remayning.

Eudox. Then (I pray you) whenſoever in your diſcourſe you meet with them by the way, doe not ſhun, but boldly touch them: for beſides their great pleaſure and delight for their antiquity, they bring alſo great profit and helpe unto civility.

Iren. Then ſith you will have it ſo, I will heere take occaſion, ſince I lately ſpake of their manner of cryes in ioyning of battaile, to ſpeake alſo ſomewhat of the manner of their Armes, and array in Battell, with other cuſtomes perhappes worthy the noting. And firſt of their Armes and Weapons, amongſt which their broad Swordes are proper *Scythian*, for ſuch the *Scythes* uſed commonly, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus*. And the ſame alſo the old *Scots* uſed, as you may read in *Buchanan*, and in *Solinus*, where the pictures of them are in the ſame forme expreſſed. Alſo their ſhort Bowes, and little Quivers with ſhort bearded Arrowes, are very * *Scythian*, as you may reade in the ſame *Olaus*. And the ſame ſort both of Bowes, Quivers, and Arrowes, are at this day to bee ſeene commonly amongſt the Northerne *Iriſh-Scots*, whoſe *Scottiſh* Bowes are not paſt three quarters of a yard long, with a ſtring of wreathed hempe ſlackely bent, and whoſe Arrowes are not much above halfe an ell long, tipped with ſteele heads, made like common broad Arrow heades, but much more ſharpe and ſlender, that they enter into a man or horſe moſt cruelly, notwithſtanding that they are ſhot foorth weakely. Moreover their long broad Shields, made but with wicker roddes, which are commonly uſed amongſt the ſaid Northerne *Iriſh*, but eſpecially of the *Scots*, are brought from the *Scythians*, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus*, *Solinus*, & others: likwiſe their going to battle without armor on their bodies or heads, but truſting to the thicknes of their glibbs, the

* The originall of the very name of *Scythians* ſeemeth to come from *ſhooting*. *vide Selden. annot. in Poly-olb.* (ex *Goroop. Becan. Becceſel. et Aluredi leg.*) *pag.* 122.

the which (they ſay) will ſometimes beare off a good ſtroke, is meere *Scythian*, as you may ſee in the ſaid Images of the old *Scythes* or *Scots*, ſet foorth by *Herodianus* and others. Beſides, their confuſed kinde of march in heapes, without any order or array, their claſhing of ſwords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, reſembleth altogether that which is read in hiſtories to have beene uſed of the *Scythians*. By which it may almoſt infallibly be gathered together, with other circumſtances, that the *Iriſh* are very *Scots* or *Scythes* originally, though ſithence intermingled with many other Nations repairing and joyning unto them. And to theſe I may alſo adde another ſtrong conjecture which commeth to my mind, that I have often obſerved there amongſt them, that is, certain religious ceremonies, which are very ſuperſtitiouſly yet uſed amongſt them, the which are alſo written by ſundry authours, to have bin obſerved amongſt the *Scythians*, by which it may very vehemently be preſumed that the nations were anciently all one. For * *Plutarch* (as I remember) in his treatiſe of *Homer*, indeavouring to ſearch out the truth, what countryman *Homer* was, prooveth it moſt ſtrongly (as he thinketh) that he was an *Æolian* borne, for that in deſcribing a ſacrifice of the *Greekes*, he omitted the loyne, the which all the other *Grecians* (ſaving the *Æolians*) uſe to burne in their ſacrifices: alſo for that he makes the intralls to be roſted on five ſpits, which was the proper manner of the *Æolians*, who onely of all the nations of *Grecia*, uſed to ſacrifize in that ſort. By which he inferreth neceſſarily, that *Homer* was an *Æolian*. And by the ſame reaſon may I as reaſonably conclude, that the *Iriſh* are deſcended from the *Scythians*, for that they uſe (even to this day) ſome of the ſame ceremonies which the *Scythians* anciently uſed. As for example, you may reade in *Lucian* in that ſweet Dialogue, which is intitled *Toxaris*, or of friendſhip, that the common oath of the *Scythians* was by the ſword, and by the fire, for that they accounted thoſe two ſpeciall divine powers, which ſhould worke vengeance on the perjurers. So doe the *Iriſh* at this day when they goe to battaile, ſay certaine prayers or charmes to their ſwords, making a croſſe therewith upon the earth, and thruſting the points of their blades into the ground, thinking thereby to have the better ſucceſſe in fight. Alſo they uſe commonly to ſweare by their ſwords. Alſo the *Scythians* uſed when they would binde any ſolemne vow or combination amongſt the, to drink a Bowle of blood together, vowing therby to ſpend their laſt blood in that quarrell: & even ſo do the wild *Scots*, as you may read in *Buchanan*: and ſome of the Northerne *Iriſh*. Likewiſe at the kindling of the Fire, and lighting of Candles, they ſay certaine prayers, & uſe ſome other ſuperſtitious rites, which ſhew that they honour the Fire and the light: for all thoſe Northerne Nations having beene uſed to be annoyed with much colde and darkeneſſe, are wont therefore to have the Fire and the Sunne in great veneration; like as contrarywiſe the *Moores* and *Egyptians* which are much offended and grieved with extreame heat of the

* Not he, but *Herodotus* in the life of *Homer*.

Sunne, doe every morning when the Sunne ariſeth, fall to curſing and banning of him as their plague. You may alſo reade in the ſame booke, in the tale of *Arſacomas*, that it was the manner of the *Scythians*, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would aſſemble unto him any forces of people to joyne with him in his revenge, to ſit in ſome publicke place for certaine dayes upon an Oxe hide, to which there would reſort all ſuch perſons as being diſpoſed to take Armes, would enter into his pay, or joyne with him in his quarrell. And the ſame you may likewiſe reade to have beene the ancient manner of the wilde *Scotts*, which are indeed the very naturall *Iriſh*. Moreover the *Scythians* uſed to ſweare by their Kings hand, as *Olaus* ſheweth. And ſo do the *Iriſh* uſe now to ſweare by their Lords hand, and to forſweare it, holde it more criminall then to ſweare by God. Alſo the *Scythians* ſaid, that they were once a yeare turned into Wolves, and ſo is it written of the *Iriſh*: Though Maſter *Camden* in a better ſenſe doth ſuppoſe it was a diſeaſe, called *Lycanthropia*, ſo named of the Wolfe. And yet ſome of the *Iriſh* doe uſe to make the Wolfe their Goſſip. The *Scythians* uſed alſo to ſeethe the fleſh in the hide: & ſo doe the Northerne *Iriſh*. The *Scythians* uſed to draw the blood of the beaſt living, & to make meat thereof: & ſo doe the *Iriſh* in the North ſtill. Many ſuch cuſtomes I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of ſinging, offeaſting, of curſing, though Chriſtians have wyped out the moſt part of them, by reſemblance, whereof it might plainly appeare to you, that the Nations are the ſame, but that by the reckoning of theſe few, which I have told unto you, I finde my ſpeech drawne out to a greater length then I purpoſed. Thus much onely for this time I hope ſhall ſuffiſe you, to thinke that the *Iriſh* are anciently deduced from the *Scythians*.

Eudox. Surely *Iren.* I have heard in theſe few words, that from you which I would have thought had bin impoſſible to have bin ſpoken of times ſo remote, and cuſtomes ſo ancient: with delight whereof I was all that while (as it were intranced, and carried ſo farre from my ſelfe, as that I am now right ſorry that you ended ſo ſoone. But I marvaile much how it commeth to paſſe, that in ſo long continuance of time, and ſo many ages come betweene, yet any jot of thoſe olde rites and ſuperſtitious cuſtomes ſhould remaine amongſt them.

Iren. It is no cauſe of wonder at all, for it is the maner of many Nations to be very ſuperſtitious, and diligent obſervers of old cuſtomes & antiquities, which they receive by continuall tradition from their Parents, by recording of their Bards and Chronicles, in their ſongs, and by daylie uſe and enſample of their elders.

Eudox. But have you (I pray you) obſerved any ſuch cuſtomes amongſt them, brought likewiſe from the *Spaniards* or *Gaules*, as theſe from the *Scythians*? that may ſure be very materiall to your firſt purpoſe.

Ien. Some perhaps I have, & who that will by this occaſion more diligently

diligently marke and compare their cuſtomes, ſhall find many more. But there are fewer remayning of the *Gaules* or *Spaniards*, then of the *Scythians*, by reaſon that the partes, which they then poſſeſſed, lying upon the coaſt of the Weſterne and Southerne Sea, were ſithence viſited with ſtrangers and forraine people, repayring thither for traffick, and for fiſhing, which is very plentifull upon thoſe coaſts: for the trade and interdeale of Sea-coaſt Nations one with another, worketh more civilitie and good faſhions, (all Sea men being naturally deſirous of new faſhions,) then amongſt the Inland folke, which are ſeldome ſeene of forrainers; yet ſome of ſuch as I have noted, I will recount unto you. And firſt I will for the better credit of the reſt, ſhew you one out of their Statutes, among which it is enacted, that no man ſhall weare his beard onely on the upper lip, ſhaving all his Chinne. And this was the auncient manner of the *Spaniards*, as yet it is of all the *Mahometans* to cut off all their beards cloſe, ſave onelie their *Muſchachios*, which they weare long. And the cauſe of this uſe, was for that they being bred in a hot countrey, found much haire on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them: for which cauſe they did cut it moſt away, like as contrarily all other nations brought up in cold countryes, doe uſe to nouriſh their haire, to keepe them the warmer, which was the cauſe that the *Scythians* and *Scottes* wore Glibbes (as I ſhewed you) to keepe their heads warme, and long beards to defend their faces from cold. From them alſo (I thinke) came ſaffron ſhirts and ſmocks, which was devifed by them in thoſe hote Countryes, where ſaffron is very common and rife, for avoyding that evill which commeth by much ſweating, and long wearing of Linnen: Alſo the Woemen amongſt the old *Spaniards* had the charge of all houſhold affaires, both at home and abroad, (as *Boemus* writeth) though now the *Spaniards* uſe it quite otherwiſe. And ſo have the *Iriſh* weomen the truſt and care of all things, both at home, and in the field. Likewiſe round leather Targets is the *Spaniſh* faſhion, who uſed it (for the moſt part) painted, which in *Ireland* they uſe alſo in many places, coloured after their rude faſhion. Moreover the manner of their Woemens riding on the wrong ſide of the horſe, I meane with their faces towards the right ſide, as the *Iriſh* uſe, is (as they ſay) old *Spaniſh*, and ſome ſay *African*, for amongſt them the woemen (they ſay) uſe ſo to ride: Alſo the deepe ſmocke ſleive, which the *Iriſh* women uſe, they ſay was old *Spaniſh*, and is uſed yet in *Barbary*: and yet that ſhould ſeeme rather to be an old *Engliſh* faſhion, for in Armory the faſhion of the *Manche*, which is given in Armes, by many being indeede nothing elſe but a ſleive, is faſhioned much like to that ſleive. And that Knights in auncient times uſed to weare their Miſtreſſes or Loves ſleive, upon their Armes, as appeareth by that which is written of Sir *Launcelot*, that he wore the ſleive of the faire maide of *Aſtelot* in a Tourney, whereat Queene *Guenever* was much diſpleaſed.

Eudox. Your conceipt is good, and well fitting for things ſo far growne

growne from certainty of knowledge and learning, onely upon likely-hoods and conjectures. But have you any cuſtomes remaining from the *Gaules* or *Brittaines?*

Iren. I have obſerved a few of either; and who will better ſearch into them, may finde more. And firſt the profeſſion of their *Bardes* was (as *Cæſar* writeth) uſuall amongſt the *Gaules*, and the ſame was alſo common amongſt the *Brittans*, and is not yet altogether left off, with the *Welſh* which are their poſterity. For all the faſhions of the *Gaules* and *Brittaines*, as he teſtifieth, were much like. The long darts came alſo from the *Gaules*, as you may read in the ſame *Cæſar*, and in *Io: Boemus*. Likewiſe the ſaid *Io: Boemus* writeth, that the *Gaules* uſed Swords a handfull broad, and ſo doe the *Iriſh* now. Alſo they uſed long Wicker ſheilds in Battaile that ſhould cover their whole bodies, and ſo doe the Northerne *Iriſh*. But I have not ſeene ſuch faſhioned Targets uſed in the Southerne parts, but onely amongſt the Northerne people, and *Iriſh-Scottes*, I doe thinke that they were brought in rather by the *Scythians*, then by the *Gaules*. Alſo the *Gaules* uſed to drinke their enemyes blood, and painte themſelves therewith. So alſo they write, that the old *Iriſh* were wont, and ſo have I ſeene ſome of the *Iriſh* doe, but not their enemyes, but freinds blood. As namely at the execution of a notable Traytor at *Limericke*, called *Murrogh O-Brien*, I ſaw an old woman, which was his foſter mother, take up his head, whilſt he was quartered, and ſucked up all the blood that runne thereout, ſaying, that the Earth was not worthy to drinke it, and therewith alſo ſteeped her face and breaſt, and tore her haire, crying out and ſhreeking moſt terribly.

Eudox. You have very well runne thorough ſuch cuſtomes as the *Iriſh* have derived from the firſt old Nations which inhabited the land: namely the *Scythians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Gaules*, & the *Brittaines*. It now remaineth that you take in hand, the cuſtomes of the old *Engliſh* which are amongſt the *Iriſh*: Of which I doe not thinke that you ſhall have much cauſe to finde fault with, conſidering that by the *Engliſh*, moſt of the old bad *Iriſh* cuſtomes were aboliſhed, and more civill faſhions brought in their ſtead.

Iren. You thinke otherwiſe *Eudox.* then I doe, for the cheifeſt abuſes which are now in that Realme, are growne from the *Engliſh*, and ſome of them are now much more lawleſſe and licentious then the very wilde *Iriſh*: ſo that as much care, as was then by them had to reforme the *Iriſh*, ſo and much more, muſt now bee uſed to reforme them, ſo much time doth alter the manners of men.

Eudox. That ſeemeth very ſtrange, which you ſay, that men ſhould ſo much degenerate from their firſt natures, as to growe wilde.

Iren. So much can liberty and ill examples doe.

Eudox. What liberty had the *Engliſh* there, more then they had here at home? were not the lawes planted amongſt them at the firſt and had they not Governours to curbe and keepe them ſtill in awe

awe and obedience?

Iren. They had, but it was for the moſt part, ſuch as did more hurt then good, for they had governours for the moſt part of themſelves, and commonly out of the two families of the *Geraldines* and *Butlers*, both adverſaries and corrivales one againſt the other. Who though for the moſt part they were but Deputies under ſome of the Kings of *Englands Sonnes*, *Brethren*, or other neare kinſmen, who were the Kings *Lieutenants*, yet they ſwayed ſo much, as they had all the Rule, and the others, but the title. Of which *Butlers* and *Geraldynes*, albeit (I muſt confeſſe) there were very brave and worthy men, as alſo of other the Peeres of that Realme, made Lo: Deputies, and Lo: Iuſtices at ſundry times, yet thorough greatnes of their late conqueſts and ſeignories they grew inſolent, and bent both that regall authority, and alſo their private powers, one againſt another, to the utter ſubverſion of themſelves, and ſtrengthning of the *Iriſh* againe. This you may read plainely diſcovered by a Letter written from the Cittizens of *Corke* out of *Ireland*, to the Earle of *Shrewſbury* then in *England*, and remaining yet upon record, both in the Towre of *London*, and alſo among the Chronicles of *Ireland*. Wherein it is by them complained, that the *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great poſſeſſions in *Ireland*, began thorough pride and inſolency, to make private warres one againſt another, and when either part was weak, they would wage & draw in the *Iriſh* to take their part, by wch meanes they both greatly incouraged, and inabled the *Iriſh*, which till that time, had beene ſhut up within the mountaines of *Slewlogher*, and weakened and diſabled themſelves, inſomuch that their revenues were wonderfully impaired, and ſome of them which are there reckoned to have been able, to have ſpent 12. or 1300. pounds *per annũ*, of old rent (that I may ſay no more) beſides their Commodities of Creekes and havens, were now ſcarce able to diſpend the third part. From which diſorder, and through other huge calamities, which have come upon them thereby, they are almoſt now growne like the *Iriſh*, I meane of ſuch *Engliſh*, as were planted above towards the Weſt, for the *Engliſh* pale hath preſerved it ſelfe, thorogh nearenes of the ſtate in reaſonable civilitie, but the reſt which dwelt in *Connaght* and in *Mounſter*, which is the ſweereſt ſoyle of *Ireland*, and ſome in *Leinſter* and *Vlſter*, are degenerate, yea, and ſome of them have quite ſhaken off their *Engliſh* names, and put on *Iriſh* that they might bee altogether *Iriſh*.

Eudox. Is it poſſible that any ſhould ſo farre growe out of frame that they ſhould in ſo ſhort ſpace, quite forget their Countrey and their owne names: that is a moſt dangerous *Lethargie*, much worſe then that of *Meſſala Coruinus*, who being a moſt learned man, thorough ſickeneſſe forgat his owne name. But can you count us any of this kinde?

Iren. I cannot but by report of the *Iriſh* themſelves, who report, that the * *Mac-mahons* in the north, were aunciently *Engliſh*, to wit, deſcended

* * These families of *Mac-mahones* and *Mac-ſwines* are by others held to be of the ancient *Iriſh*.

deſcended from the *Fitz Vrſula's*, which was a noble family in *England*, and that the ſame appeareth by the ſignification of their *Iriſh* names: Likewiſe that the* *Mac-ſwynes*, now in *Vlſter*, were auncient-ly of the *Veres* in *England*, but that they themſelves, for hatred of *Engliſh*, ſo diſguiſed their names.

* vide annot. pag. praced.

Eudox. Could they ever conceive any ſuch diſlike of their owne naturall Countryes, as that they would bee aſhamed of their name, and byte at the dugge from which they ſucked life?

Iren. I wote well there ſhould be none, but proud hearts doe oftentimes (like wanton Colts) kicke at their Mothers, as we read *Alcibiades* and *Themiſtocles* did, who being baniſhed out of *Athens*, fled unto the Kings of *Aſia*, and there ſtirred them up to warre againſt their Country, in which warres they themſelves were Cheifetaines. So they ſay did theſe *Mac-ſwines* and *Mac-mahons*, or rather *Veres* and *Fitz Vrſulaes*, for private deſpight, turne themſelves againſt *England*. For at ſuch time as *Robert Vere* Earle of *Oxford*, was in the *Barons* Warres againſt King *Richard* the ſecond, through the mallice of the Peeres, baniſhed the Realme and proſcribed, he with his kinſman *Fitz Vrſula* fled into *Ireland*, where being proſecuted, and afterwards in *England* put to death, his kinſman there remaining behinde in *Ireland* rebelled, and conſpiring with the *Iriſh*, did quite caſt off both their *Engliſh* name and alleagiance, ſince which time they have ſo remained ſtill, and have ſince beene counted meere *Iriſh*. The very like is alſo reported of the *Mac-ſwines*, *Mac-mahones*, and *Mac-Shehies* of *Mounſter*, how they likewiſe were aunciently *Engliſh*, and old followers to the Earle of *Deſmond*, untill the raigne of King *Edward* the fourth. At which time the Earle of *Deſmond* that then was, called *Thomas*, being through falſe ſubornation (as they ſay) of the Queene for ſome offence by her againſt him conceived, brought to his death at* *Tredagh* moſt unjuſtly, notwithſtanding that he was a very good and ſound ſubject to the King: Thereupon all his Kinſemen of the *Geraldines*, which then was a mighty family in *Mounſter*, in revenge of that huge wrong, roſe into Armes againſt the King, and utterly renounced and forſooke all obedience to the Crowne of *England*, to whom the ſaid *Mac-ſwines*, *Mac-ſhehies*, and *Mac-mahones*, being then ſervants and followers, did the like, and have ever ſithence ſo continued. And with them (they ſay) all the people of *Mounſter* went out, and many other of them which were meere *Engliſh*, thenceforth joyned with the *Iriſh* againſt the King, and termed themſelves very *Iriſh*, taking on them *Iriſh* habits and cuſtomes, which could never ſince be cleane wyped away, but the contagion hath remained ſtill amongſt their poſterityes. Of which ſort (they ſay) be moſt of the ſurnames which end in *an*, as *Hernan*, *Shinan*, *Mungan*, &c. the which now account themſelves naturall *Iriſh*. Other great houſes there bee of the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, which thorough licentious converſing with the *Iriſh*, or marrying, or foſtering with them, or lacke of meete nurture, or other ſuch unhappy occaſions, have degenerated from their auncient

* Others hould that he was beheaded at *Tredagh* 15. *Febr.* 146⅓. by (the command of) *Iohn Tiptoft* Earle of *Worceſter*, then Lo: Deputy of *Ireland*, for exacting of *Coyne* and *Livery*. *vid. Camden. Britan. pag.* 738 *edit. Londin. an.* 1607

cient dignities, and are now growne as *Iriſh*, as *O-Hanlons breech*, as the proverbe there is.

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a moſt ſhamefull hearing, and to be reformed with moſt ſharpe cenſures: in ſo great perſonages to the terrour of the meaner: for if the Lords and cheife men degenerate, what ſhall be hoped of the peaſants, and baſer people. And hereby ſure you have made a faire way unto your ſelfe, to lay open the abuſes of their evill cuſtomes, which you have now next to declare, the which no doubt, but are very bad being borrowed, from the *Iriſh*, as their apparell, their language, their riding, and many other the like.

Iren. You cannot but hold them ſure to be very uncivill, for were they at the beſt that they were of old, when they were brought in, they ſhould in ſo long an alteration of time ſeeme very uncouth and ſtrange. For it is to be thought, that the uſe of all *England*, (was in the raigne of *Henry* the ſecond, when *Ireland* was planted with *Engliſh*) very rude and barbarous, ſo as if the ſame ſhould be now uſed in *England* by any, it would ſeeme worthy of ſharpe correction, and of new lawes for reformation, for it is but even the other day, ſince *England* grew civill: Therefore in counting the evill cuſtomes of the *Engliſh* there, I will not have regard, whether the beginning thereof were *Engliſh* or *Iriſh*, but will have reſpect onely to the inconvenience thereof. And firſt I have to finde fault with the abuſe of language, that is, for the ſpeaking of *Iriſh* among the *Engliſh*, which as it is unnaturall that any people ſhould love anothers language more then their owne, ſo it is very inconvenient, and the cauſe of many other evills.

Eudox. It ſeemeth ſtrange to me that the *Engliſh* ſhould take more delight to ſpeake that language, then their owne, whereas they ſhould (mee thinkes) rather take ſcorne to acquaint their tongues thereto. For it hath ever beene the uſe of the *Conquerour*, to deſpiſe the language of the conquered, and to force him by all meanes to learne his. So did the *Romans* allwayes uſe, inſomuch that there is almoſt no Nation in the world, but is ſprinckled with their language. It were good therefore (me ſeemes) to ſearch out the originall cauſe of this evill, for the ſame being diſcovered, a redreſſe thereof will the more eaſily be provided: for (I thinke) it very ſtrange, that the *Engliſh* being ſo many, and the *Iriſh* ſo few, as they then were left, the fewer ſhould draw the more unto their uſe.

Iren. I ſuppoſe that the cheife cauſe of bringing in the *Iriſh* language, amongſt them, was ſpecially their foſtering, and marrying with the *Iriſh*, the which are two moſt dangerous infections, for firſt the childe that ſucketh the milke of the nurſe, muſt of neceſſity learne his firſt ſpeach of her, the which being the firſt inured to his tongue, is ever after moſt pleaſing unto him, inſomuch as though hee afterwards be taught *Engliſh*, yet the ſmacke of the firſt will allwayes abide with him, and not onely of the ſpeach, but alſo of the manners and

and conditions. For beſides that, yong Children be like Apes, which will affect and imitate what they ſee done before them, eſpecially by their nurſes whom they love ſo well, they moreover drawe into themſelves, together with their ſucke, even the nature and diſpoſition of their nurſes: for the minde followeth much the temperature of the body: and alſo the words are the image of the minde, ſo as they proceeding from the minde, the minde muſt needes be affected with the words. So that the ſpeach being *Iriſh*, the heart muſt needes bee *Iriſh*: for out of the abundance of the heart, the tongue ſpeaketh. The next is the marrying with the *Iriſh*, which how dangerous a thing it is in all common-wealthes, appeareth to every ſimpleſt ſence, and though ſome great ones have perhaps uſed ſuch matches with their Vaſſals, and have of them nevertheleſſe raiſed worthy iſſue, as *Telamon* did with *Termeſſa*, *Alexander* the Great with *Roxane*, and *Iulius Cæſar* with *Cleopatra*, yet the example is ſo perillous, as it is not to be adventured: for in ſtead of thoſe few good, I could count unto them infinite many evill. And indeed how can ſuch matching ſucceede well, ſeeing that commonly the childe taketh moſt of his nature of the Mother, beſides ſpeach, manners, and inclynation, which are (for the moſt part) agreeable to the conditions of their mothers: for by them they are firſt framed and faſhioned, ſo as what they receive once from them, they will hardly ever after forgoe. Therefore are theſe evill cuſtomes of foſtering and marrying with the *Iriſh*, moſt carefully to be reſtrayned: for of them two, the third evill that is the cuſtome of language, (which I ſpake of,) cheifly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are there not lawes already provided, for avoyding of this evill?

Iren. Yes I thinke there be, but as good never a whit as never the better, for what doe Statures availe without penalties, or lawes without charge of execution? for ſo there is another like law enacted againſt wearing of the *Iriſh* apparell, but neverthemore is it obſerved by any, or executed by them that have the charge: for they in their private diſcretions thinke it not fit to bee forced upon the poore wretches of that Country, which are not worth the price of *Engliſh* apparell, nor expedient to be practiſed againſt the abler ſort, by reaſon that the country (ſay they) doth yeeld no better, and were there better to be had, yet theſe were fitter to be uſed, as namely the mantle in travailing, becauſe there be no Innes where meete bedding may be had, ſo that his mantle ſerves him then for a bed. The leather quilted Iacke in journeying and in camping, for that it is fitteſt to be under his ſhirt of Male, and for any occaſion of ſuddaine ſervice, as there happen many, to cover his trouſe on horſebacke. The great linnen Roll, which the Women weare, to keepe their heads warme, after cutting their haire, which they uſe in any ſickeneſſe. Beſides their thicke folded linnen ſhirts, their long ſleived ſmocks, their halfe ſleived coates, their ſilken fillets, and all the reſt: they will deviſe ſome colour for, either of neceſſity, or of antiquity, or of comelyneſſe.

Eudox. But

Eudox. But what colour ſoever they alledge, mee thinkes it not expedient, that the execution of a Law once ordayned, ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the Iudge, or Officer, but that without partialitie, or regard, it ſhould be fulfilled aſwell on *Engliſh*, as *Iriſh*.

Iren. But they thinke this preciſenes in reformation of apparell, not to be ſo materiall, or greatly pertinent.

Eudox. Yes ſurely but it is: for mens apparell is commonly made according to their conditions, & their conditions are oftentimes governed by their garments: for the perſon that is gowned, is by his gowne put in minde of gravitie, and alſo reſtrained from lightnes, by the very unaptneſſe of his weed. Therefore it is written by *Ariſtotle*, That when *Cyrus* had overcome the *Lydians* that were a warlike nation, and deviſed to bring them to a more peaceable life, hee changed their apparell & muſick, and in ſtead of their ſhort warlike coat, cloathed them in long garments like women, and in ſtead of their warlike muſick, appointed to them certaine laſcivious layes, and looſe Iiggs, by which in ſhort ſpace their mindes were ſo mollified and abated, that they forgot their former fierceneſſe, & became moſt tender & effeminate, whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the garment to the faſhioning of the minde and conditions. But be theſe which you have deſcribed, the faſhions of the *Iriſh* weedes?

Iren. No: all theſe which I have rehearſed to you, bee not *Iriſh* garments, but *Engliſh*; for the quilted leather Iack is old *Engliſh*: for it was the proper weed of the horſeman, as you may read in *Chaucer*, when he deſcribeth Sir *Thopas* apparell and Armour, as hee went to fight againſt the Gyant, in his robe of Shecklaton, which is that kind of guilded leather with which they uſe to imbroyder their *Iriſh* Iackets. And therelikewiſe by all that deſcription, you may ſee the very faſhion and manner of the *Iriſh* horſeman moſt truely ſet forth in his long hoſe, his ryding ſhooes of coſtly Cordwaine, his hacqueton, & his haberion, with all the reſt thereunto belonging.

Eudox. I ſurely thought that the manner had beene *Iriſh*, for it is farre differing from that we have now, as alſo all the furniture of his horſe, his ſtrong braſſe bit, his flyding reynes, his ſhanke pillion without ſtirruppes, his manner of mounting, his faſhion of ryding, his charging of his ſpeare aloft above head, the forme of his ſpeare.

Iren. No ſure; they be native *Engliſh*, and brought in by the *Engliſhmen* firſt into *Ireland*: neither is the ſame accounted an uncomely manner of ryding: for I have heard ſome great warriours ſay, that in all the ſervices which they had ſeene abroad in forraine Countreyes, they never ſaw a more comely man then the *Iriſh* man, nor that commeth on more bravely in his charge, neither is his manner of mounting unſeemely, though hee lacke ſtirruppes, but more ready then with ſtirruppes; for in his getting up, his horſe is ſtill going, whereby hee gayneth way. And therefore the

ſtirrup was called ſo in ſcorne, as it were a ſtay to get up, being derived of the olde *Engliſh* word *Sty*, which is, to get up, or mounte.

Eudox. It ſeemeth then that you finde no fault with this manner of ryding, why then would you have the quilted Iacke laide away?

Iren. I doe not wiſh it to be laide away; but the abuſe thereof to be put away; for being uſed to the end that it was framed, that is, to be worne in warre under a ſhirt of Mayle, it is allowable, as alſo the ſhirt of Mayle, and all his other furniture: but to be worne daylie at home, and in townes and civile places, it is a rude habite and moſt uncomely ſeeming like a players painted coate.

Eudox. But it is worne (they ſay) likewiſe of *Iriſh* Footmen, how doe you allow of that? for I ſhould thinke it very unſeemely.

Iren. No, not as it is uſed in warre, for it is worne then likewiſe of footmen under their ſhirts of mayle, the which footmen they call *Galloglaſſes*, the which name doth diſcover them alſo to be auncient *Engliſh*: for *Gall-ogla* ſignifies an *Engliſh* ſervitour or yeoman. And he being ſo armed in a long ſhirt of Mayle downe to the calfe of his leg, with a long broad Axe in his hand, was then *Pedes gravis armaturæ*, (and was inſteed of the armed footeman that now weareth a Corſlet,) before the Corſlet was uſed, or almoſt invented.

Eudox. Then him belike you likewiſe allow in your ſtraite reformation of old cuſtomes.

Iren. Both him and the Kerne alſo, (whom onely I take to bee the proper *Iriſh* Souldier) can I allow, ſo that they uſe that habite and cuſtome of theirs in the warres onely, when they are led forth to the ſervice of their Prince, and not uſually at home, and in civile places, and beſides doe laye aſide the evill and wilde uſes which the *Galloglaſſe* and *Kerne* doe uſe in their common trade of life.

Eudox. What be thoſe?

Iren. Marrie thoſe bee the moſt barbarous and loathly conditions of any people (I thinke) under heaven: for from the time that they enter into that courſe, they doe uſe all the beaſtly behaviour that may bee, they oppreſſe all men, they ſpoile aſwell the ſubject, as the enemy; they ſteale, they are cruell and bloodie, full of revenge, and delighting in deadly execution, licentious, ſwearers, and blaſphemers, common raviſhers of woemen, and murtherers of children.

Eudox. Theſe bee moſt villainous conditions, I marvaile then that they be ever uſed or imployed, or almoſt ſuffered to live; what good can there then be in them?

Iren. Yet ſure they are very valiaunt, and hardie, for the moſt part great indurers of colde, labour, hunger, and all hardneſſe,

hardneſſe, very active and ſtrong of hand, very ſwift of foot, very vigilant and circumſpect in their enterpriſes, very preſent in perils, very great ſcorners of death.

Eudox. Truely by this that you ſay, it ſeemes that the *Iriſhman* is a very brave Souldier.

Iren. Yea ſurely, in that rude kinde of ſervice, hee beareth himſelfe very courageouſly: But when hee commeth to experience of ſervice abroad, or is put to a peece, or a pike, hee maketh as worthie a Souldiour as any Nation hee meeteth with. But let us (I pray you) turne againe to our diſcourſe of evill cuſtomes amongſt the *Iriſh*.

Eudox. Me thinkes, all this which you ſpeake of, concerneth the cuſtomes of the *Iriſh* very materially, for their uſes in warre are of no ſmall importance to bee conſidered, aſwell to reforme thoſe which are evill, as to confirme and continue thoſe which are good. But follow you your owne courſe, and ſhew what other their cuſtomes you have to diſlike of.

Iren. There is amongſt the *Iriſh* a certaine kind of people, called *Bardes*, which are to them inſteed of *Poets*, whoſe profeſſion is to ſet foorth the praiſes or diſpraiſes of men in their *Poems* or *Rymes*; the which are had in ſo high regard and eſtimation amongſt them, that none dare diſpleaſe them for feare to runne into reproach thorough their offence, and to bee made infamous in the mouthes of all men. For their verſes are taken up with a generall applauſe, and uſually ſung at all Feaſts and meetings, and certaine other perſons, whoſe proper function that is, who alſo receive for the ſame great rewards and reputation amongſt them.

Eudox. Doe you blame this in them which I would otherwiſe have thought to have beene worthy of good accompt, and rather to have beene maintained and augmented amongſt them, then to have beene diſliked, for I have reade that in all ages, *Poets* have beene had in ſpeciall reputation, and that (mee thinkes) not without great cauſe: for beſides their ſweete inventions, and moſt wittie laies, they have always uſed to ſet foorth the praiſes of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and diſgrace the bad and vitious. So that many brave yong minides, have oftentimes thorough hearing the praiſes and famous *Eulogies* of worthie men ſung and reported unto them, beene ſtirred up to affect the like commendations, and ſo to ſtrive to the like deſerts. So they ſay that the *Lacedemonians* were more excited to deſire of honour, with the excellent verſes of the *Poet Tirtæus*, then with all the exhortations of their Captaines, or authority of their Rulers and Magiſtrates.

Iren. It is moſt true, that ſuch *Poets* as in their writings doe labour to better the manners of men, and thorough the ſweete baite of their numbers, to ſteale into the young Spirits a deſire of honour and vertue, are worthy to bee had in great reſpect.

But these *Irish* Bardes are for the most part of another minde, and so farre from instructing yong men in morall discipline, that they themselves doe more deserve to bee sharpely disciplined, for they seldome use to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the Arguments of their *Poems*, but whomsoever they finde to be most licentious of life, most bolde and lawlesse in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorifie in their Rithmes, him they praise to the people, & to yong men make an example to follow

Eudox. I marvaile what kinde of speeches they can finde, or what face they can put on, to praise such bad persons as live so lawlesly and licentiously upon stealthes and spoyles, as most of them doe, or how can they thinke that any good mind will applaude or approve the same.

Iren. There is none so bad *Eudoxus*, but shall finde some to favour his doings, but such licentious partes as these, tending for the most part to the hurt of the *English*, or maintenance of their owne lewde libertie, they themselves being most desirous thereof, doe most allow. Besides this, evill things being decked and attired with the gay attire of goodly words, may easily deceive, & carry away the affection of a yong mind, that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bolde adventures, to make proofe of himselfe, for being (as they all be brought up) idlely, without awe of Parents, without precepts of masters, and without feare of offence, not being directed, nor imployed in any course of life, which may carry them to vertue, will easily be drawne to follow such as any shall set before them, for a yong minde cannot rest, if he be not still busied in some goodnesse, he will finde himselfe such businesse, as shall soone busie all about him. In which, if he shall find any to praise him, & to give him encouragement, as those Bardes and Rythmers doe for little reward, or a shute of a stolne Cow, then waxeth he most insolent and halfe madde with the love of himselfe, & his owne lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdnes, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to vertue it selfe. As of a most notorious thiefe & wicked outlaw, which had lived all his life-time of spoyles & robberies, one of their Bardes in his praise will say, that he was none of the idle milke-sops that was brought up by the fire sids, but that most of his dayes he spent in armes & valiant enterprises, that he did never eat his meat, before he had won it with his sword, that he lay not all night slugging in a cabbin under his mantle, but used commonly to keepe others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses, to leade him in the darkenesse: That the Day was his Night, and the Night his Day, that he loved not to be long woing of wenches to yeeld to him, but where he came, he tooke by force the spoyle of other mens love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his musick was not the harpe, nor layes of love, but the cryes of people, and clashing of Armour:

Armor: & finally, that he died not bewayled of many, but made many waile when he died, that dearely bought his death. Doe you not thinke (*Eudoxus*) that many of these praises might be applyed to men of best deserts, yet are they all yeelded to a most notable Traytor, & amongst some of the *Irish* not finally accounted of. For the song, when it was first made and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for forty crownes.

Eudox. And well worthy sure. But tell me (I pray you) have they any Art in their compositions? or bee they any thing wittie or well savoured as Poemes should be?

Iren. Yea truely, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, & surely they savoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of Poetry: yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowres of their naturall device, which gave good grace & comlinesse unto them, the which it is great pitty to see so abused, to the gracing of wickednes & vice, which with good usage would serve to adorne & beautifie vertue. This evill custome therfore needeth reformation. And now next after the *Irish Kerne*, me thinks the *Irish* horse-boyes would come well in order, the use of which, though necessity (as times now be) do enforce; yet in the thorough reformation of that Realme they should be cut off. For the cause why they are now to be permitted, is want of convenient Innes for lodging of travailers on horsback, & of hostlers to tend their horses by the way. But when things shalbe reduced to a better passe, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the fry of these rake-hell horse-boyes, growing up in knavery and villainy, are their *Kerne* continually supplyed & maintained. For having been once brought up an idle horse-boy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made fit for the halter. And these also (the which is one foule over-sight) are for the most part bred up amongst the *Englishmen*, of whom learning to shoote in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the *English*, they are afterwards when they become *Kerne*, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this, there is another much like; but much more lewde and dishoneſt, and that is, of their *Carrows*, which is a kinde of people that wander up and downe to Gentle-mens houses, living onely upon Cardes and Dice, the which, though they have little or nothing of their owne, yet will they play for much money, which if they winne, they waste most lightly, and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make recompence with one stealth or another, whose onely hurt is not that they themselves are idle Lossells, but that thorough gaming, they draw others to like lewdnesse and idlenesse. And to these may bee added another sort of like loose fellowes, which doe passe up and downe amongst Gentlemen, by the name of Iesters, but are (indeed) notable rogues, & partakers not onely of many stealthes, by setting forth other mens goods to be stolne, but also privy to many traitrous practices, and common carryers of newes, with desire whereof you would

would wonder how much the *Iriſh* are fed, for they uſe commonly to ſend up and downe to know newes, and if any meet with another, his ſecond word is, what newes? Inſomuch that hereof is tolde a prettie jeſt of a *Frenchman*, who having beene ſometimes in *Ireland*, where he marked their great inquirie for newes, and meeting afterwards in *France* an *Iriſhman*, whom hee knew in *Ireland*, firſt ſaluted him, and afterwards ſaid thus merrily: O Sir, I pray you tell me of curteſie, have you heard any thing of the newes, that you ſo much inquired for in your Countrey?

Eudox. This argueth ſure in them a great deſire of innovation, & therfore theſe occaſions which nouriſh the ſame, muſt be taken away, as namely thoſe Ieſters, Carrowes, Mona-ſhutes, & all ſuch ſtraglers, for whom (me thinkes) the ſhort riddance of a Marſhall, were meeter then an ordinance or prohibitiō to reſtrain thē. Therfore (I pray you) leave all this rabblement of Runnagates, & paſſe to other cuſtomes.

Iren. There is a great uſe amongſt the *Iriſh*, to make great aſſemblies together upon a rath or hill, there to parlie (as they ſay) about matters and wrongs betweene Townſhip & Townſhip, or one privat perſon and another. But well I wot, and true it hath beene oftentimes proved, that in their meetings many miſchiefes have beene both practiſed & wrought; for to them doe commonly reſort all the ſcumme of the people, where they may meete and conferre of what they liſt, which elſe they could not doe without ſuſpition, or knowledge of others. Beſides at theſe meetings I have knowne divers times, that many *Engliſhmen*, & good *Iriſh* ſubjects, have bin villainouſly murdered by moving one quarell or another againſt them. For the *Iriſh* neuer come to thoſe Raths, but armed, whether on horſe or on foot, which the *Engliſh* nothing ſuſpecting, are then commonly taken at advantage like ſheep in the pin-folde.

Eudox. It may be (*Irenæus*) that abuſe may be in thoſe meetings. But theſe round hills and ſquare Bawnes which you ſee ſo ſtrongly trenched and throwne up, were (they ſay) at firſt ordained for the ſame purpoſe, that people might aſſemble themſelves therein, and therefore aunciently they were called *Talk-motes*, that is, a place of people, to meete or talke of any thing that concerned any difference betweene parties and Townſhips, which ſeemeth yet to me very reaſonable.

You ſay very true *Eudoxus*, the firſt making of theſe high hills, were at firſt indeed to very good purpoſe for people to meet, but howſoever the times when they were firſt made, might well ſerve to good occaſions, as perhaps they did then in *England*, yet things being altered, & now *Ireland* much differing from the ſtate of *England*, the good uſe that then was of them, is now turned to abuſe; for thoſe that whereof you ſpeak, were (as you may gather by reading) appointed for ſpecial uſes, & built by 2 ſeveral nations. The one is that wch you call *Talk-motes*, which were built by the *Saxons*, as the word betokeneth for it ſignifieth in *Saxon*, a meeting of folk, & theſe are for the moſt

moſt part in forme foure ſquare, well intrenched, the others that were round, were caſt up by the *Danes*, as the name of them doth betoken, for they are called *Danes-Rathes*, that is, hills of the *Danes*, the which were by them deviſed, not for treaties and parlies, but appointed as fortes for them to gather unto, in troubleſome time, when any trouble aroſe, for the *Danes* being but a few in compariſon of the * *Saxons* (in *England*) uſed this for their ſafety, they made thoſe ſmall round hills, ſo ſtrongly fenced, in every quarter of the hundred, to the end that if in the night, or any other time, any troublous cry or uproare ſhould happen, they might repaire with all ſpeed unto their owne fort, which was appointed for their quarter, and there remaine ſafe, till they could aſſemble themſelves in greater ſtrength, for they were made ſo ſtrong with one ſmall entrance, that whoſoever came thither firſt, were he one or two, or like few, he or they might there reſt ſafe, and defend themſelves againſt many, till more ſuccour came unto them: and when they were gathered to a ſufficient number, they marched to the next fort, and ſo forward till they met with the perill, or knew the occaſions thereof. But beſides theſe two ſorts of hills, there were anciently divers others, for ſome were raiſed, where there had been a great battle fought, as a memory or Trophie thereof, others, as monuments of burialls, of the carcaſſes of all thoſe that were ſlaine in any field, upon whom they did throwe ſuch round mounts, as memorialls of them, and ſometimes did caſt up great heapes of ſtones, (as you may read the like in many places of the Scripture) and other whiles, they did throw up many round heapes of earth in a circle, like a garland, or pitch many long ſtones on end in compaſſe, every of which (they ſay) betokened ſome perſon of Note, there ſlaine and buried, for this was their auncient cuſtome, before Chriſtianity came in amongſt them, that Church-yards were incloſed.

* The like reaſon may be given for the making of ſuch *Rathes* in *Ireland*, by the *Danes* or *Norwegians*. vid. *Gir. Cambr. topog. Hib. diſtinct.* 3. *cap.* 37.

Eudox. You have very well declared the originall of their mounts and great ſtones incompaſſed, which ſome vainely terme, the ould *Gyants Trevetts*, and thinke that thoſe huge ſtones, would not elſe be brought into order or reared up, without the ſtrength of *Gyants*. And others as vainely thinke that they were never placed there by mans hand, or Art, but onely remained there ſo ſince the beginning, and were afterwards diſcovered by the deluge, and laide open as then by the waſhing of the waters, or other like caſualty. But let them dreame their owne Imaginations to pleaſe themſelves, you have ſatiſfied me much better, both for that I ſee ſome confirmation thereof in the holy writt, and alſo remember that I have read in many Hiſtoryes and Chronicles, the like mounts and ſtones, oftentimes mentioned.

Iren. There be many great authorities (I aſſure you) to prove the ſame, but as for theſe meetings on hills, whereof we were ſpeaking, it is very inconvenient that any ſuch ſhould be permitted.

Eudox. But yet it is very needefull (me thinkes) for many other purpoſes, as for the countryes to gather together, when there is any impoſi-

impoſition to be laide upon them, to the which they then may all agree at ſuch meetings, to devide upon themſelves, according to their holdings and abilities. So as if at theſe aſſemblies, there be any Officers, as Conſtables, Bayliffes, or ſuch like amongſt them, there can be no perill, or doubt of ſuch bad practiſes.

Iren: Nevertheleſſe, dangerous are ſuch aſſemblies, whether for Ceſſe or ought elſe, the Conſtables and Officers, being alſo of the *Iriſh*, and if any of the *Engliſh* happen to be there, even to them they may prove perillous. Therefore for avoyding of all ſuch evill occaſions, they were beſt to be aboliſhed.

Eudox. But what is that which you call Ceſſe, it is a word ſure unuſed amongſt us heere, therefore (I pray you) expound the ſame?

Iren. Ceſſe is none other then that which your ſelfe called impoſition, but it is in a kinde unacquainted perhaps unto you. For there are Ceſſes of ſundry ſorts, one is the ceſſing of Souldiours upon the Countrey: For *Ireland* being a Countrey of warre (as it is handled) and allwayes full of Souldiours, they which have the government, whether they finde it the moſt eaſe to the *Queenes* purſe, or the moſt ready meanes at hand, for victualing of the Souldiour, or that neceſſity inforceth them thereunto, doe ſcatter the Army abroad in the Countrey, and place them in Villages to take their victuals of them, at ſuch vacant times as they lye not in Campe, nor are otherwiſe imployed in ſervice. Another kinde of Ceſſe, is the impoſing of proviſion, for the Governors houſe-keeping, which though it be moſt neceſſary, and be alſo (for avoyding of all the evills formerly therein uſed) lately brought to a compoſition, yet it is not without great inconveniences, no leſſe then here in *England*, or rather much more. The like Ceſſe is alſo charged upon the Countrey ſometimes for victualling of the Souldiours, when they lye in Garriſon, at ſuch times as there is none remayning in the *Queenes* ſtore, or that the ſame cannot be conveniently conveyed to their place of Garriſon: But theſe two are not eaſily to be redreſſed when neceſſity thereto compelleth, but as for the former, as it is not neceſſary, ſo is it moſt hurtfull and offenſive to the poore country, and nothing convenient for the Souldiours themſelves, who during their lying at Ceſſe, uſe all kinde of outragious diſorder and villany, both towards the poore men, which victuall and lodge them, as alſo to all the Country round about them, whom they abuſe, oppreſſe, ſpoyle, & afflict by all the meanes they can invent, for they will not onely, not content themſelves with ſuch victuals as their hoſtes, nor yet as the place, perhaps affords, but they will have other meate provided for them, and *Aqua vitæ* ſent for, yea and money beſides laide at their trenchers, which if they want, then about the houſe they walke with the wretched poore man and his ſilly wife, who are glad to purchaſe their peace with any thing. By which vile manner of abuſe, the countrey people, yea and the very *Engliſh* which dwell abroad and ſee, and ſometimes feele this

this outrage, growe into great deteſtation of the Souldiours, and thereby into hatred of the very government, which draweth upon them ſuch evills: And therefore this you may alſo ioyne unto the former evill cuſtomes, which we have to reprove in *Ireland*.

Eudox. Truly this is one not the leaſt, and though the perſons by whom it is uſed, be of better note then the former roguiſh ſort, which you reckoned, yet the fault (me thinkes) is no leſſe worthy of a marſhall.

Iren. That were a harder courſe *Eudoxus*, to redreſſe every abuſe by a marſhall, it would ſeeme to you very evill ſurgery to cut off every unſound or ſicke part of the body, which being by other due meanes recovered, might afterwards doe very good ſervice to the body againe, and haply helpe to ſave the whole: Therefore I thinke better that ſome good ſalve for the redreſſe of the evill bee ſought forth, then the leaſt part ſuffered to periſh: but hereof wee have to ſpeake in another place. Now we will proceede to other like defects, amongſt which there is one generall inconvenience, which raigneth almoſt throughout all *Ireland*; that is, the Lords of land and free-holders, doe not there uſe to ſet out their land in farme, or for tearme of yeares, to their Tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and ſome during pleaſure, neither indeede will the *Iriſh* Tennant or husbandman otherwiſe take his land, then ſo long as he liſt himſelfe. The reaſon hereof in the Tennant is, for that the Land-lords there, uſe moſt ſhamefully to racke their Tennants, laying upon them *Coigny* and *Livery* at pleaſure, & exacting of them (beſides his Covenants) what he pleaſeth. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himſelfe to him, for longer tearme, or thinketh by his continuall liberty of change, to keepe his Land-lord the rather in awe from wronging of him. And the reaſon why the Land-lord will no longer covenant with him, is, for that he dayly looketh after change and alteration, and howreth in expectation of new worlds.

Eudox. But what evill commeth hereby to the Common-wealth or what reaſon is it that any Land-lord ſhould not ſet, nor any Tennant take his land, as himſelfe liſte?

Iren. Marry the evils which commeth hereby is great, for by this meanes, both the Land-lord thinketh that he hath his Tennant more at commaund, to follow him into what action ſoever hee ſhall enter, and alſo the Tennant being left at his liberty is fit for every occaſion of change that ſhall be offered by time: and ſo much alſo the more ready and willing is he to runne into the ſame, for that hee hath no ſuch ſtate in any his houlding, no ſuch building upon any farme, no ſuch coſte imployed in fenſing or husbanding the ſame, as might with-hold him from any ſuch willfull courſe, as his Lords cauſe, or his owne lewde diſpoſition may carry him unto. All which hee hath forborne, and ſpared ſo much expence, for that he had no firme eſtate in his Tenement, but was onely a Tennant at will or little more, and ſo at will may leave it. And this inconvenience may be reaſon enough

to

to ground any ordinance for the good of the Common-wealth, againſt the private behoofe or will of any Landlord that ſhall refuſe to graunt any ſuch terme or eſtate unto his Tennant, as may tende to the good of the whole Realme.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it is a great willfullnes in any ſuch Land-lord to refuſe to make any longer farmes unto their Tennants, as may, beſides the generall good of the Realme, be alſo greatly for their owne profit and availe: For what reaſonable man will not thinke that the Tenement ſhalbe made much better for the Lords behoofe, if the Tennant may by ſuch good meanes bee drawne to build himſelfe ſome handſome habitation thereon, to ditch and incloſe his ground, to manure and huſband it as good Farmours uſe. For when his Tennants terme ſhalbe expired: it will yeeld him in the renewing his leaſe, both a good fine, and alſo a better rent. And alſo it ſhall be for the good of the Tennant likewiſe, who by ſuch buildings and incloſures ſhall receive many benefits: firſt by the handſomeneſſe of his houſe, he ſhall take more comfort of his life, more ſafe dwelling, and a delight to keepe his ſaid houſe neate and cleanely, which now being as they commonly are, rather ſwyne-ſtyes, then houſes; is the cheifeſt cauſe of his ſo beaſtly manner of life, and ſavage condition, lying and living together with his beaſt in one houſe, in one roome, in one bed, that is, cleane ſtrawe, or rather a foule dunghill. And to all theſe other commodities, hee ſhall in ſort time finde a greater added, that is his owne wealth and riches increaſed, and wonderfully inlarged, by keeping his Cattle in incloſures, where they ſhall allwayes have freſh paſture, that now is all trampled and over-runne, warme covert, that now lyeth open to all weather, ſafe being, that now are continually filched and ſtolne.

Iren. You have *Eudoxus* well accompted the commodities of this one good ordinance, amongſt which, this that you named laſt is not the leaſt, for all the other being moſt beneficiall to the Land-lord and Tennant. This cheifly redounderh to the good of the Common-wealth, to have the land thus incloſed, and well fenced. For it is both a principall barre and impeachment unto theeves from ſtealing of cattle in the night, and alſo a cauſe againſt all Rebels, and Outlawes, that ſhall riſe up in any numbers againſt the government, for the theife thereby ſhall have much adoe, firſt to bring forth, and afterwards to drive away his ſtolne prey, but thorough the common high wayes, where he ſhall ſoone bee deſcryed and met withall: And the Rebell or open enemy, if any ſuch ſhall happen, either at home, or from abroad, ſhall eaſily be found when he commeth forth, and alſo be well incountred withall by a few, in ſo ſtraight paſſages and ſtrong incloſures. This therefore when wee come to the reforming of all thoſe evill cuſtomes before mentioned, is needefull to be remembred but now by this time (me thinkes) that I have well run thorough the evill uſes which I have obſerved in *Ireland*. Nevertheleſſe I well note that there be many more, and infinitely many more in the private

vate abuſes of men. But theſe that are moſt generall, and tending to the hurt of the Common-weale, (as they have come to my remembrance) I have as breifly as I could rehearſed unto you. And therefore now I thinke beſt that we paſſe unto our third part, in which we noted inconveniences that are in Religion.

Eudox. Surely you have very well handled theſe two former, and if yee ſhall as well goe thorough the third likewiſe, you ſhall merit a very good meed.

Iren. Little have I to ſay of Religion, both becauſe the parts thereof be not many, (it ſelfe being but one) and my ſelfe have not much beene converſant in that calling: but as lightly paſſing by I have ſeene or heard: Therefore the fault which I finde in Religion is but one, but the ſame is univerſall, thoroughout all that country, that is, that they be all Papiſts by their profeſſion, but in the ſame ſo blindly and brutiſhly informed, (for the moſt part) that not one amongſt a hundred knoweth any ground of Religion, or any Article of his faith, but can perhaps ſay his *Pater noſter* or his *Ave Maria*, without any knowledge or underſtanding what one word thereof meaneth.

Eudox. Is it not then a little blot to them that now hold the place of government, that they which now are in the light themſelves, ſuffer a people under their charge, to wallow in ſuch deadly darkeneſſe.

Iren. That which you blame *Eudox.* is not (I ſuppoſe) any fault of will in thoſe godly fathers which have charge thereof, but the inconvenience of the time and troublous occaſions, wherewith that wretched Realme hath continually beene turmoyled; For inſtruction in Religion needeth quiet times, and ere we ſeeke to ſettle a ſound diſcipline in the Clergy, we muſt purchaſe peace unto the Laity, for it is ill time to preach among ſwords, and moſt hard or rather impoſſible it is to ſettle a good opinion in the mindes of men, for matters of Religion doubtfull, which have doubtleſſe an evill opinion of us. For ere a new be brought in, the old muſt be removed.

Eudox. Then belike it is meete that ſome fitter time be attended, that God ſend peace and quietneſſe there' in civill matters, before it be attempted in Eccleſiaſticall. I would rather have thought that (as it is ſaid) correction muſt firſt begin at the houſe of God, and that the care of the Soule, ſhould have beene preferred before the care of the Body.

Iren. Moſt true *Eudoxus*, the care of the ſoule, and ſoule matters is to be preferred, before the care of the body, in conſideration of the worthyneſſe thereof, but not till the time of reformation, for if you ſhould know a wicked perſon dangerouſly ſicke, having now both ſoule and body greatly diſeaſed, yet both recoverable, would you not thinke it evill advertizement to bring the Preacher before the Phiſitian, for if his body were neglected, it is like that his languiſhing ſoule being diſquieted by his diſeaſefull body, would utterly refuſe and

and loath all ſpirituall comfort, but if his body were firſt recured, & broght to good frame, ſhould there not then be found beſt time, to recover the ſoule alſo. So it is in the ſtate of a Realme: Therefore (as I ſaid) it is expedient, firſt to ſettle ſuch a courſe of government there, as thereby both civill diſorders, and eccleſiaſticall abuſes may be reformed and amended, whereto needeth not any ſuch great diſtance of times, as (you ſuppoſe) I require, but one joynt reſolution for both, that each might ſecond and confirme the other.

Eudox. That we ſhall ſee when we come thereunto, in the meane time, I conceive thus much, as you have delivered, touching the generall fault, which you ſuppoſe in Religion, to wit, that it is Popiſh, but doe you finde no particular abuſes therein, nor in the miniſters thereof?

Iren: Yes verily, for what ever diſorders you ſee in the Church of *England*, yee may finde there, and many more: Namely, groſſe Symony, greedy covetouſneſſe, fleſhly incontinency, careleſſe ſloath, and generally all diſordered life in the common Clergy men: And beſides all theſe, they have their particular enormityes; For all *Iriſh* Prieſts, which now injoy the Church livings, they are in a manner meere lay men, ſaving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwiſe they doe goe, and live like lay men, follow all kinde of husbandry, and other worldly affaires, as other *Iriſh* men doe. They neither read *Scriptures*, nor *preach* to the people, nor adminiſter the Communion, but Baptiſme they doe: for they Chriſten yet after the Popiſh faſhion, onely they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruite elſe they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly and ſome of them (they ſay) pay as due tributes and ſhares of their livings to their Biſhops, (I ſpeake of thoſe which are *Iriſh*) as they receive them duely.

Eudox. But is that ſuffered amongſt them? It is wonder but that the Governours doe redreſſe ſuch ſhamefull abuſes.

Iren. How can they, ſince they know them not? for the *Iriſh* Biſhops have their Clergy in ſuch awe and ſubjection under them, that they dare not complaine of them, ſo as they may doe to them what they pleaſe, for they knowing their owne unworthyneſſe and incapacity, and that they are therefore ſtill removeable at their Biſhops will, yeeld what pleaſeth him, and he taketh what he liſteth: yea, and ſome of them whoſe Dioceſſes are in remote parts, ſomewhat out of the worlds eye, doe not at all beſtow the Benefices, which are in their owne donation, upon any, but keepe them in their owne hands, and ſet their owne ſervants and horſe-boyes to take up the Tithes and fruites of them, with the which ſome of them purchaſe great Lands, and build faire Caſtles upon the ſame. Of which abuſe if any queſtion be moved they have a very ſeemely colour and excuſe, that they have no worthy Miniſters to beſtow them upon, but keepe them ſo beſtowed for any ſuch ſufficient perſon, as any ſhall bring unto them.

Eudox. But

Eudox. But is there no law nor ordinance to meet with this miſchiefe? nor hath it never before beene looked into?

Iren. Yes, it ſeemes it hath, for there is a Statute there enacted in *Ireland*, which ſeemes to have beene grounded upon a good meaning, That whatſoever *Engliſhman* of good converſation and ſufficiencie, ſhall bee brought unto any of the Biſhoppes, and nominated unto any living, within their Dioceſſe that is preſently voyde, that he ſhall (without contradiction) be admitted thereunto before any *Iriſh*.

Eudox. This is ſurely a very good Law, and well provided for this evill, whereof you ſpeake, but why is not the ſame obſerved?

Iren. I think it is well obſerved, and that none of the Biſhops tranſgreſſe the ſame, but yet it worketh no reformation thereof, for many defects. Firſt there are no ſuch ſufficient *Engliſh* Miniſters ſent over as might be preſented to any Biſhop for any living, but the moſt part of ſuch *Engliſh* as come over thither of themſelves, are either unlearned, or men of ſome bad note, for which they have forſaken *England*. So as the Biſhop to whom they ſhalbe preſented, may juſtly reject them as incapable and inſufficient. Secondly, the Biſhop himſelfe is perhappes an *Iriſh* man, who being made Iudge by that Law, of the ſufficiencie of the Miniſters, may at his owne will, diſlike of the *Engliſhman*, as unworthy in his opinion, and admit of any *Iriſh*, whom hee ſhall thinke more for his turne. And if hee ſhall at the inſtance of any *Engliſhman* of countenance there, whom hee will not diſpleaſe, accept of any ſuch *Engliſh* Miniſter as ſhall bee tendered unto him, yet hee will under hand, carry ſuch a hard hand over him, or by his Officers wring him ſo ſore, that hee will ſoone make him weary of his poore living. Laſtly, the Benefices themſelves are ſo meane, and of ſo ſmall profite in thoſe *Iriſh* Countreyes, thorough the ill husbandrie of the *Iriſh* people which doe inhabite them, that they will not yeelde any competent maintainance for any honeſt Miniſter to live upon, ſcarcely to buy him a gowne. And were all this redreſſed (as happily it might bee) yet what good ſhould any *Engliſh* Miniſter doe amongſt them, by teaching or preaching to them, which either cannot underſtand him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of life ſhall he have, where his Pariſhioners are ſo inſatiable, ſo intractable, ſo ill affected to him, as they uſuall bee to all the *Engliſh*; or finally, how dare almoſt any honeſt Miniſter, that are peaceable civile men, commit his ſafetie to the handes of ſuch Neighbours, as the boldeſt Captaines dare ſcarcely dwell by?

Eudox. Little good then (I ſee) was by that Statute wrought, how ever well intended, but the reformation therof muſt grow higher, and be brought from a ſtronger ordinance, then the commaundement, or penaltie of a Law, which none dare informe or complain of

when it is broken; but have you any more of those abuses in the Clergy?

Iren. I could perhappes reckon more, but I perceive my speech to grow too long, and these may suffise to judge of the generall disorders which raigne amongst them; as for the particulars, they are too many to be reckoned. For the Clergy there (excepting the grave Fathers which are in high place about the State, and some few others which are lately planted in their * new Colledge) are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.

* *Trinity* Colledge by *Dublin*, which was founded by *Queene Eliz.* 3 *Martij* 1591. The 13. of the same moneth, its first stone was laide by *Thomas Smyth* then Mayor of *Dublin*, and the 9. of *Ian* 1593. it first admitted Students.

Eudox. You have then (as I suppose) gone thorough those three first parts which you proposed unto your selfe, to wit, The Inconveniences which you observed in the lawes, in the customes, and in the Religion of that land. The which (me thinkes) you have so thoroughly touched, as that nothing more remaineth to be spoken thereof.

Iren. Not so thoroughly as you suppose, that nothing can remaine, but so generally as I purposed, that is, to lay open the generall evills of that Realme, which doe hinder the good reformation thereof, for to count the particular faults of private men, should be a worke too infinite, yet some there be of that nature, that though they be in private men, yet their evill reacheth to a generall hurt, as the extortion of Sheriffs, and their Sub-sheriffs & Bayliffes, the corruption of Victuallers, Cessors, and Purveyors, the disorders of Seneschalls, Captaines, and their Souldiers, and many such like: All which I will onely name here, that their reformation may bee mended in place where it most concerneth. But there is one very foule abuse, which by the way I may not omit, and that is in Captaines, who notwithstanding that they are specially imployed to make peace thorough strong execution of warre, yet they doe so dandle their doings, & dallie in the service to them committed, as if they would not have the enemy subdued, or utterly beaten downe, for feare left afterwardes they should need imployment, & so be discharged of pay: For which cause some of them that are layde in garrison, doe so handle the matter, that they will doe no great hurt to the enemyes, yet for colour sake, some men they will kill, even halfe with the consent of the enemy, being persons either of base regard, or enemies to the enemy, whose heads eftsoones they send to the Governor for a commendation of their great indevour, telling how weighty a service they performed, by cutting off such and such dangerous Rebells.

Eudox. Truely this is a prettie mockerie, and not to be permitted by the Governours.

Iren. But how can the Govrrnour know readily what persons those were, & what the purpose of their killing was, yea & what will you say if the Captaines doe iustifie this their course by ensample of some of their Governours, which (under *Benedicite*, I doe tell it to you) doe practise the like sleight in their governments?

Eudox.

Eudox. Is it possible? take heed what you say *Irenæus*.

Iren. To you onely *Eudoxus*, I doe tell it, and that even with great hearts griefe, and inward trouble of mind to see her Majestie so much abused by some who are put in speciall trust of those great affaires: Of which, some being martiall men, will not doe alwayes what they may for quieting of things, but will rather winke at some faults, and suffer them unpunished, lest they (having put all things in that assurance of peace that they might) they should seeme afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their governments with so great a charge to her Maiestie. And therefore they doe cunningly carry their course of government, and from one hand to another doe bandie the service like a Tennis-Ball, which they will never strike quite away, for feare left afterwards they should want.

Eudox. Doe you speake of under Magistrates *Irenæus*, or principall Governours?

Iren. I doe speake of no particulars, but the truth may be found out by tryall and reasonable insight into some of their doings. And if I should say, there is some blame thereof in the principall Governours, I thinke I might also shew some reasonable proofe of my speech. As for example, some of them seeing the end of their government to draw nigh, and some mischiefes and troublous practice growing up, which afterwardes may worke trouble to the next succeeding Governour, will not attempt the redresse or cutting off thereof, either for feare they should leave the Realme unquiet at the end of their government, or that the next that commeth, should receive the same too quiet, and so happily winne more prayse thereof, then they before. And therefore they will not (as I said) seeke at all to represse that evill, but will either by graunting protection for a time, or holding some emparlance with the Rebell, or by treatie of Commissioners, or by other like devices, onely smother and keepe downe the flame of the mischiefe, so as it may not breake out in their time of government, what comes afterwards they care not, or rather wish the worst. This course hath beene noted in some Governors.

Eudox. Surely (*Irenæus*) This if it were true, should bee worthy of an heavy iudgment: But it is hardly to bee thought, that any Governour should so much either envie the good of that Realme which is put into his hand, or defraude her Maiestie who trusteth him so much, or maligne his successour which shall possesse his place, as to suffer an evill to grow up, which he might timely have kept under, or perhaps to nourish it with coloured countenance, or such sinister meanes.

Iren. I doe not certainely avouch so much (*Eudoxus*) but the sequele of things doth in a manner proove, and plainly speake so much, that the Governours usually are envious one of anothers greater glory, which if they would seeke to excell by better governing, it should bee a most laudable emulation. But they doe quite

otherwiſe. For this (as you may marke) is the common order of them, that who commeth next in place, will not follow that courſe of government, how ever good, which his predeceſſors held, either for diſdaine of himſelfe, or doubt to have his doings drowned in an other mans praiſe, but will ſtraight take a way quite contrary to the former: As if the former thought (by keeping under the *Iriſh*) to reforme them: the next by diſcountenancing the *Engliſh*, will curry favour with the *Iriſh*, and ſo make his government ſeeme plauſible, as having all the *Iriſh* at his commaund: But he that comes after, will perhappes follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the the one and the other in ſuch ſort, as hee will ſucke ſweete out of them both, and leave bitterneſſe to the poore Countrey, which if he that comes after ſhall ſeeke to redreſſe, he ſhall perhappes finde ſuch croſſes, as hee ſhall hardly bee able to beare, or doe any good that might worke the diſgrace of his predeceſſors. Examples you may ſee hereof in the governours of late times ſufficiently, and in others of former times more manifeſtly, when the government of that Realme, was committed ſometimes to the *Geraldines*, as when the houſe of *Yorke* had the Crowne of *England*, ſometimes to the *Butlers*, as when the houſe of *Lancaſter* got the ſame. And other whiles, when an *Engliſh* Governour was appointed, hee perhaps found enemies of both.

Eudox. I am ſorry to heare ſo much as you report, and now I begin to conceive ſomewhat more of the cauſe of her continuall wretchednes then heeretofore I found, and wiſh that this inconvenience were well looked into, for ſure (me thinkes) it is more weightie then all the former, and more hardly to be redreſſed in the governor, then in the governed, as a malady in a vitall part is more incurable then in an externall.

Iren. You ſay very true; but now that we have thus ended all the abuſes and inconveniences of that government which was our firſt part. It followeth now that we paſſe unto the ſecond part, which was of the meanes to cure and redreſſe the ſame, which wee muſt labour to reduce to the firſt beginning thereof.

Eudox. Right ſo *Irenæus*: for by that which I have noted in all this your diſcourſe, you ſuppoſe, that the whole ordinance and inſtitution of that Realmes government, was both at firſt when it was placed, evill plotted, and alſo ſithence thorough other over-ſights, came more out of ſquare to that diſorder which it is now come unto, like as two indirect lines, the further that they are drawne out, the further they goe aſunder.

Iren. I doe ſee *Eudoxus*; and as you ſay, ſo thinke, that the longer that government thus continueth, in the worſe courſe will the Realme be, for it is all in vaine that they now ſtrive and endeavour by faire meanes and peaceable plotts to redreſſe the ſame, without firſt remmooving all thoſe inconveniences, and new framing (as it were) in the forge, all that is worne out of faſhion: For all other

other meanes will be but as loſt labour, by patching up one hole to make many, for the *Iriſh* doe ſtrongly hate and abhorre all reformation and ſubjection to the *Engliſh*, by reaſon that having beene once ſubdued by them, they were thruſt out of all their poſſeſſions. So as now they feare, that if they were againe brought under, they ſhould bee likewiſe expelled out of all, which is the cauſe that they hate the *Engliſh* government, according to the ſaying, *Quem metuunt oderunt*: Therefore the reformation muſt now bee the ſtrength of a greater power.

Eudox. But me thinkes that might be by making of good lawes, and eſtabliſhing of new Statutes, with ſharpe penalties and puniſhments, for amending of all that is preſently amiſſe, and not (as you ſuppoſe) to beginne all as it were anew, and to alter the whole forme of the governement, which how dangerous a thing it is to attempt, you your ſelfe muſt needes confeſſe, and they which have the managing of the Realmes whole policy, cannot without great cauſe, feare and refraine, for all innovation is perillous, inſomuch as though it bee meant for the better, yet ſo many accidents and fearefull events may come betweene, as that it may hazard the loſſe of the whole.

Iren. Very true *Eudoxius*, all change is to be ſhunned, where the affaires ſtand in ſuch ſort, as that they may continue in quietnes, or be aſſured at all to abide as they are. But that in the Realme of *Ireland* we ſee much otherwiſe, for every day wee perceive the troubles growing more upon us, and one evill growing upon another, inſomuch as there is no part now ſound or aſcertained, but all have their eares upright, wayting when the watch-word ſhall come, that they ſhould all ariſe generally into rebellion, and caſt away the *Engliſh* ſubjection. To which there now little wanteth, for I thinke the word be already given, and there wanteth nothing but oportunitie, which truely is the death of one noble perſon, who being himſelfe moſt ſtedfaſt to his ſoveraigne Queene, and his Countrey, coaſting upon the South Sea, ſtoppeth the ingate of all that evill which is looked for, and holdeth in all thoſe which are at his becke, with the terrour of his greatneſſe, and the aſſurance of his moſt immoveable loyaltie: And therefore where you thinke, that good and ſound lawes might amend, and reforme things there amiſſe, you think ſurely amiſſe. For it is vaine to preſcribe Lawes, where no man careth for keeping of them, nor feareth the daunger for breaking of them. But all the Realme is firſt to be reformed, and lawes are afterwards to bee made for keeping and continuing it in that reformed eſtate.

Eudox. How then doe you think is the reformation thereof to be begunne, if not by lawes and ordinances?

Iren. Even by the ſword, for all theſe evills muſt firſt be cut away by a ſtrong hand, before any good can bee planted, like as the corrupt braunches, and unwholeſome boughes are firſt to bee

pruned, and the foule moſſe cleanſed and ſcraped away, before the tree can bring forth any good fruite.

Eudox. Did you blame mee even now, for wiſhing of Kerne, Horſe-boyes, and Carrowes, to be cleane cut off, as too violent a meanes, and doe you your ſelfe now preſcribe the ſame medicine? Is not the Sword the moſt violent redreſſe that may bee uſed for any evill?

Iren. It is ſo, but where no other remedie may bee deviſed, nor hope of recovery had, there muſt needes this violent meanes bee uſed. As for the looſe kinde of people which you would have cut off, I blamed it, for that they might otherwiſe perhaps bee brought to good, as namely by this way which I ſet before you.

Eudox. Is not your way all one with the former in effect, which you found fault with, ſave onely this oddes, that I ſaid by the halter, and you ſay by the ſword, what difference is there?

Iren. There is ſurely great, when you ſhall underſtand it, for by the ſword which I named, I did not meane the cutting off all that nation with the ſword, which farre bee it from mee, that I ſhould ever thinke ſo deſperately, or wiſh ſo uncharitably, but by the Sword I meane the royall power of the Prince, which ought to ſtretch it ſelfe forth in the chiefeſt ſtrength to the redreſſing and cutting off thoſe evills, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people, by good ordinances and government, may be made good; but the evill that is of it ſelfe evill, will never become good.

Eudox. I pray you then declare your minde at large, how you would wiſh that ſword which you meane to be uſed to the reformation of all thoſe evills.

Iren. The firſt thing muſt be to ſend over into that Realme, ſuch a ſtrong power of men, as ſhould perforce bring in all that rebellious route and looſe people, which either doe now ſtand out in open Armes, or in wandring companies doe keepe the woods, ſpoyling the good ſubjects.

Eudox. You ſpeake now *Ireneus* of an infinite charge to her Majeſtie, to ſend over ſuch an Army, as ſhould tread downe all that ſtandeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the ſtiff-necked people of that land, for there is now but one Out-law of any great reckoning, to wit, the *Earle* of *Tyrone* abroad in armes, againſt whom you ſee what huge charges ſhee hath beene at this laſt yeare, in ſending of men, providing of victualls, and making head againſt him, yet there is little or nothing at all done, but the Queenes treaſure ſpent, her people waſted, the poore Countrey troubled, and the enemy nevertheleſſe brought into no more ſubjection then he was, or liſt outwardly to ſhew, which in effect is none, but rather a ſcorne of her power, and emboldening of a proud rebell, and an incouragement to all like lewdlie diſpoſed Traytors, that ſhall dare to lift

lift up their heele, againſt their ſoveraigne Lady: Therefore it were hard counſell to drawe ſuch an exceeding great charge upon her, whoſe event ſhould be ſo uncertaine.

Iren. True indeede, if the event ſhould bee uncertaine, but the certainty of the effect hereof ſhall be ſo infallible, as that no reaſon can gaineſay it, neither ſhall the charge of all this Army (the which I demaund) be much greater, then ſo much as in theſe laſt two yeares warres, hath vainely beene expended. For I dare undertake, that it hath coſte the Queene above 200000. pounds already, and for the preſent charge, that ſhe is now at there, amounteth to very neere 12000. pounds a moneth, whereof caſt you the accompt: yet nothing is done. The which ſumme had it beene imployed as it ſhould bee, would have effected all this which now I goe about.

Eudox. How meane you to have it imployed? but to bee ſpent in the pay of Souldiours, and proviſion of victualls.

Iren. Right ſo, but it is now not diſburſed at once, as it might be, but drawne out into a long length, by ſending over now 20000 pounds, and next halfe yeare 10000. pounds, ſo as the Souldiour in the meane time for want of due proviſion of victuall, and good payment of his due, is ſtarved and conſumed, that of a 1000. which came over luſty able men, in halfe a yeare there are not left 500. And yet is the Queenes charge never a whit the leſſe, but what is not payd in preſent money, is accounted in debt, which will not be long unpayd, for the Captaine, halfe of whoſe Souldiours are dead, and the other quarter never muſtered, nor ſeene, comes ſhortly to demand payment of his whole accompt, where by good meanes of ſome great ones, and privy ſhareings with the Officers and ſervants of other ſome, hee receiveth his debt, much leſſe perhaps then was due, yet much more indeede then he juſtly deſerved.

Eudox. I take this ſure to be no good husbandry, for what muſt needes be ſpent, as good ſpend it at once, where is enough, as to have it drawne out into long delayes, ſeeing that thereby both the ſervice is much hindred, and yet nothing ſaved: but it may be *Ireneus* that the Queenes treaſure in ſo great occaſions of diſburſements (as it is well knowne ſhe hath beene at lately,) is not alwayes ſo ready, nor ſo plentifull, as it can ſpare ſo great a ſumme together, but being payed as it is, now ſome, and then ſome, it is no great burthen unto her, nor any great impoveriſhment to her Coffers, ſeeing by ſuch delay of time, it daylie commeth in, as faſt as ſhe parteth it out.

Iren. It may be as you ſay, but for the going thorough of ſo honorable a courſe (I doubt not) but if the Queenes Coffers be not ſo well ſtored (which we are not to looke into) but that the whole Realme which now as things are uſed, doe feele a continuall burthen of that wretched Realme, hanging upon their backes, would for a ſmall riddance of all that trouble, be once troubled for all: and put to all their ſhoulders, and helping hands, and hearts alſo, to the defraying of that charge, moſt gladfully and willingly, and ſurely the charge

charge in effect, is nothing to the infinite great good, which ſhould come thereby, both to the Queene, and all this Realme generally, as when time ſerveth ſhall be ſhewed.

Eudox. How many men would you require to the furniſhing of this which yee take in hand? and how long ſpace would you have them entertained?

Iren. Verily not above 10000. footemen, and a 1000. horſe, and all theſe not above the ſpace of a yeare and a halfe, for I would ſtill as the heate of the ſervice abateth, abate the number in pay, and make other proviſion for them, as I will ſhew.

Eudox. Surely it ſeemeth not much which you require, nor no long time, but how would you have them uſed? would you leade forth your Army againſt the Enemy, and ſeeke him where he is, to fight?

Iren. No *Eudoxus*; That would not be, for it is well knowne that he is a flying enemie, hiding himſelfe in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not drawe forth, but into ſome ſtraight paſſage or perillous foord, where he knowes the Army muſt needes paſſe: There will he lye in waite, and if hee finde advantage fit, will dangerouſly hazard the troubled Souldiour. Therefore to ſeeke him out that ſtill flitteth, and follow him that can hardly bee found, were vaine and booteleſſe, but I would devide my men in garriſon upon his Countrey, in ſuch places as I ſhould thinke might moſt annoy him.

Eudox. But how can that be *Ireneus* with ſo few men? for the enemie as you now ſee, is not all in one Country, but ſome in *Vlſter*, ſome in *Connaght*, and others in *Leinſter*. So as to plant ſtrong garriſons in all thoſe places ſhould neede many more men then you ſpeake of, or to plant all in one, and to leave the reſt naked, ſhould be but to leave them to the ſpoyle.

Iren. I would wiſh the cheife power of the Army to be garriſond in one Countrey that is ſtrongeſt, and the other upon the reſt that is weakeſt: As for example, the Earle of *Tyrone* is now accompted the ſtrongeſt, upon him would I lay 8000. men in garriſon; 1000. upon *Pheagh Mac Hugh* and the *Cavanaghes*, and 1000. upon ſome parts of *Connaght*, to bear the direction of the Governours.

Eudox. I ſee now all your men beſtowed, but what places would you ſet their garriſon that they might riſe out moſt conveniently to ſervice? and though perhaps I am ignorant of the places, yet I will take the *Mappe* of *Ireland*, and lay it before me, and make mine eyes (in the meane time) my Schoole-maſters, to guide my underſtanding to judge of your plot.

Iren. Thoſe eight thouſand in *Vlſter*, I would devide likewiſe into foure parts, ſo as there ſhould be 2000. Footemen in every garriſon: The which I would thus place. Vpon the *Blacke water*, in ſome convenient place, as high upon the River as might be, I would lay one garriſon. Another would I put at *Caſtle-Liffer*, or there-abouts, ſo as they ſhould have all the paſſages upon the River to *Lough-ſoyle*. The third

third I would place about *Fermanagh* or *Bundroiſe*, ſo as they might lye betweene *Connaght* and *Vlſter*, to ſerve upon both ſides, as occaſion ſhall be offered, and this therefore would I have ſtronger then any of the reſt, becauſe it ſhould be moſt inforced, and moſt imployed, and that they might put wardes at *Balli-ſhanon*, and *Belick*, and all thoſe paſſages. The laſt would I ſet about *Monoghan* or *Balturbut*, ſo as it ſhould fronte both upon the Enemie that way, and alſo keepe the Countyes of *Cavan* and *Meath* in awe, from paſſage of ſtraglers from thoſe parts, whence they uſe to come forth, and oftentimes uſe to worke much miſcheife: And to every of theſe garriſons of 2000. Footemen, I would have 200. horſemen added, for the one without the other, can doe but little ſervice. The 4. Garriſons thus being placed, I would have to bee victualled before hand for halfe a yeare, which you will ſay to be hard, conſidering the corruption and uſuall waſte of victualls. But why ſhould not they be aſwell victualled for ſo long time, as the ſhips are uſually for a yeare, and ſometimes two, ſeeing it is eaſier to keepe victuall on land then water. Their bread I would have in flower, ſo as it might be baked ſtill to ſerve their neceſſary want. Their Beere there alſo brewed within them, from time to time, and their Beefe before hand barelled, the which may bee uſed, but as it is needed: For I make no doubt but freſh victualls, they will ſometimes purvay for themſelves, amongſt their Enemies. Hereunto likewiſe would I have them, have a ſtore of hoſe and ſhooes, with ſuch other neceſſaries as may be needefull for Souldiours, ſo as they ſhould have no occaſion to looke for releife from abroad, or occaſion of ſuch trouble, for their continuall ſupply, as I ſee and have often proved in *Ireland* to bee more cumberous to the Deputy, and dangerous to them that releive them, then halfe the leading of an Army; for the Enemy knowing the ordinary wayes thorough the which their releife muſt be brought them, uſeth commonly to draw himſelfe into the ſtraight paſſages thither-ward, and oftentimes doth dangerouſly diſtreſſe them, beſides the pay of ſuch force as ſhould be ſent for their convoy, the charge of the carriages, the exactions of the Countrey ſhall be ſpared. But onely every halfe yeare the ſupply brought by the Deputy himſelfe, and his power, who ſhall then viſite and overlooke all thoſe Garriſons, to ſee what is needefull to change, what is expedient, and to direct what hee ſhall beſt adviſe. And thoſe 4. Garriſons iſſuing forth, at ſuch convenient times as they ſhall have intelligence or eſpiall upon the enemy, will ſo drive him from one ſide to another, and Tennis him amongſt them, that he ſhall finde no where ſafe to keepe his Creete in, nor hide himſelfe, but flying from the fire ſhall fall into the water, and out of one danger into another, that in ſhort ſpace his Creete, which is his cheife ſuſtenance, ſhall be waſted with preying, or killed with driving, or ſtarved for want of paſture in the woods, and he himſelfe brought ſo lowe, that he ſhall have no heart nor abillity, to indure his wretchedneſſe, the which will ſurely come to paſſe in very ſhort time, for one Winter

well

well followed upon him will ſo plucke him on his knees, that he will never be able to ſtand up againe.

Eudox. Doe you then thinke the Winter time fitteſt for the ſervices of *Ireland*, how falls it then that our moſt imployments bee in Summer, and the Armies then led commonly forth?

Iren. It is ſurely miſconceived, for it is not with *Ireland* as it is with other Countryes, where the warres flame moſt in Summer, and the Helmets gliſter brighteſt in the faireſt Sunſhine: But in *Ireland*, the Winter yeeldeth beſt ſervices, for then the trees are bare and naked, which uſe both to cloath and houſe the Kerne, the ground is cold and wet, which uſeth to be his bedding, the aire is ſharpe and bitter, to blowe thorough his naked ſides and legges, the kyne are barren and without milke, which uſeth to be his onely foode, neither if hee kill them, will they yeeld him fleſh, nor if he keepe them, will they give him foode, beſides being all with Calfe (for the moſt part) they will thorough much chaſing and driving, caſt all their Calves, and looſe their milke, which ſhould releive him the next Summer.

Eudox. I doe well underſtand your reaſon, but by your leave, I have heard it otherwiſe ſaid, of ſome that were Outlawes: That in Summer they kept themſelves quiet, but in Winter they would play their parts, and when the nights were longeſt, then burne and ſpoyle moſt, ſo that they might ſafely returne before day.

Iren. I have likewiſe heard, and alſo ſeene proofe thereof true: But that was of ſuch Outlawes as were either abiding in well inhabited Countryes, as in *Mounſter*, or bordering on the *Engliſh* pale, as *Feagh Mac Hugh*, the *Cavanaghes*, the *Moores*, the *Dempſies*, or ſuch like: For, for them the winter indeede is the fitteſt time for ſpoyling and robbing, becauſe the nights are then (as you ſaid) longeſt and darkeſt, and alſo the Countryes round about are then moſt full of Corne, and good proviſion to be gotten every where by them, but it is farre otherwiſe with a ſtrong peopled enemy, that poſſeſſe a whole countrey, for the other being but a few, and indeede privily lodged, and kept in out villages, and corners nigh to the woodes and mountaines, by ſome of their privy friends, to whom they bring their ſpoyles and ſtealthes, and of whom they continually receive ſecret releiſe: But the open enemy having all his Countrey waſted, what by himſelfe, and what by the Souldiours, findeth then ſuccour in no place: Townes there are none, of which hee may get ſpoyle, they are all burnt: bread he hath none, he ploweth not in Summer: Fleſh he hath, but if he kill it in Winter, he ſhall want milke in Summer, and ſhortly want life. Therefore if they bee well followed, but one Winter, you ſhall have little worke with them the next Summer.

Eudox. I doe now well perceive the difference, and doe verily thinke that the Winter time is there fitteſt for ſervice, withall I conceive the manner of your handling of the ſervice, by drawing ſuddaine draughts upon the Enemy, when he looketh not for you, and to watch advantages upon him, as hee doth upon you. By which ſtraight

ſtraight keeping of them in, and not ſuffering them at any time long to reſt, I muſt needes thinke that they will ſoone bee brought lowe, and driven to great extreamities. All which when you have performed and brought them to the very laſt caſt, ſuppoſe that they will offer, either to come to you and ſubmit themſelves, or that ſome of them will ſeeke to withdraw themſelves, what is your advice to doe, will you have them received?

Iren. No, but at the beginning of thoſe warres, and when the Garriſons are well planted, and fortified, I would wiſh a Proclamation were made generally, to come to their knowledge: That what perſons ſoever, would within twenty dayes abſolutely ſubmit themſelves, (excepting onely the very Principalls and Ring-leaders) ſhould finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the ſettling of theſe Garriſons, ſuch a terrour and neere conſideration of their perillous ſtate, would be ſtrucken into moſt of them, that they will covet to drawe away from their Leaders. And againe I well know that the Rebells themſelves (as I ſaw by proofe in *Deſmonds* warres,) will turne away all their raſcall people, whom they thinke unſerviceable, as old men, women, children, and hyndes (which they call Churles,) which would onely waſte their victualls, and yeeld them no ayde, but their Cattle they will ſurely keepe away: Theſe therefore though policy would turne them backe againe, that they might the rather conſume and afflict the other Rebells, yet in a pittyfull commiſeration I would wiſh them to be received; The rather for that this ſort of baſe people, doth not for the moſt part rebell of themſelves, having no heart thereunto, but are by force drawne by the grand Rebells into their action, and carryed away with the violence of the ſtreame, elſe they ſhould be ſure to looſe all that they have, and perhaps their lives too: The which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the ſtrong Rebells themſelves, ſoone turned out of all, ſo that the conſtrainte hereof, may in them deſerve pardon. Likewiſe if any of their able men or Gentlemen ſhall then offer to come away, and to bring their Cattle with them, as ſome no doubt may ſteale them away privily, I wiſh them alſo to be received, for the diſabling of the enemy, but withall, that good aſſurance may be taken for their true behaviour and abſolute ſubmiſſion, and that then they be not ſuffered to remaine any longer in thoſe parts, no nor about the Garriſons, but ſent away into the inner parts of the Realme, and diſperſed in ſuch ſort as they may not come together, nor eaſily returne if they would: For if they might bee ſuffered to remaine about the Garriſons, and there inhabite, as they will offer to fille the ground, and yeeld a great part of the profit thereof, and of their Cattle, to the *Coronell*, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many, they would (as I have by experience knowne) bee ever after ſuch a gaule, and inconvenience to them, as that their profit ſhall not recompence their hurt, for they will privily releive their friends that are forth, they will ſend the Enemy ſecret advertizements of all their purpoſes

purpoſes and journeyes, which they meane to make upon them, they will not alſo ſticke to drawe the enemy privily upon them, yea and to betray the fort it ſelfe, by diſcovery of all her defects and diſadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their throates. For avoiding whereof and many other inconveniences, I wiſh that they ſhould be carried farre from thence into ſome other parts, ſo that (as I ſay) they come in and ſubmit themſelves, upon the firſt ſummons: But afterwards I would have none received but left to their fortune and miſerable end: my reaſon is, for that thoſe which will afterwards remaine without, are ſtout and obſtinate Rebells, ſuch as will never be made dutifull and obedient, nor brought to labour or civill converſation, having once taſted that licentious life, and being acquainted with ſpoyle and out-rages, will ever after be ready for the like occaſions, ſo as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and therefore needefull to be cut off.

Eudox. Surely of ſuch deſperate perſons, as will follow the courſe of their owne folly, there is no compaſſion to bee had, and for others you have propoſed a mercifull meanes, much more then they have deſerved, but what then ſhall be the concluſion of this warre; For you have prefixed a ſhort time of its continuance?

Iren. The end will (I aſſure me) bee very ſhort and much ſooner then can be in ſo great a trouble, as it ſeemeth hoped for, although there ſhould none of them fall by the ſword, nor bee ſlaine by the Souldiour, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their Cattle from running abroad, by this hard reſtraint they would quickly conſume themſelves, and devoure one another. The proofe whereof, I ſaw ſufficiently exampled in theſe late warres of *Mounſter*, for notwithſtanding that the ſame was a moſt rich and plentifull countrey, full of corne and cattle, that you would have thought they ſhould have beene able to ſtand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to ſuch wretchedneſſe, as that any ſtony heart would have rued the ſame. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them, they looked like anatomies of death, they ſpake like Ghoſts crying out of their graves, they did eate the dead Carrions, happy were they could finde them, yea, and one another ſoone after, inſomuch as the very carcaſſes they ſpared not to ſcrape out of their graves, and if they found a plot of water-creſſes or Shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feaſt for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall, that in ſhort ſpace there were none almoſt left, and a moſt populous and plentifull countrey ſuddainely left voyde of man and beaſt, yet ſure in all that warre, there periſhed not many by the Sword, but all by the extremitie of famine, which they themſelves had wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to bee wondred how it ſhould ſo ſhortly come to paſſe.

Iren. It is moſt true, and the reaſon alſo very ready, for you muſt conceive

conceive that the ſtrength of all that Nation, is the *Kerne*, *Galloglaſſe*, *Stocah*, *Horſeman* and *Horſeboy*, the which having beene never uſed to have any thing of their owne, and now being upon ſpoyle of others, make no ſpare of any thing, but havocke and confuſion of all they meet with, whether it bee their owne Friends goods, or their Foes. And if they happen to get never ſo great ſpoyle at any time, the ſame they waſte and conſume in a tryce, as naturally delighting in ſpoyle, though it doe themſelves no good. On the other ſide, whatſoever they leave unſpent, the Souldier when hee commeth there, ſpoyleth and havocketh likewiſe, ſo that betweene both, nothing is very ſhortly left. And yet this is very neceſſary to bee done for the ſoone finiſhing of the warre, and not onely this in this wiſe, but alſo thoſe ſubiects, which doe border upon thoſe parts, are either to bee removed and drawne away, or likewiſe to bee ſpoyled, that the Enemy may find no ſuccour thereby. For what the Souldier ſpares, the Rebell will ſurely ſpoyle.

Eudox. I doe now well underſtand you. But now when all things are brought to this paſſe, and all filled with theſe ruefull ſpectacles of ſo many wretched Carcaſes ſtarving, goodly Countreyes waſted, ſo huge deſolation and confuſion, that even I that doe but heare it from you, and doe picture it in my minde, doe greatly pittie and commiſerate it. If it ſhall happen that the ſtate of this miſerie and lamentable image of things ſhall bee tolde, and feelingly preſented to her ſacred Maieſtie, being by nature full of mercy and clemency, who is moſt inclinable to ſuch pittifull complaints, and will not endure to heare ſuch Tragedies made of her poore people and ſubiects, as ſome about her may inſinuate. Then ſhee perhappes for very compaſſion of ſuch calamities, will not onely ſtoppe the ſtreame of ſuch violence, and returne to her wonted mildeneſſe, but alſo conne them little thankes which have beene the authours and Councellours of ſuch bloodie platformes: So I remember that in the late government of that good Lord *Grey*, when after long travell, and many perillous aſſayes, he had brought things almoſt to this paſſe, that you ſpeake of, that it was even made ready for reformation, and might have beene brought to what her Maieſtie would, like complaint was made againſt him, that he was a bloodie man, and regarded not the life of her ſubiects no more then dogges, but had waſted and conſumed all; ſo as now ſhe had nothing almoſt left, but to raigne in their Aſhes, eare was ſoon lent therunto, & all ſuddenly turned topſide-turvy the Noble Lord eft-ſoones was blamed, the wretched people pittied & new counſells plotted, in which it was concluded that a generall pardon ſhould be ſent over to all that would accept of it, upon which all former purpoſes were blancked, the Governour at a bay, and not only all that great and long charge which ſhee had before beene at quite loſt and cancelled, but alſo all that hope of good which was

even at the doore put back, and cleane fruſtrated. All which, whether it be true or no, your ſelfe can well tell.

Iren. Too true *Eudoxus*, the more the pitty, for I may not forget ſo memorable a thing: Neither can I bee ignorant of that perillous device, and of the whole meanes by which it was compaſſed, & very cunningly contrived by ſowing firſt diſſention betweene him, & an other noble perſonage; wherein they both at length found how notably they had beene abuſed, and how thereby under hand, this univerſall alteration of things was brought about; but then too late to ſtay the ſame, for in the meane time all that was formerly done with long labor, & great toyle, was (as you ſay) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom, who that well knew, knew to be moſt gentle, affable, loving and temperate. But that the neceſſitie of that preſent ſtate of things, inforced him to that violence; and almoſt changed his naturall diſpoſition. But otherwiſe he was ſo farre from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he ſuffered not juſt vengeance to fall where it was deſerved: and even ſome of them which were afterwardes his accuſers, had taſted too much of his mercy, and were from the gallowes brought to bee his accuſers. But his courſe indeede was this, that hee ſpared not the heades and principalls of any miſchievous practiſes or rebellion, but ſhewed ſharpe judgement on them, chiefly for enſamples ſake, that all the meaner ſort, which alſo were generally then infected with that evill, might by terrour thereof bee reclaymed, and ſaved, if it were poſſible. For in the laſt conſpiracy of * ſome of the *Engliſh* Pale, thinke you not that there were many more guiltie then they that felt the puniſhment? yet hee touched onely a few of ſpeciall note, and in the tryall of them alſo even to prevent the blame of cruelty and partiall proceeding, and ſeeking their Blood, which he, as in his great wiſedome (as it ſeemeth) did fore-ſee would bee objected againſt him; hee for avoyding thereof, did uſe a ſingular diſcretion and regard. For the Iury that went upon their tryall, hee made to bee choſen out of their neareſt kinſmen, and their Iudges he made of ſome of their owne Fathers, of others their Vncles and deareſt friends, who when they could not but juſtly condemne them, yet he uttered their judgment in aboundance of teares, and yet hee even heerein was called bloody and cruell.

* Conſulas (ſi placet) Camden. annal. rerum Anglic. & Hiber. ad an. 1580.

Eudox. Indeed ſo have I heard it heere often ſpoken, but I perceive (as I alwayes verily thought) that it was moſt unjuſtly, for hee was alwayes knowne to bee a moſt iuſt, ſincere, godly, and right noble man, farre from ſuch ſternenesſe, farre from ſuch unrighteouſneſſe. But in that ſharpe execution of the *Spaniards*, at the fort of *Sinerwick*, I heard it ſpecially noted, and if it were true as ſome reported, ſurely it was a great touch to him in honour, for ſome ſay that he promiſed them life: others at leaſt hee did put them in hope thereof.

Iren.

Iren. Both the one and the other is moſt untrue; for this I can aſſure you, my ſelfe being as neare them as any, that hee was ſo farre either from promiſing, or putting them in hope, that when firſt their Secretarie (called as I remember) *Signior Ieffrey* an *Italian*, being ſent to treate with the Lord Deputie for grace, was flatly refuſed: And afterwards their Coronell named *Don Sebaſtian*, came forth to intreate that they might part with their Armes like Souldiers, at the leaſt with their lives according to the cuſtome of Warre, and Law of Nations, it was ſtrongly denyed him, and tolde him by the Lord Deputie himſelfe, that they could not iuſtly pleade either cuſtome of Warre, or Law of Nations, for that they were not any lawfull Enemies, and if they were, hee willed them to ſhew by what commiſſion they came thither into another Princes Dominions to warre, whether from the Pope or the King of *Spaine*, or any other, the which when they ſaid they had not, but were onely adventurers that came to ſeeke fortune abroad, and to ſerve in warres amongſt the *Iriſh*, who deſired to entertaine them. It was then tolde them, that the *Iriſh* themſelves, as the *Earle* and *Iohn of Deſmond*, with the reſt, were no lawfull Enemies, but Rebells and Traytours, and therefore they that came to ſuccour them, no better then Rogues and Runnagates, ſpecially comming with no licence, nor commiſſion from their owne King. So as it ſhould bee diſhonourable for him in the name of his Queene, to condition or make any tearmes with ſuch Raſcalls, but left them to their choyce; to yeeld and ſubmit themſelves, or no: whereupon the ſaid Coronell did abſolutely yeeld himſelfe and the Fort, with all therein, and craved onely mercy, which it being not thought good to ſhew them, for daunger of them, if being ſaved, they ſhould afterwardes ioyne with the *Iriſh*, and alſo for terrour to the *Iriſh*, who are much imboldened by thoſe forraigne ſuccours, and alſo put in hope of more ere long, there was no other way but to make that ſhort end of them as was made. Therefore moſt untruely and maliciouſly doe theſe evill tongues backbite and ſlander the ſacred aſhes of that moſt iuſt and honourable perſonage, whoſe leaſt virtue of many moſt excellent that abounded in his Heroicke ſpirit, they were never able to aſpire unto.

Eudox. Truely *Irenæus*, I am right glad to be thus ſatiſfied by you, in that I have often heard queſtioned, and yet was never able till now, to choake the mouth of ſuch detractours; with the certaine knowledge of their ſlanderous untruthes, neither is the knowledge hereof impertinent to that which wee formerly had in hand, I meane for the thorough proſecuting of that ſharpe courſe which you have ſet downe for the bringing under of thoſe Rebells of *Vlſter* and *Connaght*; and preparing a way for their perpetuall reformation, leaſt happily by any ſuch ſiniſter ſuggeſtions of crueltie and too much blood-ſhed, all the plot might be over-throwne,

and all the coſte and labour therein imployed, bee utterly loſt and caſt away.

Iren. You ſay moſt true, for after that Lords calling away from thence, the two Lords Iuſtices continued but a while: of which the one was of minde (as it ſeemed) to have continued in the footing of his predeceſſors, but that he was curbed and reſtrayned. But the other was more mildly diſpoſed, as was meete for his profeſſion, and willing to have all the wounds of that Common-wealth healed and recured, but not with that heede as they ſhould bee. After when Sir *Iohn Perrot* ſucceeding (as it were) into another mans harveſt, found an open way to what courſe hee liſt, the which hee bent not to that point which the former Governours intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in ſcorne of the former, and in vaine vaunt of his owne Councells, with the which hee was too willfully carryed; for hee did treade downe and diſgrace all the *Engliſh*, and ſet up and countenance the *Iriſh* all that hee could, whether thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his government, (wherein hee thought much amiſſe) or privily plotting ſome other purpoſes of his owne, as it partly afterwards appeared, but ſurely his manner of governement, could not be ſound nor wholeſome for that Realme, it being ſo contrary to the former. For it was even as two Phyſicians ſhould take one ſicke body in hand, at two ſundry times: Of which the former would miniſter all things meete to purge and keepe under the Bodie: the other to pamper and ſtrengthen it ſuddenly againe, whereof what is to bee looked for, but a moſt daungerous relapſe? That which wee now ſee thorough his rule, and the next after him, happened thereunto, being now more daungerouſly ſicke then ever before. Therefore by all meanes it muſt bee fore-ſeene and aſſured, that after once entering into this courſe of reformation, there bee afterwardes no remorſe nor drawing backe for the ſight of any ſuch ruefull objects, as muſt thereupon followe, nor for compaſſion of their calamities, ſeeing that by no other meanes it is poſſible to cure them, and that theſe are not of will, but of very urgent neceſſitie.

Eudox. Thus farre then you have now proceeded to plant your garriſons, and to direct their ſervices, of the which nevertheleſſe I muſt needes conceive that there cannot be any certaine direction ſet downe, ſo that they muſt follow the occaſions which ſhall bee daylie offered, and diligently awayted. But by your leave (*Irenæus*) notwithſtanding all this your carefull fore-ſight and proviſion (mee thinkes) I ſee an evill lurke uneſpyed, and that may chance to hazard all the hope of this great ſervice, if it bee not very well looked into, and that is, the corruption of their Captaines; for though they be placed never ſo carefully, and their Companies filled never ſo ſufficiently, yet may they, if they

they liſt, diſcarde whom they pleaſe, and ſend away ſuch as will perhappes willingly bee ridde of that dangerous and hard ſervice, the which (well I wote) is their common cuſtome to doe, when they are layde in garriſon, for then they may better hide their defaults, then when they are in Campe, where they are continually eyed and noted of all men. Beſides, when their pay commeth, they will (as they ſay) detaine the greateſt portions thereof at their pleaſure, by a hundred ſhifts that need not here be named, through which they oftentimes deceive the Souldier, and abuſe the Queene, and greatly hinder the ſervice. So that let the Queene pay never ſo fully, let the Muſter-Maſter view then never ſo diligently, let the Deputy or Generall looke to them never ſo exactly, yet they can cozen them all. Therefore me thinkes it were good, if it be poſſible, to make proviſion for this inconvenience.

Iren. It will ſurely be very hard; but the chiefeſt helpe for prevention hereof muſt be the care of the *Coronell* that hath the government of all his garriſon, to have an eye to their alterations, to know the numbers and names of the ſick Souldiers, and the ſlaine, to marke and obſerve their rankes in their daylie riſing forth to ſervice, by which he cannot eaſily bee abuſed, ſo that hee himſelfe bee a man of ſpeciall aſſurance and integritie. And therefore great regard is to bee had in the chooſing and appointing of them. Beſides, I would not by any meanes, that the Captaines ſhould have the paying of their Souldiers, but that there ſhould bee a Pay-maſter appointed, of ſpeciall truſt, which ſhould pay every man according to his Captaines Ticket, and the accompt of the Clerke of his Band; for by this meanes the Captaine will never ſeeke to falſifie his alterations, nor to diminiſh his Company, nor to deceive his Souldiers, when nothing thereof ſhalbe ſure to come into himſelfe, but what is his owne bare pay. And this is the manner of the *Spaniards* Captaine, who never hath to meddle with his Souldiers pay, and indeed ſcorneth the name as baſe to be counted his Souldiers *Pagadore*, whereas the contrary amongſt us hath brought things to ſo bad a paſſe, that there is no Captaine but thinkes his Band very ſufficient, if hee can muſter 60: and ſtickes not to ſay openly, that he is unworthy to have a Captainſhip, that cannot make it worth 500*l.* by the yeare, the which they right well verifie by the proofe.

Eudox. Truely I thinke this a very good meanes to avoid that inconvenience of Captaines abuſes. But what ſay you to the *Coronell*? what authority thinke you meete to be given him? whether will you allow him to protect or ſafe conduct, and to have martiall lawes as they are accuſtomed?

Iren. Yea verily, but all theſe to bee limited with very ſtraite inſtructions. As firſt for protections, that hee ſhall have authority after the firſt Proclamation, for the ſpace of twentie dayes, to protect all that ſhall come in, and them to ſend to the Lord Deputie, with their ſafe conduct or paſſe, to bee at his diſpoſition,

but ſo as none of them returne backe againe, being once come in, but be preſently ſent away out of the Countrey, to the next Sheriffe, and ſo conveyed in ſafetie. And likewiſe for martiall Lawe, that to the Souldier it bee not extended, but by tryall formerly of his cryme, by a Iury of his fellow Souldiers as it ought to bee, and not raſhly at the will or diſpleaſure of the Coronell, as I have ſometimes ſeene too lightly. And as for other of the Rebells that ſhall light into their handes, that they bee well aware of what condition they bee, and what holding they have. For in the laſt generall warres there, I knew many good Free-holders executed by martiall law, whoſe landes were thereby ſaved to their Heires, which ſhould have otherwiſe eſcheated to her Majeſtie. In all which the great diſcretion and uprightneſſe of the Coronell himſelfe is to bee the chiefeſt ſtay both for all thoſe doubts, and for many other difficulties that may in the ſervice happen.

Eudox. Your caution is very good; but now touching the Arch-Rebell himſelfe, I meane the Earle of *Tyrone*, if he in all the time of theſe warres, ſhould offer to come in and ſubmit himſelfe to her Majeſtie, would you not have him received, giving good hoſtages, and ſufficient aſſurance of himſelfe?

Iren. No marrie, for there is no doubt, but hee will offer to come in, as hee hath done diverſe times already, but it is without any intent of true ſubmiſſion, as the effect hath well ſhewed, neither indeed can hee now if hee would, come in at all, nor give that aſſurance of himſelfe that ſhould bee meete: for being as hee is very ſubtle headed, ſeeing himſelfe now ſo farre ingaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his ſubmiſſion, hee can purchaſe to himſelfe any ſafetie, but that heereafter, when things ſhall bee quieted, there his villanies will be ever remembred, and whenſoever hee ſhall treade awry (as needes the moſt righteous muſt ſometimes) advantage will bee taken thereof, as a breach of his pardon, and hee brought to a reckoning for all former matters; beſides, how hard it is now for him to frame himſelfe to ſubjection, that having once ſet before his Eyes the hope of a Kingdome, hath therunto not onely found incouragement from the greateſt King in Chriſtendome, but alſo found great faintnes in her Maieſties withſtanding him, wherby he is animated to think that his power is able to defend him, & offend further then he hath done, whenſoever he pleaſe, let every reaſonable man iudge. But if hee himſelfe ſhould come and leave all other, his accomplices without, as *O Donel, Mac Mahone, Maguire*, & the reſt, he muſt needs thinke that then even they, will ere long cut his throate, which having drawne them all into this occaſion, now in the midſt of their trouble giveth them the ſlip, whereby hee muſt needes perceive how impoſſible it is for him to ſubmit himſelfe. But yet if hee would ſo doe, can he give any good aſſurance of his obedience? For how weake hould

hould is there by hoſtages, hath too often beene proved, and that which is ſpoken of taking *Shane O-Neales* ſonnes from him, and ſetting them up againſt him is a very perillous counſaile, and not by any meanes to be put in proofe, for were they let forth and could overthrowe him, who ſhould afterwards overthrow them, or what aſſurance can be had of them? It will be like the tale in *Æſop*, of the wild horſe, who having enmity with the Stagg, came to a man to deſire his ayde againſt his foe, who yeelding therevnto mounted upon his backe, and ſo following the ſtagge, ere long ſlew him, but then when the horſe would have him alight he refuſed, but ever after kept him in his ſubjection and ſervice. Such I doubt would bee the proofe of *Shane O-Neales* ſonnes. Therefore it is moſt dangerous to attempt any ſuch plot, for even that very manner of plot, was the meanes by which this trayterous Earle is now made great: For when the laſt *O-Neale*, called *Terlagh Leinagh*, began to ſtand upon ſome tickle termes, this fellow then, called Baron of *Dunganon*, was ſet up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and ſtrengthened by the Queene ſo far, as that he is now able to keepe her ſelfe play: much like unto a Gameſter that having loſt all, borroweth of his next fellow-Gameſter ſomewhat to maintaine play, which he ſetting unto him againe, ſhortly thereby winneth all from the winner.

Eudox. Was this Rebell then ſet up at firſt by the Queene (as you ſay) and now become ſo undutifull?

Iren. He was (I aſſure you) the moſt outcaſt of all the *O-Neales* then, and lifted up by her Majeſty out of the duſt, to that he hath now wrought himſelfe unto, and now hee playeth like the frozen ſnake, who being for compaſſion releived by the husbandman, ſoone after he was warme began to hiſſe, and threaten danger even to him and his.

Eudox. He ſurely then deſerveth the puniſhment of that ſnake, & ſhould worthily be hewed to peeces. But if you like not the letting forth of *Shane O-Neales* ſonnes againſt him, what ſay you then of that advice which (I heard) was given by ſome, to draw in *Scotts* to ſerve againſt him? how like you that advice?

Iren. Much worſe then the former, for who that is experienced in thoſe parts knoweth not that the *O-Neales* are neerely allyed unto the *Mac-Neiles* of *Scotland*, and to the Earle of *Argyle*, from whence they uſe to have all their ſuccours of thoſe *Scottes* and *Redſhanckes*: Beſides all theſe *Scottes* are through long continuance intermingled and allyed to all the inhabitants of the north:* So as there is no hope that they will ever be wrought to ſerve faithfully againſt their old friends and kinſmen: And though they would, how when they have overthrowne him, and the warres are finiſhed, ſhall they themſelves be put out? doe we not all know, that the *Scottes* were the firſt inhabitants of all the north, and that thoſe which now are called the north *Iriſh*, are indeed very* *Scottes*, which challenge the ancient inheritance and dominion of that Countrey, to be their owne aunciently: This then

*The cauſes of theſe fearcs have been amputated, ſince the happy union of *England* and *Scotland*, eſtabliſhed by his late Majeſty.

*vide Bed. Eccleſ. Hiſt. libr. cap. 1.

then were but to leap out of the pan into the fire: For the cheifeſt caveat and proviſion in reformation of the north, muſt be to keep out thoſe *Scottes*.

Eudox. Indeede I remember, that in your diſcourſe of the firſt peopling of *Ireland*, you ſhewed that the *Scythians* or *Scottes* were the firſt that ſate downe in the north whereby it ſeemes that they may challenge ſome right therein. How comes it then that *O-Neales* claimes the dominion thereof, and this Earle of *Tyrone* ſaith that the right is in him? I pray you reſolve me herein: for it is very needefull to be knowne, and maketh unto the right of the warre againſt him, whoſe ſucceſſe uſeth commonly to be according to the juſtnes of the cauſe, for which it is made: For if *Tyrone* have any right in that Seigniory (me thinkes) it ſhould be wrong to thruſt him out: Or if (as I remember) you ſaid in the beginning that *O-Neale* when he acknowledged the King of *England* for his Leige Lord and Soveraigne, did (as he alleadgeth) reſerve in the ſame ſubmiſſion, his Seigniories and rights unto himſelfe, what ſhould it be accounted to thruſt him out of the ſame?

O neil hath no right in the north.

Iren. For the right of *O-Neale* in the ſeigniory of the north, it is ſurely none at all: For beſides that the Kings of *England* conquered all the Realme, and thereby aſſumed and inveſted all the right of that land to themſelves and their heires and ſucceſſours for ever: So as nothing was left in *O-Neale* but what he received backe from them, *O-Neale* himſelfe never had any ancient Seigniory over that country, but what by uſurpation and incroachment after the death of the *Duke* of *Clarence*, he got upon the *Engliſh*, whoſe lands and poſſeſſions being formerly waſted by the *Scottes*, under the leading of *Edward le Bruce*, (as I formerly declared unto you) he eft-ſoones entred into, and ſithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other occupations and great affaires which the Kings of *England* (ſoone after) fell into here at home, ſo as they could not intend to the recovery of that Countrey of the north, nor reſtraine the inſolency of *O-Neale*, who finding none now to withſtand him, raigned in that deſolation, and made himſelfe Lord of thoſe few people that remained there, upon whom ever ſithence he hath continued his firſt uſurped power, and now exacteth and extorteth upon all men what he liſt; So that now to ſubdue or expell an uſurper, ſhould bee no unjuſt enterpriſe or wrongfull warre, but a reſtitution of auncient right unto the Crowne of *England*, from whence they were moſt unjuſtly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus ſatiſfied by you, that I may the better ſatiſfie them, whom I have often heard to object theſe doubts, and ſlaunderouſly to barke at the courſes which are held againſt that trayterous Earle and his adherents. But now that you have thus ſettled your ſervice for *Vlſter* and *Connaght*: I would bee glad to heare your opinion for the proſecuting of *Feagh Mac Hugh*, who being but a baſe villaine, and of himſelfe of no power, yet ſo continually

of Feagh m Hugh

continually troubleth the State, notwithſtanding that he lyeth under their noſe, that I diſdaine his bold arrogancy, and thinke it to be the greateſt indignity to the Queene that may be, to ſuffer ſuch a caytiffe to play ſuch *Rex*, and by his enſample not onely to give heart and incouragement to all ſuch bad Rebells, but alſo to yeeld them ſuccour and refuge againſt her Majeſty, whenſoever they fly unto his Comericke, whereof I would firſt wiſh before you enter into your plot of ſervice againſt him, that you ſhould lay open by what meanes, he being ſo baſe, firſt lifted himſelfe up to this dangerous greatnes, and how he maintaineth his part againſt the Queene and her power, notwithſtanding all that hath beene done and attempted againſt him. And whether alſo hee have any pretence of right in the lands which he houldeth, or in the warres that he maketh for the ſame?

his originall

The Birnes & Tooles

Iren. I will ſo, at your pleaſure, and will further declare, not only the firſt beginning of his private houſe, but alſo the originall of the ſept of the *Birnes* and *Tooles*, ſo farre as I have learned the ſame from ſome of themſelves, and gathered the reſt by reading: The people of the *Birnes* and *Tooles* (as before I ſhewed unto you my conjecture) deſcended from the auncient *Brittaines*, which firſt inhabited all thoſe eaſterne parts of *Ireland*, as their names doe betoken, for * *Brin* in the *Britiſh* language ſignifieth wooddy, and *Toole* hilly, which names it ſeemeth they tooke of the Countryes which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody. In the which it ſeemeth that ever ſince the comming in of the *Engliſh* with * *Dermot ni-Gall*, they have continued: Whether that their countrey being ſo rude and mountainous was of them deſpiſed, and thought unworthy the inhabiting, or that, that they were received to grace by them, and ſuffered to enjoy their lands, as unfit for any other, yet it ſeemeth that in ſome places of the ſame they have put foote, and fortified with ſundry Caſtles, of which the ruines onely doe there now remaine, ſince which time they are growne to that ſtrength, that they are able to lift up hand againſt all that ſtate; and now lately through the boldnes and late good ſucceſſe of of this *Feagh Mac Hugh*, they are ſo farre imboldened, that they threaten perill even to *Dublin*, over whoſe necke they continually hang. But touching your demand of this *Feaghes* right unto that Countrey which he claimes, or the ſeigniory therein, it is moſt vaine and arrogant. For this you cannot be ignorant, that it was part of that which was given in inheritance by *Dermot Mac Morrough* King of *Leinſter*, unto *Strongbowe* with his daughter, and which *Strongbowe* gave over unto the King and his heires, ſo as the right is abſolutely now in her Majeſty, and if it were not, yet could it not be in this *Feagh*, but in * *O Brin*, which is the ancient Lord of all that Countrey, for he and his auncеſtours were but followers unto *O-Brin*, and his grandfather *Shane Mac Terlagh*, was a man of meaneſt

or O-Birne.

* In *Richard Creagh's* booke *de lingua Hibernica*, there is a very plentifull collection of Iriſh words, derived from the Britiſh or Welch tongue, which doth much ſtrengthen the Authors opinion, in houlding that the *Birnes*, *Tooles*, and *Cavenaghs*, with other the ancient inhabitantes of the eaſterne parts, were originally Brittiſh Colonyes. *vid pag.* 32 & 33.

* *Dermot Mac Murrogh* King of Leinſter, who was ſurnamed *ni-Gall*, as being a friend to the *Engliſh*, and a cheife inſtrument in inciting them to the conqueſt of *Ireland*.

neſt regard amongſt them neither having wealth nor power. But his Sonne *Hugh Mac Shane*, the father of this *Feagh*, firſt began to lift up his head, and through the ſtrength and great faſtnes of *Glan-Malor*, which adjoyneth unto his houſe of *Ballinecor*, drew unto him many theeves and out-lawes, which fled unto the ſuccour of that glynne, as to a ſanctuary and brought unto him part of the ſpoyle of all the Countrey, through which he grew ſtrong, and in ſhort ſpace got unto himſelfe a great name thereby amongſt the *Iriſh*, in whoſe footing this his ſonne continuing, hath through many unhappy occaſions, increaſed his ſaid name, and the opinion of his greatnes, inſomuch that now he is become a dangerous Enemy to deale withall.

Eudox. Surely I can commend him, that being of himſelfe of ſo meane condition, hath through his owne hardineſſe lifted himſelfe up to the height, that he dare now front Princes, and make tearmes with great potentates; the which as it is to him honourable, ſo it is to them moſt diſgracefull, to be bearded of ſuch a baſe varlet, that being but of late growne out of the dunghill, beginneth now to overcrow ſo high mountaines, and make himſelfe great protectour of all Outlawes and Rebells that will repaire unto him. But doe you thinke he is now ſo dangerous an enemy as he is counted, or that it is ſo hard to take him downe as ſome ſuppoſe?

Iren. No verily, there is no great reckoning to bee made of him, for had he ever beene taken in hand, when the reſt of the Realme (or at leaſt the parts adjoyning) had been quiet, as the honourable Gent. that now governeth there, (I meane Sir *William Ruſſell*) gave a notable* attempt thereunto, and had worthily performed it, if his courſe had not beene croſſed unhappily, he could not have ſtood 3. moneths, nor ever have looked up againſt a very meane power: but now all the parts about him being up in a madding moode, as the *Moores* in *Leix*, the *Cavenaghes* in the county of *Wexford*, and ſome of the *Butlers* in the county of *Kilkenny*, they all flocke unto him, and drawe into his country, as to a ſtrong hould where they thinke to be ſafe, from all that proſecute them: And from thence they doe at their pleaſures breake out into all the borders adjoyning, which are well peopled countryes, as the counties of *Dublin*, of *Kildare*, of *Catherlagh*, of *Kilkenny*, of *Wexford*, with the ſpoiles whereof they victuall and ſtrengthen themſelves, which otherwiſe ſhould in ſhort time be ſtarved, and ſore pyned, ſo that what he is of himſelfe, you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then by ſo much as I gather out of your ſpeech, the next way to end the warres with him, and to roote him out quite, ſhould be to keepe him from invading of thoſe countryes adjoyning, which (as I ſuppoſe) is to be done, either by drawing all the inhabitants of thoſe next borders away, and leaving them utterly waſte, or by planting garriſons upon all thoſe frontiers about him, that when he ſhall breake forth, may ſet upon him and ſhorten his returne.

Iren. You conceive very rightly *Eudoxus*, but for that the diſpeopling

*vide Camdeni annales, ſub finem anni 1594.

peopling and driving away all the inhabitants from the countrey about him, which you ſpeake of ſhould bee a great confuſion and trouble, aſwell for the unwillingneſſe of them, to leave their poſſeſſions, as alſo for placing and providing for them in other Countryes, (me thinkes) the better courſe ſhould be by planting of Garriſons about him, which whenſoever he ſhall looke forth, or be drawne out with the deſire of the ſpoyle of thoſe borders, or for neceſſity of victuall, ſhall be alwayes ready to intercept his going or comming.

Eudox. Where then doe you wiſh thoſe Garriſons to be planted that they may ſerve beſt againſt him, and how many in every Garriſon?

Iren. I my ſelfe by reaſon that (as I told you) I am no martiall man, will not take upon me to direct ſo dangerous affaires, but onely as I underſtood by the purpoſes and plots, which the Lord *Gray* who was well experienced in that ſervice, againſt him did lay downe: To the performance whereof he onely required 1000. men to be laid in 6. garriſons, that is, at *Ballinecor* 200. footemen and 50. horſemen, which ſhould ſhut him out of his great glynne, whereto he ſo much truſteth; at *Knockelough* 200. footemen and 50. horſemen, to anſwere the county of *Catherlagh*; at *Arclo* or *Wicklow* 200. footemen and 50. horſemen to defend all that ſide towards the Sea. In *Shillelagh* 100. footemen which ſhould cut him from the *Cavanaghes*, and the county of *Wexford*; and about the three Caſtles 50. horſemen, which ſhould defend all the county of *Dublin*; and 100. footemen at *Talbots towne*, which ſhould keepe him from breaking out into the County of *Kildare*, and be alwayes on his necke on that ſide: The which Garriſons ſo laide, will ſo buſie him, that he ſhall never reſt at home, nor ſtirre forth abroad but he ſhall be had; as for his Creete they cannot be above ground, but they muſt needes fall into their hands or ſtarve, for he hath no faſtnes nor refuge for them. And as for his partakers of the *Moores*, *Butlers*, and *Cavanaghes*, they will ſoone leave him, when they ſee his faſtnes and ſtrong places thus taken from him.

Eudox. Surely this ſeemeth a plot of great reaſon, and ſmall difficulty, which promiſeth hope of a ſhort end. But what ſpeciall directions will you ſet downe for the ſervices and riſings out of theſe Garriſons.

Iren. None other then the preſent occaſions ſhall miniſter unto them, and as by good eſpialls, whereof there they cannot want ſtore, they ſhall be drawne continually upon him, ſo as one of them ſhall be ſtill upon him, and ſometimes all at one inſtant, baytiug him. And this (I aſſure my ſelfe) will demaund no long time, but will be all finiſhed in the ſpace of one yeare, which how ſmall a thing it is, unto the eternall quietneſſe which ſhall thereby be purchaſed to that Realme, and the great good which ſhould growe to her Majeſty, ſhould (me thinkes) readily drawe on her Highneſſe to the undertaking of the enterpriſe.

Eudox. You have very well (me thinkes) *Irenæus* plotted a courſe for

for the atcheiving of thoſe warres now in *Ireland*, which ſeemes to aske no long time, nor great charge, ſo as the effecting thereof bee committed to men of ſure truſt, and found experience, aſwell in that Country, as in the manner of thoſe ſervices, for if it bee left in the hands of ſuch rawe Captaines, as are uſually ſent out of *England*, being thereunto onely preferred by friendſhip, and not choſen by ſufficiency, it will ſoone fall to the ground.

Iren. Therefore it were meete (me thinkes) that ſuch Captaines onely were thereunto employed, as have formerly ſerved in that Country, and been at leaſt Leivtenants unto other Captaines there. For otherwiſe being brought and tranſferred from other ſervices abroad, as in *France*, in *Spaine*, and in the *Low-Countryes*, though they be of good experience in thoſe, and have never ſo well deſerved, yet in theſe they will be new to ſeeke, and before they have gathered experience, they ſhall buy it with great loſſe to her Majeſty, either by hazarding of their companies, through ignorance of the places, and manner of the *Iriſh* ſervices, or by looſing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being but ſhort, in which it might be finiſhed, almoſt before they have taken out a new leſſon, or can tell what is to be done.

Eudox. You are no good friend to new Captaines; It ſeemes *Iren.* that you barre them from the credit of this ſervice: but (to ſay truth) me thinkes it were meete, that any one before he came to bee a Captaine, ſhould have beene a Souldiour, for *parere qui neſcit, neſcit imperare.* And beſides there is great wrong done to the old Souldiour, from whom all meanes of advancement which is due unto him, is cut off by ſhuffling in theſe new cutting Captaines, into the place for which he hath long ſerved, and perhaps better deſerved. But now that you have thus (as I ſuppoſe) finiſhed all the warre, and brought all things to that lowe ebbe which you ſpeake of, what courſe will you take for the bringing in of that reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this deſolate eſtate? in which (mee thinkes) I behold them now left, unto that perfect eſtabliſhment and new common-wealth which you have conceived of, by which ſo great good may redound unto her Majeſty, and an aſſured peace bee confirmed, for that is it whereunto wee are now to looke, and doe greatly long for, being long ſithence made weary with the huge charge which you have laide upon us, and with the ſtrong indurance of ſo many complaints, ſo many delayes, ſo many doubts and dangers, as will hereof (I know well) ariſe, unto the which before wee come, it were meete (me thinkes) that you ſhould take ſome order for the Souldiour, which is now firſt to bee diſcharged and diſpoſed of, ſome way: the which if you doe not well fore-ſee, may growe to as great inconvenience as all this that I ſuppoſe you have quit us from, by the looſe leaving of ſo many thouſand Souldiours, which from thence forth will be unfit for any labour or other trade, but muſt either ſeeke ſervice and imployment abroad, which may be dangerous, or

or elſe perhaps imploy themſelves heere at home; as may bee diſcommodious.

Iren. You ſay very true, and it is a thing much miſlyked in this our Common-wealth, that no better courſe is taken for ſuch as have beene imployed in ſervice, but that returning whether maymed and ſo unable to labour, or otherwiſe whole and ſound, yet afterwards unwilling to worke, or rather willing to ſet the hang-man on worke. But that needeth another conſideration; but to this which wee have now in hand, it is farre from my meaning to leave the Souldier ſo at randome, or to leave that waſte Realme ſo weake and deſtitute of ſtrength, which may both defend it againſt others that might ſeeke then to ſet upon it, and alſo to keepe it from that relapſe which I before did fore-caſt. For it is one ſpeciall good of this plot, which I would deviſe, that 6000. Souldiers of theſe whom I have now imployed in this ſervice, and made thoroughly acquainted both with the ſtate of the Countrey, and manners of the people, ſhould henceforth bee ſtill continued, and for ever maintayned of the Countrey, without any charge to her Majeſtie, and the reſt that either are olde, and unable to ſerve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have ſeene many Souldiers after the ſervice, to prove very good husbands, ſhould bee placed in part of the landes by them wonne, at ſuch rate, or rather better then others, to whom the ſame ſhall be ſet out.

Eudox. Is it poſſible *Irenaus?* can there be any ſuch meanes deviſed, that ſo many men ſhould be kept ſtill in her Majeſties ſervice, without any charge to her at all. Surely this were an exceeding great good both to her Highnes to have ſo many olde Souldiers alwayes ready at call, to what purpoſe ſoever ſhe liſt to imploy them; and alſo to have that land thereby ſo ſtrengthened, that it ſhall neither feare any forraine Invaſion, nor practiſe, which the *Iriſh* ſhall ever attempt, but ſhall keepe them under in continuall awe and firme obedience.

Iren. It is ſo indeed. And yet this truely I doe not take to be any matter of great difficultie, as I thinke it will alſo ſoone appeare unto you. And firſt we will ſpeake of the North part; for that the ſame is of more weight and importance. So ſoone as it ſhall appeare that the Enemy is brought downe, and the ſtout Rebell either cut off, or driven to that wretchedneſſe, that hee is no longer able to holde up his head, but will come in to any conditions; which I aſſure my ſelfe will bee before the end of the ſecond Winter, I wiſh that there bee a generall Proclamation made, that whatſoever Out-lawes will freely come in, and ſubmit themſelves to her Majeſties mercy, ſhall have liberty ſo to doe, where they ſhall either finde that grace they deſire, or have leave to returne againe in ſafety, upon which it is likely that ſo many as ſurvive, will come in to ſue for grace, of which, who ſo are thought meet for ſubjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or elſe all of them;

(for I thinke that all wilbe but a very few) upon condition and aſſurance that they will ſubmit themſelves abſolutely to her Maieſties ordinance for them, by which they ſhall be aſſured of life and libertie, and be onely tyed to ſuch conditions as ſhall bee thought by her meet for containing them ever after in due obedience. To the which conditions I nothing doubt, but that they will all moſt readily, and upon their knees ſubmit themſelves , by the proofe of that which I have ſeene in *Mounſter*. For upon the like Proclamation there, they all came in both tagg and ragg, and when as afterwardes many of them were denyed to be received, they bade them doe with them what they would, for they would not by any meanes returne againe, nor goe forth. For in that caſe who will not accept almoſt of any conditions, rather then dye of hunger and miſerie.

How to be diſpoſed on ſubmiſſion.

Eudox. It is very likely ſo. But what then is the Ordinance, and what bee the conditions which you will propoſe unto them, which ſhall reſerve unto them an aſſurance of life and liberty.

Oſtages

Iren. So ſoone then as they have given the beſt aſſurance of themſelves which may be required, which muſt be (I ſuppoſe) ſome of their principall men to remaine in hoſtage one for another , and ſome other for the reſt, for other ſurety I reckon of none that may binde them, neither of wife, nor of children, ſince then perhappes they would gladly be ridde of both from the famine, I would have them firſt unarmed utterly, and ſtripped quite of all their warre-like weapons, & then theſe conditions ſet downe, & made knowne unto them , that they ſhall bee placed in *Leinſter*, and have land given them to occupy and to live upon, in ſuch ſort as ſhall become good ſubjects, to labour thenceforth for their living, and to apply themſelves to honeſt trades of civility, as they ſhall every one be found meete and able for.

Eudox. Where then a gods name will you place them in *Leinſter?* or will you finde out any new land there for them that is yet unknowne?

Tranſplantation into &c how to be ordered

Iren. No, I will place them all in the Countrey of the *Birnes* and *Tooles*, which *Pheagh mac Hugh* hath, and in all the lands of the *Cavanaghes*, which are now in rebellion, and all the lands which will fall to her Maieſtie there-abouts , which I know to be very ſpacious and large enough to containe them, being very *neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.

* This carrieth no fit proportion for the tranſplantation intended by the Author, conſidering the large extent of *Vlſter*, and the narrow bounds heere limited.

Eudox. But then what will you doe with all the *Birnes*, the *Tooles*, and the *Cavanaghes* , and all thoſe that now are joyned with them.

Iren. At the ſame very time, and in the ſame very manner that I make that Proclamation to them of *Vlſter*, will I have it alſo made to theſe, and upon their ſubmiſſion thereunto, I will take like aſſurance of them as of the other. After which I will tranſlate all that remaine of them, unto the places of the other in *Vlſter*, with all their Creete, and

& what elſe they have left them, the which I will cauſe to be divided amongſt them in ſome meete ſort, as each may thereby have ſomewhat to ſuſtaine himſelfe a while withall, untill by his further travaile and labour of the Earth , hee ſhalbe able to provide himſelfe better.

Eudox. But will you give the land then freely unto them, and make them heires of the former Rebells ? ſo may you perhaps make them alſo heires of all their former villainies and diſorders, or how elſe will you diſpoſe of them ?

Iren. Not ſo: But all the lands will I give unto *Engliſhmen*, whom I will have drawne thither, who ſhall have the ſame with ſuch eſtates as ſhall bee thought meete , and for ſuch Rent, as ſhall eſtſoones bee rated; under every of thoſe *Engliſhmen* will I place ſome of thoſe *Iriſh* to bee Tennants, for a certaine Rent according to the quantity of ſuch Land , as every man ſhall have allotted unto him, and ſhalbe found able to wield, wherein this ſpeciall regard ſhall be had, that in no place under any Land-lord, there ſhall bee many of them placed together, but diſperſed wide from their acquaintance, and ſcattered farre abroad thorough all the Country. For that is the evill which now I finde in all *Ireland*, that the *Iriſh* dwell altogether by their ſepts, and ſeverall nations, ſo as they may practiſe or conſpire what they will , whereas if there were *Engliſh* well placed among them, they ſhould not bee able once to ſtirre or to murmure, but that it ſhould be knowne, and they ſhortened according to their demerites.

Rates of lands

Eudox. You have good reaſon, but what rating of rents meane you, to what end doe you purpoſe the ſame?

Iren. My purpoſe is to rate the rent of all thoſe lands of her Maieſties, in ſuch ſort unto thoſe *Engliſhmen* which ſhall take them , as they ſhall be well able to live thereupon , to yeeld her Maieſty reaſonable Chiefrie , and alſo give a competent maintenance unto the garriſons, which ſhall be there left amongſt them; for thoſe Souldiours (as I tolde you) remaining of the former garriſons , I caſt to maintaine upon the rent of thoſe landes, which ſhall bee eſcheated, and to have them divided thorough all *Ireland*, in ſuch places, as ſhalbe thought moſt convenient, and occaſion may require. And this was the courſe which the *Romanes* obſerved in the Conqueſt of *England*; for they planted ſome of their Legions in all places convenient , the which they cauſed the Countrey to maintaine, cutting upon every portion of land a reaſonable rent, which they called *Romeſcot*, the which might not ſurcharge the Tennant or Free-holder, and might defray the pay of the Garriſon : and this hath beene alwayes obſerved by all Princes in all Countries to them newly ſubdued, to ſet Garriſons amongſt them , to containe them in dutie, whoſe burthen they made them to beare, and the want of this ordinance in the firſt conqueſt of *Ireland* by *Henry the Second*, was the cauſe of the ſo ſhort decay of that government, and the

The courſe the Romanes obſerved in the conqueſt of England

Romeſcot

The not doing this cauſe of the ſhort conqueſt of Ireland

quicke recovery againe of the *Irish*. Therefore by all meanes it is to bee provided for. And this is that I would blame, if it should not misbecome mee, in the late planting of *Mounster*, that no care was had of this Ordinance, nor any ſtrength of garriſon provided for, by a certaine allowance out of all the ſaide Landes, but onely the preſent profite looked into, and the ſafe continuance thereof for ever heereafter neglected.

Eudox. But there is a Band of Souldiours layde in *Mounſter*, to the maintenance of which, what oddes is there whether the Queene receiving the rent of the Countrey, doe give pay at her pleaſure, or that there be a ſettled allowance appointed unto them out of her lands there?

Iren. There is great oddes: For now that ſaid rent of the Countrey is not appointed to the pay of the Souldiers, but it is by every other occaſion comming betweene, converted to other uſes, and the Souldiours in time of peace diſcharged and neglected as unneceſſary, whereas if the ſaid rent were appointed and ordained by an eſtabliſhment to this end only, it ſhould not bee turned to any other, nor in troublous times upon every occaſion, her Majeſtie, bee ſo troubled with ſending over new Souldiours as ſhee is now, nor the Countrie ever ſhould dare to mutinie, having ſtill the Souldiour in their necke, nor any forraine enemie dare to invade knowing there ſo ſtrong and great a Garriſon, allwayes ready to receive them.

Eudox. Sith then you thinke that this Romeſcot of the pay of the Souldiours upon the land, to be both the readieſt way to the Souldiers, and leaſt troubleſome to her Majeſties; tell us (I pray you) how would you have the ſaid lands rated, that both a rent may riſe thereout unto the Queene, and alſo the Souldiers receive pay, which (mee thinkes) wilbe hard.

Iren. Firſt we are to conſider, how much land there is in all *Vlſter*, that according to the quantity thereof we may ceſſe the ſaid rent and allowãce iſſuing therout. *Vlſter* (as the ancient records of that Realme doe teſtifie) doth containe 9000. Plow-lands, every of which Plow-lands containeth 120. Acres, after the rate of 21. foote to every perch of the Acre, every of which Plow-lands I will rate at 40ſ. by the yeare, the which yearely rent amounteth in the whole to 18000l. beſides 6ſ. 8d. chiefrie out of every Plow-land. But becauſe the countie of *Louth*, being a part of *Vlſter*, & containing in it 712. Plow-lands is not wholly to eſcheate to her Majeſtie, as the reſt, they having in all their warres continued for the moſt part dutifull, though otherwiſe a great part thereof is now under the Rebells, there is an abatement to be made thereout of 400. or 500. Plow-lands, as I eſtimat the ſame, the which are not to pay the whole yearly rent of 40ſ. out of every Plow-land, like as the eſcheated lands doe, but yet ſhall pay for their compoſition of ceſſe towards the keeping of Soldiers, 20ſ. out of every

every Plow-land, ſo as there is to bee deducted out of the former ſumme 200. or 300l. yearely, the which may nevertheleſſe be ſupplied by the rent of the Fiſhings, which are exceeding great in *Vlſter*, and alſo by an increaſe of rent in the beſt lands, and thoſe that lye in the beſt places neere the Sea-coaſt. The which eighteene thouſand pounds will defray the entertainment of 1500. Souldiers, with ſome over-plus towardes the pay of the victuallers, which are to bee imployed in the victualling of theſe garriſons.

Eudox. So then belike you meane to leave 1500. Souldiers in garriſon for *Vlſter*, to bee payde principally out of the rent of thoſe lands, which ſhall be there eſcheated unto her Majeſtie. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garriſoned?

Iren. I will have them divided into three parts, that is, 500. in every garriſon, the which I will have to remaine in three of the ſame places, where they were before appointed, to wit, 500. at *Strabane*, and about *Longhfoile*, ſo as they may holde all the paſſages of that part of the Countrey, and ſome of them bee put in wardes, upon all the ſtraights thereabouts, which I know to be ſuch, as may ſtoppe all paſſages into the Countrey on that ſide, and ſome of them alſo upon the *Ban*, up towardes *Lough-Sidney*, as I formerly directed. Alſo other 500. at the Fort upon *Lough-Earne*, and wardes taken out of them, which ſhall bee layde at *Fermannagh*, at *Bealick*, at *Ballyſhannon*, and all the ſtreightes towardes *Connaght*, the which I know doe ſo ſtrongly command all the paſſages that way, as that none can paſſe from *Vlſter* into *Connaght*, without their leave. The laſt 500. ſhall alſo remaine in their Fort at *Monoghan*, and ſome of them bee drawne into wardes, to keepe the *Kaies* of all that Countrey, both downwards, and alſo towardes *O Relies* Countrey, and the Pale, and ſome at *Eniskillin*, ſome at *Belturbut*, ſome at the blacke Fort, and ſo along that River, as I formerly ſhewed in the firſt planting of them. And moreover at every of theſe Forts, I would have the ſeate of a Towne layde forth and incompaſſed, in the which I would wiſh that there ſhould inhabitants of all ſortes, as Merchants, Artificers, and Husbandmen, bee placed, to whom there ſhould Charters, and Fraunchiſes bee graunted to imcorporate them. The which as it wilbe no matter of difficultie to draw out of *England*, perſons which would very gladly be ſo placed, ſo would it in ſhort ſpace turne thoſe parts to great commodity, and bring ere long to her Majeſtie much profit, for thoſe places are ſo fit for trade and trafficke, having moſt convenient out-gates by divers rivers to the Sea, and In-gates to the richeſt parts of the land, that they would ſoone be enriched, and mightily enlarged, for the very ſeating of the garriſons by them, beſides the ſafetie and aſſurance which they ſhall worke unto them, will alſo draw thither ſtore of people and trade, as I have ſeene enſample at *Mariborogh* and *Philipſtowne* in *Leinſter*, where by reaſon of thoſe two Fortes,

though there were but small wardes left in them, there are two good Townes now growne, which are the greatest stay of both those two Countries.

Eudox. Indeed (me thinkes) three such Townes as you say, would doe very well in those places with the Garrisons, and in short space would be so augmented, as they would be able with little to in-wall themselves strongly, but for the planting of all the rest of the Countrey, what order would you take?

Iren. What other then (as I said) to bring people out of *England*, which should inhabite the same, whereunto though I doubt not but great troopes would be readie to runne, yet for that in such cases, the worst and most decayed men are most ready to remove, I would wish them rather to bee chosen out of all parts of this Realme, either by discretion of wise men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by the drumme, as was the olde use in sending forth of *Colonies*, or such other good meanes as shall in their wisedome bee thought meetest. Amongst the chiefe of which, I would have the land cut into Seignories, in such sort as it is now in *Mounster*, and divided into Hundreds and Parishes, or Wardes, as it is in *England*, and layde out into Shires, as it was aunciently, viz. *The Countie of Downe, the Countie of Antrim, the Countie of Louth, the Countie of Armaghe, the Countie of Cavan, the Countie of* * *Colerane, the Countie of Monoghan, the Countie of Tirone, the Countie of Fermannagh, the Countie of Donnegall*, being in all tenne. Over all which I wish a Lord *President*, and a Councell to bee placed, which may keepe them afterwards in awe and obedience, and minister unto them Iustice and equity.

* This is now part of the Countie of London-derry.

Eudox. Thus I see the whole purpose of your plot for *Vlster*, and now I desire to heare your like opinion for *Connaght*.

Iren. By that which I have already said of *Vlster*, you may gather my opinion for *Connaght*, being very answereable to the former. But for that the lands which shall therein escheat unto her Maiesty, are not so intirely together, as that they can be accõpted in one summe, it needeth that they be cõsidered severally. The *Province of Connaght* in the whole containeth (as appeareth by the records of *Dublin*) 7200 plow lands of the former measure, and is of late divided into sixe Shires or Counties. *The Countie of* * *Clare, the Countie of Leytrim, the Countie of Roscomman, the countie of Galway, the countie of Maio, & the Countie of Sligo.* Of the which all the Countie of *Sligo*, all the Countie of *Maio*, the most part of the Countie of *Roscomman*, the most part of the Countie of *Letrim*, a great part of the county of *Galway*, & some of the county of *Clare*, is like to escheat to her Maiesty for the rebellio of their present possessors. The which two counties of *Sligo* & *Maio* are supposed to containe almost 3000. plow-lands, the rent whereof reasonably to the former, I valew almost at 6000*l. per annum*. The countie of *Roscomman*, saving that which pertaineth to the house of *Roscomman*, & some few other *English* there lately seated, is all one, and therefore it is wholly likewise to escheate to her Majesty, saving those portions of *English* inhabitants, and even those *English* doe (as I understand by them) pay as much rent to her Majesty, as is set upon those in *Vlster*, counting their composition money therewithall, so as it may all run into one reckoning with the former two counties. So that this county of *Roscomman* containing 1200. Plow-lands, as it is accompted, amounteth to 2400*li.* by the yeare, which with the former two counties rent, maketh about 8300*l.* for the former wanted somewhat. But what the escheated lands of the county of *Gallway* and *Letrim* will rise unto, is yet uncertaine to define, till survey thereof be made, for that those lands are intermingled with the Earle of *Clanricardes*, and others lands, but it is thought they be the one halfe of both those counties, so as they may be counted to the value of one whole county, which containeth above 1000. plough-lands, for so many the least county of them all comprehendeth, which maketh 2000*li.* more, that is in all ten or eleven thousand pounds. The other 2. counties must remaine till their Escheates appeare, the which letting passe yet, as unknowne, yet this much is knowne to be accompted for certaine, that the composition of these two counties, being rated at 20. shil every plowland, will amount to above 2000. pounds more, all which being laide together to the former, may be reasonably estimated to rise unto 13000 pounds, the which summe, together with the rent of the escheated lands in the two last countyes, which cannot yet be valued (being as I doubt not) no lesse then a thousand pounds more, will yeeld pay largely unto 1000. men and their victuallers, and 1000*l.* pounds over towards the Governour.

* The County of *Clare* was anciently accounted part of the Province of *Mounster*, whence it hath the name of Tuabmuan, or *Thomond*, which signifieth north *Mounster*, and hath at this day its peculiar Governour, as being exempted from the Presidencies of *Mounster* and *Connaght*.

Eudox. You have (me thinkes) made but a estimate of those lands of *Connaght*, even at a very venture, so as it should be hard to build any certainty of charge, to be raised upon the same.

Iren. Not altogether yet upon uncertainties, for this much may easily appeare unto you to be certaine, as the composition money of every plowland amounteth unto, for this I would have you principally to understand, that my purpose is to rate all the lands in in *Ireland* at 20. shil every plowland, for their composition towards the Garrison. The which I know in regard of being freed from all other charges whatsoever, will be readily and most gladly yeelded unto. So that there being in all *Ireland* (as appeareth by their old records) 43920. plowlands, the same shall amount to the summe likewise of 43920. pounds, and the rest to be reared of the escheated lands which fall to her Majesty in the said Provinces of *Vlster*, *Connaght*, and that part of *Leinster* under the Rebells, for *Mounster* we deale not yet withall.

Eudox. But tell me this by the way, doe you then lay composition upon the escheated lands as you doe upon the rest, for so (me thinkes) you reckon altogether. And that sure were too much to pay 7. Nobles out of every plowland, and composition money besides, that is 20. shil. out of every plowland.

Iren. No,

Iren. No, you mistake me, I doe put onely 7. Nobles rent and composition both upon every plowland escheated, that is 40. shil: for composition, and 6. shil: 8. pence for Cheiferie to her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe now conceive you, proceede then (I pray you) to the appointing of your Garrisons in *Connaght*, and shew us both how many and where you would have them placed?

Iren. I would have 1000. laide in *Connaght*, in 2. Garrisons, namely 500. in the county of *Mayo*, about *Clan Mac Costilagh*, which shall keepe all *Mayo* and the *Bourkes* of *Mac William Eighter*: The other 500. in the county of *Galway*, about *Garrandough*, that they may containe the *Conhors* and the *Bourkes* there, the *Kellies* and *Murries*, with all them there-abouts, for that Garrison which I formerly placed at *Loughearne* will serve for all occasions in the County of *Sligo*, being neere adjoyning thereunto, so as in one nights march, they may bee almost in any place thereof, when neede shall require them. And like as in the former places of Garrisons in *Ulster*, I wished three corporate townes to be planted, which under the safeguard of that strength should dwell and trade safely with all the Countrey about them; so would I also wish to be in this of *Connaght*: and that besides, there were another established at *Athlone*, with a convenient ward in the Castle there for their defence.

Iren. What should that neede, seeing the Governour of *Connaght* useth to lye there alwayes, whose presence will bee a defence to all that Towneship?

Iren. I know he doth so, but that is much to be disliked, that the Governour should lye so farre of, in the remotest place of all the province, whereas it were meeter that he should be continually abiding in the middest of the charge, that he might both looke out alike, unto all places of his government, and also be soone at hand in any place, where occasion shall demand him, for the presence of the Governour is (as you said) a great stay and bridle unto those that are ill disposed: like as I see it is well observed in *Mounster*, where the dayly good thereof is continually apparant: and for this cause also, doe I greatly mislike the Lord *Deputies* seating at *Dublin*, being the outest corner of the Realme, and least needing the awe of his presence, whereas (me thinkes) it were fitter, since his proper care is of *Leinster*, though he have care of all besides generally, that he should seate himselfe at *Athie*, or there-abouts, upon the skirt of that unquiet countrey, so that he might sit as it were at the very maine maste of his Ship, whence he might easily overlooke and sometimes over-reach the *Moores*, the *Dempsies*, the *Connors*, *O-Carroll*, *O-Molloy*, and all that heape of *Irish* nations which there lye hudled together, without any to over-awe them, or containe them in dutie. For the *Irishman* (I assure you) feares the governement no longer, then he is within sight or reach.

Eudox. Surely (me thinkes) herein you observe a matter of much importance more then I have heard ever noted, but sure that seemes so

so expedient, as that I wonder that heretofore it hath beene overseene or omitted, but I suppose the instance of the Citizens of *Dublin* is the greatest lett thereof.

Iren. Truely then it ought not so to be, for no cause have they to feare that it will be any hinderance to them, for *Dublin* will bee still as it is the key of all passages and transportations out of *England* thitherto, no lesse profit of those Cittizens, then it now is, and besides other places will hereby receive some benefit: But let us now (I pray you) come to *Leinster*, in the which I would wish the same course to be observed, that was in *Ulster*.

Eudox. You meane for the leaving of the Garrisons in their forts, and for planting of *English* in all those Countryes, betweene the county of *Dublin* and the county of *Wexford*, but those waste wilde places I thinke when they are won unto her Majesty, that there is none which will be hasty to seeke to inhabite.

Iren. Yes enough, (I warrant you) for though the whole *tracke* of the Countrey be mountainous and woody, yet there are many goodly valleyes amongst them, fit for faire habitations, to which those mountaines adjoyned will be a great increase of pasturage, for that Countrey is a great soyle of cattle, and very fit for breed: as for corne it is nothing naturall, save onely for Barly and Oates, and some places for Rye, and therefore the larger penny-worthes may be allowed to them, though otherwise the wideres of the mountaine pasturage doe recompence the badnes of the soyle, so as I doubt not, but it will find inhabitants and undertakers enough.

Eudox. How much doe you thinke that all those lands which *Feagh Mac Hugh* houldeth under him, may amount unto, and what rent may be reared thereout, to the maintenance of the Garrisons that shall be laide there?

Iren. Truely it is impossible by ayme to tell it, and for experience and knowledge thereof, I doe not thinke that there was every any of the particulars thereof, but yet I will (if it please you) guesse thereat, upon ground onely of their judgement which have formerly devided all that country into 2. sheires or countyes: Namely the countie of *Wicklow*, and the county of * *Fernes*, the which 2. I see no cause but that they should wholly escheate to her Majesty, all save the Barony of *Arclo* which is the Earle of *Ormond's* auncient inheritance, and hath ever been in his possession, for all the whole land is the Queenes, unlesse there be some grant of any part thereof, to bee shewed from her Majesty: As I thinke there is onely of *New Castle* to Sir *Henry Harrington*, and of the *Castle* of *Fernes* to Sir *Thomas Masterson*, the rest being almost 30. miles over, I doe suppose, can containe no lesse then 2000. plowlands, which I will estimate at 4000. pounds rent, by the yeare. The rest of *Leinster* being 7. Counties, to wit, the County of *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Catherlagh*, *Wexford*, *Kilkenny*, the *Kings* & the *Queenes* county, doe containe in them 7400. plowlands, which amounteth to so many pounds for composition to the Garrison, that makes in the whole

* This is part of the county of Wexford.

whole 11400.pounds, which ſumme will yeeld pay unto 1000. Souldiours, little wanting, which may be ſupplied out of other lands of the *Cavenaghes*, which are to be eſcheated to her Majeſty, for the Rebellion of their poſſeſſors, though otherwiſe indeede they bee of her owne ancient demeaſne.

Eudox. It is great reaſon. But tell us now where you will wiſh thoſe Garriſons to be laide, whether altogether, or to bee diſperſed in ſundry places of the country?

Iren. Marry in ſundry places, *viz.* in this ſort, or much the like as may be better adviſed, for 200. in a place, I doe thinke to bee enough, for the ſafeguard of that country, and keeping under all ſuddaine upſtarts, that ſhall ſeeke to trouble the peace thereof, therefore I wiſh 200. to be laide at *Ballinecor*, for the keeping of all bad perſons from *Glan-malor*, and all the faſtnes there-abouts, and alſo to containe all that ſhall be planted in thoſe lands thenceforth. Another 200. at *Knockelough* in their former place of Garriſon, to keepe the *Bracknagh* and all thoſe mountaines of the *Cavenaghes*, 200. more to lie at *Fernes* and upwards, inward upon the *Slane*, 200. to be placed at the fort of *Leix*, to reſtraine the *Moores*, *vpper-Oſſory*, and *O-Carrol*, other 200. at the fort of *Ofaly*, to curbe the *O-Connors*, *O-Molloyes*, *Mac Coghlan*, *Mageoghegan*, and all thoſe *Iriſh* Nations bordering there-abouts.

Eudox. Thus I ſee all your men beſtowed in *Leinſter*, what ſay you then of *Meath*?

Iren. *Meath* which containeth both *Eaſt Meath*, and *Weſt Meath*, and of late the *Annaly*, now called the county of *Longford*, is counted therunto: But *Meath* it ſelfe according to the old records, containeth 4320. plowlands, & the county of *Longford* 947. which in the whole makes 5267. plowlands, of which the compoſition money will amount likewiſe to 5267. pounds, to the maintenance of the Garriſon: But becauſe all *Meath* lying in the boſome of that kingdome is allwayes quiet enough, it is needeleſſe to put any Garriſon there, ſo as all that charge may be ſpared. But in the county of *Longford* I wiſh 200. footemen and 50. horſemen to bee placed in ſome convenient ſeate betweene the *Annaly* and the *Breny*, as about *Lough Sillon*, or ſome like place of that River, ſo as they might keepe both the *O-Relies*, and alſo the *O-Ferrals*, and all that out-skirt of *Meath* in awe, the which uſe upon every light occaſion to be ſtirring, and having continuall enmity amongſt themſelves, doe thereby oftentimes trouble all thoſe parts, the charge whereof being 3400. and odde pounds is to be cut out of that compoſition money for *Meath* and *Longford*, the *over-plus* being almoſt 2000. pounds by the yeare, will come in clearly to her Majeſty.

Eudox. It is worth the hearkening unto: But now that you have done with *Meath*, proceede (I pray you) to *Mounſter*, that wee may ſee how it will riſe there for the maintenance of the Garriſon.

Iren. *Mounſter* containeth by record at *Dublin* 16000. plowlands, the compoſition whereof, as the reſt will make 16000. pounds by

by the yeare, out of the which I would have 1000. Souldiours to be maintained for the defence of that Province, the charge whereof with the victuallers wages, will amount to 12000. pounds by the yeare, the other 4000. pounds will defray the charge of the *Preſidency* and the *Councell* of that Province.

Eudox. The reckoning is eaſie, but in this accompt, by your leave, (me thinkes) you are deceived, for in this ſumme of the compoſition money, you accompt the lands of the undertakers of that Province, who are by their graunt from the Queene, to bee free from all ſuch impoſitions whatſoever, excepting their onelie Rent, which is ſurely enough.

Iren. You ſay true, I did ſo, but the ſame 20. ſhil: for every plowland, I meant to have deducted out of that rent due upon them to her Majeſty, which is no hinderance, nor charge at all more to her Majeſty then it now is, for all that rent which ſhee receives of them, ſhee putteth forth againe to the maintenance of the *Preſidency* there, the charge wherof, it doth ſcarcely defray, whereas in this accompt both that charge of the *Preſidency*, and alſo of a thouſand Souldiours more, ſhall be maintained.

Eudox. It ſhould be well if it could be brought to that: But now where will you have your thouſand men garriſond?

Iren. I would have a hundred of them placed at the *Bantry* where is a moſt fit place, not onely to defend all that ſide of the weſt part from forraine invaſion, but alſo to anſwere all occaſions of troubles, to which that Countrey being ſo remote is very ſubject: And ſurely there alſo would be planted a good towne, having both a good haven and a plentifull fiſhing, and the land being already eſcheated to her Majeſty, but being forcibly kept from her, by one that proclaimes himſelfe the Baſtard Son of the Earle of *Clancar*, being called *Donell Mac Carty*, whom it is meete to foreſee to. For whenſoever the Earle ſhall die, all thoſe lands (after him) are to come unto her Majeſty, he is like to make a foule ſtirre there, though of himſelfe no power, yet through ſupportance of ſome others who lye in the wind, and looke after the fall of that inheritance. Another hundred I would have placed at *Caſtle Mayne*, which ſhould keepe all *Deſmond* and *Kerry*, for it anſwereth them both moſt conveniently: Alſo about *Kilmore* in the county of *Corke* would I have 2. hundred placed, the which ſhould breake that neſt of theives there, and anſwere equally both to the county of *Limericke*, and alſo the county of *Corke*: Another hundred would I have lye at *Corke*, aſwell to command the towne, as alſo to be ready for any forraine occaſion: Likewiſe at *Waterford*, would I place 2. hundred, for the ſame reaſons, and alſo for other privy cauſes, that are no leſſe important: Moreover on this ſide of *Arlo*, neere to *Muſkery quirke*, which is the Countrey of the *Burkes*, about *Kill-Patricke*, I would have two hundred more to be garriſond, which ſhould skoure both the *white Knights* country and *Arlo*, and *Muſkery quirk*, by which places all the paſſages of Theives doe lye, which convey

convey their ſtealth from all *Mounſter* downewards towards *Tipperary*, and the *Engliſh* pale, and from the *Engliſh* pale alſo up unto *Mounſter*, whereof they uſe to make a common trade: Beſides that, ere long I doubt that the county of *Tipperary* it ſelfe, will neede ſuch a ſtrength in it, which were good to be there ready before the evill fall, that is dayly of ſome expected: And thus you ſee all your Garriſons placed.

Eudox. I ſee it right well, but let me (I pray you) by the way aske you the reaſon, why in thoſe Cities of *Mounſter*, namely *Waterford* and *Corke*, you rather placed Garriſons, then in all others in *Ireland*. For they may thinke themſelves to have great wrong to bee ſo charged above all the reſt.

Iren. I will tell you, thoſe two Cities, above all the reſt, doe offer an in-gate to the *Spaniard* moſt fitly: But yet becauſe they ſhall not take exceptions to this, that they are charged above all the reſt, I will alſo lay a charge upon the others likewiſe, for indeed it is no reaſon that the corporate townes enioying great franchizes and priviledges from her Majeſty, and living thereby not onely ſafe, but drawing to them the wealth of all the land, ſhould live ſo free, as not to be partakers of the burthen of this Garriſon, for their owne ſafety, ſpecially in this time of trouble, and ſeeing all the reſt burthened (and therefore) I will thus charge them all ratably, according to their abilities towards their maintenance, the which her Majeſty may (if ſhe pleaſe) ſpare out of the charge of the reſt, and reſerve towards her other coſtes, or elſe adde to the charge of the preſidency in the North.

Waterford	C.	*Clonmell*	X.	*Dundalke*	X.
Corke	L.	*Caſhell*	X.	*Mollingare*	X.
Limericke	L.	*Fedard*	X.	*Newrie*	X.
Galway	L.	*Kilkenny*	XXV.	*Trim*	X.
Dinglecuſh	X.	*Wexford*	XXV.	*Ardee*	X.
Kinſale	X.	*Tredagh*	XXV.	*Kells*	X.
Toghall	X.	*Roſſe*	XXV.	*Dublin*	C.
Kilmallock	X.				

In all 580.

Eudox. It is eaſie *Irenæus* to lay a charge upon any towne, but to foreſee how the ſame may be anſwered and defrayed, is the cheife part of good adviſement.

Iren. Surely this charge which I put upon them, I know to bee ſo reaſonable, as that it will not much be felt, for the port Townes that have benefit of ſhipping, may cut it eaſily off their trading; and in land townes of their corne and cattle, neither doe I ſee, but ſince to them eſpecially the benefit of peace doth redound, that they eſpecially ſhould beare the burthen of their ſafeguard and defence, as wee ſee all the townes of the Low-Countryes, doe cut upon themſelves an exciſe of all things towards the maintenance of the warre that is made in their behalfe, to which though theſe are not to be compared in

in richeſſe, yet are they to bee charged according to their povertie.

Eudox. But now that you have thus ſet up theſe forces of Soldiers, and provided well (as you ſuppoſe) for their pay, yet there remaineth to fore-caſt how they may bee victualled, and where purveyance thereof may bee made, for in *Ireland* it ſelfe, I cannot ſee almoſt how any thing is to bee had for them, being already ſo pittifully waſted, as it is with this ſhort time of warre.

Iren. For the firſt two yeares, it is needefull indeede that they bee victualled out of *England* thoroughly, from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, afore-hand. All which time the *Engliſh* Pale ſhall not bee burdened at all, but ſhall have time to recover themſelves, and *Mounſter* alſo being reaſonably well ſtored, will by that time, (if God ſend ſeaſonable weather) bee thoroughly well furniſhed to ſupply a great part of that charge, for I knowe there is great plenty of Corne, ſent over Sea from thence, the which, if they might have ſale for at home, they would bee glad to have money ſo neere hand, ſpecially if they were ſtreightly reſtrayned from tranſporting of it. Thereunto alſo there will bee a great helpe and furtherance given, in the putting forward of husbandrie, in all meete places, as heereafter ſhall in due place appeare. But heereafter when things ſhall growe unto a better ſtrength, and the Countrey bee repleniſhed with Corne, as in ſhort ſpace it will, if it bee well followed, for the Countrey people themſelves are great plowers, and ſmall ſpenders of Corne, then would I with that there ſhould bee good ſtore of Houſes and Magazins erected in all thoſe great places of garriſon, and in all great townes, as well for the victualling of Souldiers, and Shippes, as for all Occaſions of ſuddaine ſervices, as alſo for preventing of all times of dearth and ſcarcitie; and this want is much to bee complayned of in *England*, above all other Countreyes, who truſting too much to the uſuall bleſſing of the Earth, doe never fore-caſt any ſuch hard ſeaſons, nor any ſuch ſuddaine occaſions as theſe troublous times may every day bring foorth, when it will bee too late to gather proviſion from abroad, and to bring it perhappes from farre, for the furniſhing of Shippes or Souldiers, which peradventure may needs to bee preſently imployed, and whoſe want may (which GOD forbid) hap to hazard a Kingdome.

Eudox. Indeede the want of thoſe Magazins of victualls, I have oftentimes complayned of in *England*, and wondered at in other Countreyes, but that is nothing now to our purpoſe; but as for theſe garriſons which you have now ſo ſtrongly planted throughout all *Ireland*, and every place ſwarming with Souldiers, ſhall there bee no end of them? For now thus being (me thinkes) I doe ſee rather a Countrey of warre, then of peace & quiet, which you

earſt pretended to worke in *Ireland*, for if you bring all things to that quietneſſe that you ſaid, what then needeth to maintaine ſo great forces, as you have charged upon it.

Iren. I will unto you *Eudox.* in privitie diſcover the drift of my purpoſe, I meane (as I tolde you) and doe well hope thereby both to ſettle an eternall peace in that Countrey, and alſo to make it very profitable to her Majeſtie, the which I ſee muſt bee brought in with a ſtrong hand, and ſo continued, till it runne in a ſteadfaſt courſe of governement, which in this ſort will neither bee difficult nor dangerous, for the Souldier being once brought in for the ſervice into *Vlſter*, and having ſubdued it and *Connaght*, I will not have him to lay downe his Armes any more, till hee have effected that which I purpoſe, that is, firſt to have this generall compoſition for maintenance of theſe thoroughout all the Realme, in regard of the troublous times, and daylie danger which is threatned to this Realme by the King of *Spaine*. And thereupon to beſtow all my Souldiers in ſuch ſort as I have done, that no part of all that Realme ſhall be able to dare to quinch: Then will I eftſoones bring in my reformation, and thereupon eſtabliſh ſuch a forme of government, as I may thinke meeteſt for the good of that Realme, which being once ſettled, and all things put into a right way, I doubt not but they will runne on fairely. And though they would ever ſeeke to ſwerve aſide, yet ſhall they not bee able without forreine violence, once to remoove, as you your ſelfe ſhall ſoone (I hope) in your own reaſon readily conceive, which if it ſhall ever appeare, then may her Majeſtie at pleaſure with-draw ſome of the garriſons, and turne their pay into her Purſe, or if ſhee will never pleaſe ſo to doe (which I would rather wiſh) then ſhall ſhee have a number of brave olde Souldiers alwayes ready for any occaſion that ſhee ſhee will imploy them unto, ſupplying their garriſons with freſh ones in their ſteed. The maintenance of whome, ſhall bee no more charge to her Majeſtie, then now that Realme is, for all the revenue thereof, and much more ſhee ſpendeth, even in the moſt peaceable times, that are there, as things now ſtand. And in time of warre, which is now ſurely every ſeventh yeare, ſhee ſpendeth infinite treaſure beſides, to ſmall purpoſe.

Eudox. I perceive your purpoſe, but now that you have thus ſtrongly made way unto your reformation, and that I ſee the people ſo humbled and prepared, that they will and muſt yeeld to any Ordinance that ſhall bee given them. I doe much deſire to underſtand the ſame; for in the beginning you promiſed to ſhewe a meanes how to redreſſe all thoſe inconveniences and abuſes, which you ſhewed to bee in that ſtate of Government, which now ſtands there, as in the Lawes, Cuſtomes, and Religion, wherein I would gladly know firſt, whether in ſteed of thoſe Lawes, you would have new lawes made, for now for ought that

that I ſee, you may doe what you pleaſe.

Iren. I ſee *Eudox.* That you well remember our firſt purpoſe, and doe rightly continue the courſe thereof. Firſt therefore to ſpeake of lawes, ſince wee firſt beganne with them, I doe not thinke it now convenient, though it bee in the power of the Prince to change all the lawes, and make new; for that ſhould breede a great trouble and confuſion, aſwell in the *Engliſh* there dwelling, and to be planted, as alſo in the *Iriſh*. For the *Engliſh* having beene alwayes trayned up in the *Engliſh* governement, will hardly bee inured to any other, and the *Iriſh* will better be drawne to the *Engliſh*, then the *Engliſh* to the *Iriſh* governement. Therefore ſithence wee cannot now apply lawes fit to the people, as in the firſt inſtitutions of common-wealths it ought to bee, wee will apply the people, and fit them unto the Lawes, as it moſt conveniently may bee. The Lawes therefore wee reſolve ſhall abide in the ſame ſort that they doe, both *Common-law* and *Statutes*, onely ſuch defects in the common-law, and inconveniences in the Statutes, as in the beginning wee noted, and as men of deeper inſight ſhall adviſe, may be changed by ſome other new acts and ordinances to bee by a Parlament there confirmed. As thoſe for tryalls of pleas of the Crowne, and private rights betweene parties, colourable conveyances and acceſſaries.

Eudox. But how will thoſe be redreſſed by Parlament, when as the *Iriſh* which ſway moſt in Parlament (as you ſaid) ſhall oppoſe themſelves againſt them?

Iren. That may well now bee avoyded: For now that ſo many Free-holders of *Engliſh* ſhall bee eſtabliſhed, they together with Burgeſſes of Townes, and ſuch other loyall *Iriſh*-men, as may bee preferred to bee Knights of the Shire, and ſuch like, will bee able to beard, and to counter-poiſe the reſt, who alſo being now more brought in awe, will the more eaſily ſubmit to any ſuch ordinances as ſhall bee for the good of themſelves, and that Realme generally.

Eudox. You ſay well, for by the increaſe of Free-holders, for their numbers hereby will be greatly augmented, but how ſhall it paſſe thorough the higher houſe, which ſtill muſt conſiſte all of *Iriſh*?

Iren. Marry that alſo may bee redreſſed by enſample of that which I have heard was done in the like caſe by King *Edward* the third (as I remember) who being greatly bearded and croſſed by the Lords of the Cleargie, they being there by reaſon of the Lords Abbots, and others, too many and too ſtrong for him, ſo as hee could not for their frowardneſſe, order and reforme things as hee deſired, was adviſed to direct out his Writts to certaine Gentle-men of the beſt ability and truſt, entituling them therein *Barons*, to ſerve, and ſitt as *Barons* in the next Parlament. By which meanes hee had ſo many

Barons in his Parlament, as were able to weigh downe the Cleargy and their friends: The which Barons the ſay, were not afterwardes Lords, but onely Baronets, as ſundry of them doe yet retayne the name. And by the like device her Maieſtie may now likewiſe curbe and cut ſhort thoſe *Iriſh* and unruly Lords, that hinder all good proceedings.

Eudox. It ſeemes no leſſe then for reforming of all thoſe inconvenient Statutes that you noted in the beginning, and redreſſing of all thoſe evill cuſtomes: and laſtly, for ſettling of ſound Religion amongſt them, me thinkes you ſhall not neede any more to over-goe thoſe particulars againe, which you mentioned, nor any other which might beſides be remembred, but to leave all to the reformation of ſuch a Parlament, in which, by the good care of the Lord *Deputie* & *Councell*, they may all be amended. Therfore now you may come unto that generall reformation which you ſpake of, and bringing in of that eſtabliſhment, by which you ſaid all men ſhould be contained in duty ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violent wreſting of things by ſharpe puniſhments.

Iren. I will ſo at your pleaſure, the which (me thinkes) can by no meanes be better plotted, then by enſample of ſuch other Realmes as have beene annoyed with like evills, that *Ireland* now is, and uſeth ſtill to bee. And firſt in this our *Realme* of *England*, it is manifeſt by report of the Chronicles, and auncient Writers, that it was greatly infeſted with Robbers and Out-lawes, which lurking in Woods and faſt places, uſed often to breake foorth into the high-wayes, and ſometimes into ſmall villages to robbe and ſpoyle. For redreſſe whereof it is written, that King *Alured*, or *Aldred*, did divide the Realme into * Shires, and the Shires into Hundreds, and the Hundreds into Lathes or Wapentackes, and the Wapentackes into Tythings: So that tenne Tythings make an Hundred, and five made a Lathe or Wapentake, of which tenne, each one was bound for another, and the eldeſt or beſt of them whom they called the Tythingman or Borſolder, that is, the eldeſt pledge became ſurety for all the reſt. So that if any one of them did ſtart into any undutifull action, the Borſolder was bound to bring him forth, who joyning eft-ſoones with all his Tything, would follow that looſe perſon thorough all places, till they brought him in. And if all that Tything fayled, then all that Lathe was charged for that Tything, and if that Lathe fayled, then all that Hundred was demaunded for them; and if the Hundred, then the Shire, who joyning eft-ſoones together, would not reſt till they had found out and delivered in that undutifull fellow, which was not ameſnable to Law. And heerein it ſeemes, that that good *Saxon* King followed the counſell of *Ietbro* to *Moyſes*, who adviſed him to divide the people into Hundreds, and to ſet Captaines and wiſe men of truſt over them, who ſhould take the charge of them, and eaſe of that burthen. And ſo did *Romulus* (as you may read) divide the *Romanes* into

* *De his qui plura ſcire avet, conſulas* D. Hen Spelmanni *eq. aur. Archaiologum, in* Borſholder & Hundred.

into * *Tribes*, and the *Tribes* into *Centuries* or *Hundreths*. By this ordinance, this King brought this Realme of *England*, (which before was moſt troubleſome) unto that quiet State, that no one bad perſon could ſtirre, but he was ſtraight taken holde of by thoſe of his owne Tything, and their Borſholder, who being his neighbor or next kinſman were privie to all his wayes, and looked narrowly into his life. The which inſtitution (if it were obſerved in *Ireland*) would worke that effect which it did in *England*, and keep all men within the compaſſe of dutie and obedience.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you ſaid before; for as I remember, you ſaid, that there was a great diſproportion betweene *England* and *Ireland*, ſo as the lawes, which were fitting for one, would not fit the other. How comes it now then, that you would tranſferre a principall inſtitution from *England* to *Ireland*?

Iren. This law was not made by the *Norman Conqueror*, but by a *Saxon* King, at what time *England* was very like to *Ireland*, as now it ſtands: for it was (as I tolde you) annoyed greatly with Robbers and Out-lawes, which troubled the whole ſtate of the Realme, every corner having a *Robin Hood* in it, that kept the woods, and ſpoyled all paſſengers and Inhabitants, as *Ireland* now hath, ſo as me thinkes, this ordinance would fit very well, and bring them all into awe.

Eudox. Then when you have thus tythed the Communalty, as you ſay, and ſet Borſolders over them all, what would you doe, when you came to the Gentle-men; would you holde the ſame courſe?

Iren. Yea marry, moſt eſpecially; for this you muſt know, that all the *Iriſh* almoſt boaſt themſelves to be Gentlemen, no leſſe then the *Welſh*; for if he can derive himſelfe from the head of any Sept, (as moſt of them can, they are ſo expert by their Bardes) then hee holdeth himſelfe a Gentleman, and thereupon ſcorneth to worke, or uſe any hard labour, which hee ſaith, is the life of a Peaſant or Churle: But thenceforth becommeth either an horſe-boy, or a *Stocah* to ſome Kerne, inuring himſelfe to his weapon, and to the gentlemanly trade of ſtealing (as they count it.) So that if a gentleman or any wealthy man Yeoman of them, have any Children, the eldeſt of them perhaps ſhall be kept in ſome order; but all the reſt ſhall ſhift for themſelves, and fall to this occupation. And moreover it is a common uſe amongſt ſome of their Gentlemens ſonnes, that ſo ſoone as they are able to uſe their Weapons, they ſtraight gather to themſelves three or foure ſtraglers, or Kearne, with whom wandring a while up and downe idlely the Countrey, taking onely meate, hee at laſt falleth unto ſome bad occaſion that ſhall be offered, which being once made knowne, hee is thenceforth counted a man of worth, in whome there is courage, whereupon there draw to him many other like looſe young men, which ſtirring him up with incouragement, provoke

* *Livie* ſpeaking of *Romulus* hath it thus, *Populũ in curias 30. diviſit, &c. Eodem tempore & centuriæ tres equitum conſcriptæ ſunt.* And ſo we have it in *Sextus Aurel. Victor's* booke, *de viris illuſtribus urbis Rome. Tres equitum centurias inſtituit* (ſaith he) *Plebem in triginta curias diſtribuit.*

him ſhortly to flat Rebellion, and this happens not onely ſometimes in the ſonnes of their Gentle-men, but alſo of their Noble-men, ſpecially of them who have baſe Sonnes. For they are not onely not aſhamed to aknowledge them, but alſo boaſte of them, and uſe them to ſuch ſecret ſervices, as they themſelves will not be ſeene in, as to plague their Enemyes, to ſpoyle their Neighbours, to oppreſſe and cruſh ſome of their owne too ſtubburne Free-holders, which are not tractable to their wills.

Eudox. Then it ſeemeth that this ordinance of tithing them by the pole, is not onely fit for the Gentle-men, but alſo for the Noble-men, whom I would have thought to have beene of ſo honourable a minde, as that they ſhould not neede ſuch a kinde of being bound to their allegiance, who ſhould rather have held in, and ſtayde all the other from undutifulneſſe, then neede to bee forced thereunto themſelves.

Iren. Yet ſo it is *Eudoxus*; but becauſe that Noble-men cannot be tythed, there being not many tythings of them, and alſo becauſe a Borſolder over them, ſhould be not onely a great indignitie, but alſo a danger to adde more power to them then they have, or to make one the commander of tenne, I holde it meeter that there were onely ſureties taken of them, and one bound for another, whereby if any ſhall ſwerve, his ſureties ſhall for ſafe-guard of their Bonds, either bring him in, or ſeeke to ſerve upon him; and beſides this, I would wiſh them all to bee ſworne to her Majeſtie, which they never yet were, but at the firſt creation, and that Oath would ſure contayne them greatly, or the breach of it bring them to ſhorter vengeance, for God uſeth to puniſh periurie ſharpely: So I reade, that there was a corporall Oath taken in the raignes of * *Edward the Second*, and of * *Henry the Seventh*, (when the times were very broken) of all the Lords and beſt Gentle-men, of Fealtie to the Kings, which now is no leſſe needfull, becauſe many of them are ſuſpected to have taken an other Oath privily to ſome bad purpoſes, and thereupon to have received the Sacrament, and beene ſworne to a Prieſt, which they thinke bindeth them more, then their alleagiance to their Prince, or love of their Countrey.

* *Richard the 2.*

* This ſervice was performed by Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, being appointed thereunto by a ſpeciall commiſſion from K. *Henry* the ſeventh. There is yet extant an exact diary of all his proceedings therein, from his firſt landing at *Kinſale* the 27th of *June* 1488. till his departure from *Dublin* the 30th of *July* next.

Eudox. This tything to the Common-people, and taking ſureties of Lords and Gentlemen, I like very well, but that it wilbe very troubleſome; ſhould it not be as well for to have them all booked, and the Lords & Gentle-men to take all the meaner ſort upon themſelves, for they are beſt able to bring them in, whenſoever any of them ſtarteth out.

Iren. This indeed (*Eudoxus*) hath beene hitherto, and yet is a common order amongſt them, to have all the people booked by the Lords and Gentlemen: but yet the worſt order that ever was deviſed, for

for by this booking of men, all the inferiour ſort are brought under the command of their Lords, and forced to follow them into any action whatſoever. Now this you are to underſtand, that all the Rebellions which you ſee from time to time happen in *Ireland*, are not begun by the common people, but by the Lords and Captaines of Countries, upon pride or willfull obſtinacy againſt the government, which whenſoever they will enter into, they drawe with them all their people and followers, which thinke themſelves bound to goe with them, becauſe they have booked them and undertaken for them, and this is the reaſon that in *England* you have few ſuch bad occaſions, by reaſon that the noble men, how ever they ſhould happen to be evill diſpoſed, have no commaund at all over the Communalty, though dwelling under them, becauſe that every man ſtandeth upon himſelfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne faith and firme aſſurance: The which this manner of tything the poles will worke alſo in *Ireland*. For by this the people are broken into many ſmall parts like little ſtreames, that they cannot eaſily come together into one head, which is the principall regard that is to be had in *Ireland*, to keepe them from growing unto ſuch a head, and adhering unto great men.

Eudox. But yet I cannot ſee, how this can bee well brought without doing great wrong unto the noble men there, for at the firſt conqueſt of that Realme, thoſe great Seigniories and Lordſhips were given them by the king, that they ſhould bee the ſtronger againſt the *Iriſh*, by the multitudes of followers and tennants under them: All which hold their tenements of them by fealty, and ſuch ſervices, whereby they are (by the firſt graunt of the King) made bounden unto them, and tyed to riſe out with them into all occaſions of ſervice: And this I have often heard, that when the Lord *Deputy* hath raiſed any generall hoſtings, the Noble men have claimed the leading of them, by graunt from the Kings of *England*, under the great Seale exhibited, ſo as the *Deputies* could not refuſe them to have the leading of them, or if they did, they would ſo worke, as none of their followers ſhould riſe forth to the hoſtage.

Iren. You ſay very true, but will you ſee the fruite of thoſe grants, I have knowne when thoſe Lords have had the leading of their owne followers under them to the generall hoſtings, that they have for the ſame cut upon every plowland within their country 40. ſhil: or more, whereby ſome of them have gathered above ſeven or eight hundred pounds, and others much more into their purſe, in lieu whereof they have gathered unto themſelves a number of looſe Kearne out of all parts, which they have carried forth with them, to whom they never gave any penny of entertainement, allowed by the Countrey or forced by them, but let them feede upon the Countryes, and extort upon all men where they come, for that people will never aske better entertainement then to have a colour of ſervice or imployment given them, by which they will pole and ſpoyle ſo outragiouſly, as the

the very enemy cannot doe much worſe: And they alſo ſometimes turne to the enemy.

Eudox. It ſeemes the firſt intent of thoſe graunts was againſt the *Iriſh*, which now ſome of them uſe againſt the Queene her ſelfe: But now what remedy is there for this? or how can thoſe graunts of the Kings be avoyded, without wronging of thoſe Lords, which had thoſe lands and Lordſhips given them.

Iren. Surely they may be well enough, for moſt of thoſe Lords ſince their firſt graunts, from the Kings by which thoſe lands were given them, have ſithence beſtowed the moſt part of them amongſt their Kinſfolke, as every Lord perhaps hath given in his time one another of his principall Caſtles to his younger Sonne, and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him, and others they have ſold, and others they have bought, which were not in their firſt graunt, which now nevertheleſſe they bring within the compaſſe thereof, and take and exact upon them, as upon their firſt demeaſnes all thoſe kinde of ſervices, yea and the very wilde exactions, *Coignie*, *Livery*, * *Sorebon*, and ſuch like; by which they pole and utterly undoe the poore Tennants and Free-houlders under them, which either thorough ignorance know not their tenures, or through greatnes of their new Lords dare not challenge them, yea, and ſome Lords of countryes alſo, as great ones as themſelves, are now by ſtrong hand brought under them, and made their Vaſſalls. As for example *Arundell* of the *Stronde* in the county of *Corke*, who was aunciently a great Lord, and was able to ſpend 3500. pounds by the yeare, as appeareth by good Recordes, is now become the Lord *Barries* man, and doth to him all thoſe ſervices, which are due unto her Majeſty. For reformation of all which, I wiſh that there were a commiſſion graunted forth under the great Seale, as I have ſeene one recorded in the old Councell Booke of *Mounſter*, that was ſent forth in the time of Sir *William Drurie*, unto perſons of ſpeciall truſt and jndgement to inquire thoroughout all *Ireland*, beginning with one county firſt, and ſo reſting a while till the ſame were ſettled, by the verdict of a ſound and ſubſtantiall Iury, how every man houldeth his land, of whom, and by what tenure, ſo that every one ſhould be admitted to ſhew and exhibite what right he hath, and by what ſervices hee houldeth his land, whether in cheife or in ſoccage, or by Knights ſervice, or how elſe ſoever. Thereupon would appeare, firſt how all thoſe great *Engliſh* Lords doe claime thoſe great ſervices, what Seigniories they uſurpe; what wardſhips they take from the Queene, what lands of hers they conceale: and then how thoſe *Iriſh* Captaines of Countryes have incroached upon the Queenes Free-holders and Tennants, how they have tranſlated the tenures of them from *Engliſh* houlding, unto *Iriſh Taniſtry*, and defeated her Majeſty of all her rights and dutyes, which are to acrew to her thereout, as wardſhips, Liveries, marriages, fines of alienations, and many other Commodities, which now are kept and concealed from her Majeſty, to the value of 40000. pounds *per annum*.

* What *Coigny* and *Livery* doe ſignifie, is formerly expreſſed ſee *pag.* 24. *Sorebon* was a tax laide upon the Free-holders, for certaine dayes in each quarter of a yeare, to finde victualls, and lodging, and to pay certaine ſtipends, to the Kerne, Galloglaſſes, and horſemen.

annum, I dare undertake in all *Ireland*, by that which I know in one county.

Eudox. This *Irenæus*, would ſeeme a dangerous commiſſion, and ready to ſtirre up all the *Iriſh* in Rebellion, who knowing that they have nothing to ſhew for all thoſe lands which they hould, but their Swords, would rather drawe them, then ſuffer the lands to bee thus drawne away from them.

Iren. Neither ſhould their lands be taken away from them, nor the utmoſt advantages inforced againſt them: But this by diſcretion of the Commiſſioners ſhould be made knowne unto them, that it is not her Majeſties meaning to uſe any ſuch extreamity, but onely to reduce things into order of *Engliſh* Law, and make them hould their lands of her, and to reſtore to her, her due ſervices, which they detaine out of thoſe lands, which were aunciently held of her. And that they ſhould not onely, not be thruſt out, but alſo have eſtates and grants of their lands new made to them from her Majeſty, ſo as they ſhould thence-forth hould them rightfully, which they now uſurpe wrongfully, and yet withall I would wiſh, that in all thoſe *Iriſh* countryes, there were ſome land reſerved to her Majeſties free diſpoſition for the better containing of the reſt, and intermingling them with *Engliſh* inhabitants and cuſtomes, that knowledge might ſtill be had of them, and of all their doings, ſo as no manner of practiſe or conſpiracy ſhould be had in hand, amongſt them, but notice ſhould bee given thereof by one meanes or another, and their practiſes prevented.

Eudox. Truely neither can the *Iriſh*, nor yet the *Engliſh* Lords, thinke themſelves wronged, nor hardly dealt withall herein, to have that which is indeede none of their owne at all, but her Majeſties abſolutely given to them, with ſuch equall conditions, as that both they may be aſſured thereof, better then they are, and alſo her Majeſty not defrauded of her rightly utterly, for it is a great grace in a Prince, to take that with conditions, which is abſolutely her owne. Thus ſhall the *Iriſh* be well ſatiſfied, and as for the great men which had ſuch graunts made to them at firſt, by the Kings of *England*, it was in regard that they ſhould keepe forth the *Iriſh*, and defend the Kings right, and his Subjects: but now ſeeing that in ſtead of defending them, they robbe and ſpoyle them, and in ſtead of keeping out the *Iriſh*, they doe not onely make the *Iriſh* their tennants in thoſe lands, and thruſt out the *Engliſh*, but alſo ſome of themſelves become meere *Iriſh*, with marrying with them, with foſtering with them, and combyning with them againſt the Queene: What reaſon is there but that thoſe graunts and priviledges ſhould bee either revoked, or at leaſt reduced to the firſt intention for which they were graunted, for ſure in mine opinion they are more ſharpely to bee chaſtiſed and reformed, then the rude *Iriſh*, which being very wilde at the firſt, are now become more civill, when as theſe from civillity are growne to be wilde and meere *Iriſh*.

Eudox. In-

Iren. Indeede as you say *Eudoxus*, these doe neede a sharper reformation then the *Irish*, for they are more stubborne, and disobedient to law and governement, then the *Irish* be.

Eudox. In truth *Irenæus*, this is more then ever I heard, that any *English* there, should bee worse then the *Irish* : Lord how quickely doth that Countrey alter mens natures? It is not for nothing (I perceive) which I have heard, that the Councell of *England* thinke it no good policie, to have that Realme reformed, or planted with *English* least they should grow so undutifull as the *Irish*, and become much more dangerous: As appeareth by the ensamples of the *Lacies* in the time of *Edward the Second*, which you spake of, that shooke off their allegiance to their naturall Prince, and turned to *Edward le Bruce*, to make him King of *Ireland*.

Iren. No times have bene without bad men: but as for that purpose of the Councell of *England* which you spake of, that they should keepe that Realme from reformation, I thinke they are most lewdly abused, for their great carefulnesse, and earnest endeavours doe witnesse the contrary. Neither is it the nature of the Countrey to alter mens manners, but the bad mindes of the men, who having beene brought up at home under a straight rule of duty and obedience, being alwayes restrayned by sharpe penalties from lewde behaviour, so soone as they come thither, where they see lawes more slackely tended, and the hard restraint which they were used unto now slacked, they grow more loose and careless of their duty, and as it is the nature of all men to love liberty, so they become flat libertines, and fall to all licentiousnes, more boldly daring to disobey the Law, thorough the presumption of favour and friendship, then any *Irish* dareth.

Eudox. Then if that be so, (me thinkes) your late advisement was very evill, whereby you wished the *Irish* to be sowed and sprinckled with *English*, and in all the *Irish* Countryes to have *English* planted amongst them, for to bring them to *English* fashions, since the *English* sooner draw to the *Irish*, then the *Irish* to the *English*: for as you said before, if they must runne with the streame, the greater number will carry away the lesse: Therefore (me thinkes) by this reason it should bee better to part the *Irish* and *English*, then to mingle them together.

Iren. Not so *Eudoxus*, but where there is no good stay of Government, and strong ordinances to hould them, there indeede the fewer will follow the more, but where there is due order of discipline and good rule, there the better shall goe foremost, and the worst shall follow. And therefore now, since *Ireland* is full of her owne nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and somewhat stored with *English* already, and more to be, I thinke it best by an union of manners and conformity of mindes, to bring them to be one people, and to put away the dislikefull conceipt both of the one, and the other, which will be by no meanes better, then by this intermingling of them.

them: For neither all the *Irish* may dwell together, nor all the *English*, but by translating of them and scattering them amongst the *English*, not onely to bring them by dayly conversation, unto better liking of each other, but also to make both of them lesse able to hurt. And therefore when I come to the tything of them, I will tithe them one with another, & for the most part will make an *Irish* man, the tything-man, whereby he shall take the lesse exception to partiality, and yet be the more tyed thereby. But when I come to the *Head Borough*, which is the head of the Lathe, him will I make an *English* man, or an *Irish* man of speciall assurance: As also when I come to appoint the *Alderman*, that is the head of the Hundreth, him will I surely choose to be an *English* man of speciall regard, that may be a stay and pillar of all the Borough under him.

Eudox. What doe you meane by your hundred, and what by your Borough? by that, that I have read in auncient records of *England*, an *hundred* did containe an hundreth villages, or as some say an hundreth Plough-lands, being the same which the *Saxons* called * *Cantred*, the which Cantred, as I finde it recorded in the Blacke Booke of [*the Exchequer of*] *Ireland*, did containe *xxx. villatas terræ*, which some call quarters of land, and every *villata* can maintaine 400. Cowes in pasture, and the 400. cowes to be devided into 4. heards, so as none of them shall come neere other: every *villata* containing 18. Plowlands, as is there set downe: & by that which I have read of a Borough it signifieth a free towne, which had a principall Officer called a Head-Borough, to become Ruler, and undertake for all the dwellers under him, having for the same franchises and priviledges graunted them by the King, whereof it was called a free Borough, and of the Lawyers *Franci plegium*.

* Cantred is a Brittish word, answering to the Saxon Hundred. How much land a Cantred containeth, is variously delivered. Some hould that it containes 100. townes. So *Gir. Barry* or *Cambrensis*, in his itinerary of *Wales*, (*lib.2.cap.7.*) *Dicitur autem Cantredus* (saith he) *composito vocabulo tam Britannica quam Hibernica lingua, tanta terræ portio, quanta* 100. *villas continere solet.* The Author here cites a record which makes it containe but 30. towne-lands: and *Iohn Clynn*, (if my copy therein be not mistaken) hath but 20. But another more auncient MS. sometime belonging to the Friars Minors of Multifernan, hath 30. *Qualibet cantreda* (saith *Clinne*) *continet xx.* (*al.xxx.*) *villatas terræ, qualibet villata potest sustinere* 300 *vaccas in pascuis, ita quod vacca in x.* (*al.* 1111.) *partes divisa, nulla alteri appropinquabit, quælibet villata continet viii. carucatas.* We finde also there the Provinces of Ireland thus divided into Cantreds. *Vlstonia continet* 35. *cantredas, Conacia* 30. *Lagenia* 31. *Midia* 18. *& Momonia* 70. See more concerning cantreds in Sir *Hen. Spelman's* excellent *Glossary*. As cantreds are diversly estimated, so are also carues or plowlands.

Iren. Both that which you said *Eudoxus*, is true, and yet that which I say not untrue, for that which you spake of deviding the Countrey into hundreds, was a devision of the lands of the Realme, but this which I tell, was of the people, which were thus devided by the pole: So that hundreth in this sense signifieth a 100. pledges, which were under the command and assurance of their Alderman, the which (as I suppose) was also called a Wapentake, so named of touching the weapon or speare of their Alderman, and swearing to follow him faithfully, and serve their Prince truly: But others thinke that a Wapentake was 10. hundreds or boroghs: Likewise a Borogh, as I here use it, and as the old lawes still use, is not a Borogh towne, as they

they now call it, that is a franchiſed towne: But a maine pledge of 100. free perſons, therfore called a free borough or (as you ſay) *Franci-plegium*: For *Borh* in old *Saxon* ſignifieth a pledge or ſurety, and yet is ſo uſed with us in ſome ſpeeches (as *Chaucer* ſaith) *St John to Borroh*, that is for aſſurance and warranty.

Eudox. I conceive the difference: But now that you have thus devided the people into theſe Tythings and Hundreths, how will you have them ſo preſerved and continued, for people doe often change their dwelling places, and ſome muſt die, whilſt other ſome doe growe up into ſtrength of yeares, and become men.

Iren. Theſe Hundreds I would wiſh to aſſemble themſelves once every yeare with their pledges, and to preſent themſelves before the Iuſtices of the peace, which ſhall bee thereunto appointed, to bee ſurveyed and numbred, to ſee what change hath happened ſince the yeare before, and the defects to ſupplie, of young plants late growne up, the which are diligently to bee overlooked and viewed of what condition and demeanour they be, ſo as pledges may bee taken for them, and they put into order of ſome Tything, of all which alterations notes is to be taken, and Bookes made thereof accordingly.

Eudox. Now (mee thinkes) *Irenæus*, you are to bee warned to take heede leſt unawares you fall into that inconvenience which you formerly found fault with in others: Namely, that by this booking of them, you doe not gather them into a new head, and having broken their former ſtrength, doe not unite them more ſtrongly againe: For every *Alderman* having all theſe free pledges of his Hundred under his commaund, may (me thinkes) if hee be evill diſpoſed drawe all his Companie into an evill action. And likewiſe by this aſſembling of them once a yeare unto their Alderman by their Weapentakes, take heede leſt you alſo give them occaſion and meanes to practiſe together in any conſpiracyes.

Iren. Neither of both is to be doubted, for their Aldermen and Head Boroughes, will not be ſuch men of power and countenance of themſelves, being to be choſen thereunto, as neede to be feared: Neither if hee were, is his Hundred at his commaund, further then his Princes ſervice, and alſo every Tything man, may controll him in ſuch a caſe. And as for the aſſembling of the Hundred, much leſſe is any danger thereof to be doubted, ſeeing it is before ſome Iuſtice of Peace, or ſome high Conſtable to bee thereunto appointed: So as of theſe Tythings there can no perill enſue, but a certaine aſſurance of peace and great good, for they are thereby withdrawne from their Lords, and ſubjected to the Prince: Moreover for the better breaking of theſe heads and ſepts, which (I tould you) was one of the greateſt ſtrengthes of the *Iriſh*, me thinkes it ſhould bee very well to renewe that ould Statute, which was made in the * raigne of *Edward* the fourth in *Ireland*, by which it

* An. 5. Edw 4.

was

was commaunded, that whereas * all men then uſed to be called by the name of their ſepts, according to the ſeverall Nations, and had no ſurnames at all, that from thenceforth each one ſhould take upon himſelfe a ſeverall ſurname, either of his trade and facultie, or of ſome quality of his body or minde, or of the place where he dwelt, ſo as every one ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the other, or from the moſt part, wherby they ſhall not onely, not depend upon the head of their ſept, as now they do; but alſo in time learne quite to forget his *Iriſh* Nation. And herewithall would I alſo wiſh all the *O's* and the *Mac's*, which the heads of ſepts have taken to their names, to bee utterly forbidden and extinguiſhed. For that the ſame being an ordinance (as ſome ſay) firſt made by * *O Brien* for the ſtrengthning of the *Iriſh*, the abrogating thereof will aſmuch infeeble them.

* The ſtatute referres onely to the *Iriſh*, dwelling among the *Engliſh* in the counties of *Dublin*, *Meth*, *Priel*, and *Kildare*, *Priel* called alſo *Ergallia*, did anciently comprehend all that countrey which is now divided into the Counties of *Louth* and *Monoghan*, although it may be conceived, that *Louth* was onely intended by the ſtatute, becauſe *Monoghan* was then (in a manner) wholly poſſeſſed by the *Iriſh*.

* The cuſtome of prefixing the vowell O to many of the chiefe *Iriſh* ſurnames, began ſoon after the yeere M. in the raigne of *Brien* boþonha (the ſon of *Kennethy*) King of *Ireland*, As for *Mac* in ſurnames, it beareth no other ſignification, then *Fitz* doth among the *French*, and (from them) the *Engliſh*, and *ap* with the *Welſh*. And although it were more anciently uſed then the other, yet it varied according to the fathers name, and became not ſo ſoone fully ſettled in families.

Eudox. I like this ordinance very well; but now that you have thus divided & diſtinguiſhed them, what other order will you take for their manner of life?

Iren. The next that I will doe, ſhalbe to appoint to every one that is not able to live of his Free-holde, a certaine Trade of life, to which he ſhall finde himſelfe fitteſt, and ſhalbe thought ableſt; the which trade hee ſhalbe bound to follow, & live onely thereupon. All trades therefore are to be underſtood to be of three kindes; *Manuall*, *Intellectuall*, & *mixed*. The firſt containing all ſuch as needeth exerciſe of bodily labour, to the performance of their profeſſion. The ſecond conſiſting only of the exerciſe of wit & reaſon. The third ſort, part of bodily labor, & part of the wit, but depending moſt of induſtrie and carefulnes. Of the firſt ſort be all handy-crafts & husbandry labour. Of the ſecond be all Sciences, and thoſe which be called the liberall Arts. Of the third is Merchandize & Chafferie, that is, buying & ſelling, & without all theſe three; there is no Common-wealth can almoſt conſiſt, or at the leaſt be perfect. But the Realme of *Ireland* wanteth the moſt principall of them, that is, the intellectuall; therfore in ſeeking to reforme her ſtate, it is ſpecially to be looked unto. But becauſe by husbandry, which ſupplyeth unto us all things neceſſary for food, wherby we chiefly live. Therefore it is firſt to be provided for. The firſt thing therefore that wee are to draw theſe new tythed men into, ought to be husbandry. Firſt, becauſe it is the moſt eaſie to be learned, needing onely the labour of the Body. Next, becauſe it is moſt generall and moſt needfull, then becauſe it is moſt naturall; and laſtly, becauſe it is moſt enemy to warre, and moſt hateth unquietnes: As the Poet ſaith,

——bella execrata colonis.

for husbandry being the nurſe of thrift, & the daughter of induſtrie and labour, deteſteth all that may worke her ſcathe, and deſtroy the

travaile of her hands, whose hope is all her lives comfort unto the Plough, therefore are those Kearne, Stocaghes and Horseboyes to bee driven and made to imploy that ableneſſe of Bodie which they were wont to uſe to theft and villainy, hencefoorth to labour and induſtry. In the which, by that time they have ſpent but a little paine, they will finde ſuch ſweeteneſſe and happy contentment, that they will afterwardes hardly bee haled away from it, or drawne to their wonted lewde life in theeverie and roguerie. And being once thus inured thereunto, they are not onely to bee countenanced and encouraged by all good meanes, but alſo provided that their children after them may be brought up likewiſe in the ſame, and ſucceede in the roomes of their Fathers. To which end there is a * Statute in *Ireland* already well provided, which commaundeth that all the ſonnes of husbandmen ſhall be trained up in their Fathers trades, but it is (God wot) very ſlenderly executed.

* Anno 25° Hen. 6.

Eudox. But doe you not count in this trade of husbandry, paſturing of cattle, and keeping of their Cowes, for that is reckoned as a part of husbandrie.

Iren. I know it is, and needefully to bee uſed, but I doe not meane to allow any of thoſe able bodies, which are able to uſe bodily labour, to follow a few Cowes grazeing. But ſuch impotent perſons, as being unable for ſtrong travaile, are yet able to drive Cattle to and fro to their paſture, for this keeping of Cowes, is of it ſelfe a very idle life, and a fit nurſerie for a Thiefe. For which cauſe (you remember) I diſliked the *Iriſh* manner of keeping *Boolies* in Summer upon the mountaines, and living after that ſavage ſort. But if they will algates feede many Cattle, or keepe them on the Mountaines, let them make ſome townes neare to the Mountaines ſide, where they may dwell together with neighbours, and bee converſant in the view of the world. And to ſay truth, though *Ireland* bee by nature counted a great ſoyle of paſture, yet had I rather have fewer Cowes kept, and men better mannered, then to have ſuch huge increaſe of Cattle, and no increaſe of good conditions. I would therefore wiſh that there were ſome ordinances made amongſt them, that whoſoever keepeth twentie Kine, ſhould keep a Plough going, for otherwiſe all men would fall to paſturage, and none to husbandry, which is a great cauſe of this dearth now in *England*, and a cauſe of the uſuall ſtealthes in *Ireland*: for looke into all Countreyes that live in ſuch ſort by keeping of Cattle, and you ſhall finde that they are both very barbarous and uncivill, and alſo greatly given to warre. The *Tartarians*, the *Muſcovites*, the *Norwegians*, the *Gothes*, the *Armenians*, and many other doe witneſſe the ſame. And therefore ſince now wee purpoſe to draw the *Iriſh* from deſire of warre and tumults, to the love of peace and civility, it is expedient to abridge their great cuſtome of hardening,

hardening, and augment their trade of tillage and husbandrie. As for other occupations and trades, they need not bee inforced to, but every man to bee bound oncly to follow one that hee thinkes himſelfe apteſt for. For other trades of Artificers will be occupied for very neceſſitie, and conſtrayned uſe of them, and ſo likewiſe will merchandize for the gaine thereof, but learning and bringing up in liberall Sciences, will not come of it ſelfe, but muſt bee drawne on with ſtreight Lawes and ordinances: And therefore it were meete that ſuch an act were ordained, that all the Sonnes of Lords, Gentlemen, and ſuch others as are able to bring them up in learning, ſhould be trayned up therein from their Child-hoods. And for that end every Pariſh ſhould be forced to keepe a petite Schoole-maſter, adjoyning unto the Pariſh Church, to bee the more in view, which ſhould bring up their children in the firſt Elements of Letters: And that in every Countrey or Baronie, they ſhould keepe an other able Schoole-maſter, which ſhould inſtruct them in Grammer, and in * the Principles of Sciences, to whom they ſhould be compelled to ſend their youth to bee diſciplined, whereby they will in ſhort ſpace grow up to that civile converſation, that both the children will loath their former rudeneſſe in which they were bred, and alſo their Parents will even by the enſample of their young Children, perceive the fouleneſſe of their owne behaviour, compared to theirs; for Learning hath that wonderfull power in it ſelfe, that it can ſoften and temper the moſt ſterne and ſavage nature.

* How requiſite alſo an Univerſitie is for the further growth in learning, the judicious well know. This happineſſe we now enjoy, to the great benefit of this Land. And although former attempts have beene made for erecting and eſtabliſhing Univerſities in *Ireland*, yet through want of meanes, which ſhould have beene allotted for their maintenance, they have ſoone faded. So hapned it with that Academy which *Alexander de Bignor* Archbiſhop of *Dublin* erected (in *S. Patricks* Church) in *Dublin*, and procured to be confirmed by Pope *Iohn* the 22th. And no better ſucceeded that which was afterwards erected at *Tredagh* by Act of Parlament Anno 5. *Edw.* 4. (as appeares in the roll of that yeare in the Chauncery) whereby all the like Priviledges, as the Univerſity of *Oxford* (in *England*) enjoyed, were conferred upon it. Beſides theſe wee finde mention of others, farre more ancient, as at *Armagh*, and *Roſſ Carbry*, or *Roſſ-ailithry*, as it is called in the life of *S. Faghnan* the Founder, who lived in the yeare 590. *Ipſe Sanctus* (ſaith the Author) *in auſtrali Hiberniæ plagâ juxta mare, in ſuo Monaſterio quod ipſe fundavit, ibi crevit civitas, in quâ ſemper manet magnum Studium ſcolarium, quod dicitur Roſſailithry, habitabat.* But a further ſearch were fit to bee made touching thoſe of the elder times.

Eudox. Surely I am of your minde, that nothing will bring them from their uncivile life ſooner, then learning and diſcipline next after the knowledge and feare of GOD. And therefore I doe ſtill expect, that you ſhould come thereunto, and ſet ſome order for reformation of Religion, which is firſt to bee reſpected, according to the ſaying of *CHRIST*, *Seeke firſt the Kingdome of Heaven, and the Righteouſneſſe thereof.*

Iren. I have in minde ſo to doe; but let me (I pray you) firſt finiſh that which I had in hand, whereby all the ordinances which ſhall afterwardes bee ſet for Religion, may abide the more firmely, and bee obſerved more diligently. Now that this people is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound unto ſome honeſt trade of life, which ſhall bee particularly entered and ſet downe in the tything Booke, yet perhappes there will bee ſome

ſtragglers and runnagates, which will not of themſelves come in and yeeld themſelves to this order, and yet after the well finiſhing of the preſent warre, and eſtabliſhing of the Garriſons in all ſtrong places of the Countrey, where their wonted refuge was moſt, I ſuppoſe there will few ſtand out, or if they doe, they will ſhortly bee brought in by the Eares: But yet afterwardes, leſt any one of them ſhould ſwerve, or any that is tyed to a trade, ſhould afterwardes not follow the ſame, according to this inſtitution, but ſhould ſtraggle up and downe the Countrey, or mich in Corners amongſt their Friends idlely, as *Carrowes*, *Bardes*, *Ieſters*, and ſuch like, I would wiſhe that a Provoſt *Marſhall* ſhould bee appointed in every Shire, which ſhould continually walke about the Countrey, with halfe a dozen, or halfe a ſcore horſemen, to take up ſuch looſe perſons as they ſhould finde thus wandering, whome hee ſhould puniſh by his owne authority, with ſuch paines as the perſon ſhall ſeeme to deſerve; for if hee be but once ſo taken idlely roguing, hee may puniſh him more lightly, as with ſtockes, or ſuch like; but if hee bee found againe ſo loytering, hee may ſcourge him with whippes, or rodds, after which if hee bee againe taken, let him have the bitterneſſe of Marſhall lawe. Likewiſe if any reliques of the olde rebellion bee found by any, that either have not come in and ſubmitted themſelves to the Law, or that having once come in, doe breake forth againe, and walke diſordefly, let them taſte of the ſame cuppe in Gods Name, for it was due to them for their firſt guilt, and now being revived by their later looſeneſſe, let them have their firſt deſert, as now being found unfit to live in the Commonwealth.

Eudox. This were a good ordinance: but mee thinkes it is an unneceſſary charge, and alſo unfit to continue the name or forme of any Marſhall-Law, whenas there is a proper Officer already appointed for theſe turnes, to wit the Sheriffe of the Shire, whoſe peculiar Office it is to walke up and downe his Bayli-wicke, as you would have a Marſhall to ſnatch up all thoſe Runnagates and unprofitable members, and to bring them to his Gaole to bee puniſhed for the ſame. Therefore this may well be ſpared.

Iren. Not ſo (me thinkes) for though the Sheriffe have this authority of himſelfe to take up all ſuch ſtragglers, and impriſon them, yet ſhall hee not doe ſo much good, nor worke that terrour in the hearts of them, that a Marſhall will, whom they ſhall know to have power of life and death in ſuch caſes, and ſpecially to bee appointed for them: Neither doth it hinder that, but that though it pertaine to the Sheriffe, the Sheriffe may doe therein what hee can, and yet the Marſhall may walke his courſe beſides, for both of them may doe the more good, and more terrifie the idle Rogue, knowing that though he have a watch upon the one, yet hee may light upon the other: But this proviſo is needefull to bee had in this caſe, that

that the Sheriffe may not have the like power of life, as the Marſhall hath, and as heretofore they have beene accuſtomed; for it is dangerous to give power of life into the hands of him which may have benefit by the parties death, as if the ſaid looſe liver have any goods of owne, the Sheriffe is to ſeize thereupon, whereby it hath come to paſſe, that ſome who have not deſerved iudgement of death, though otherwiſe perhaps offending, have beene for their goods ſake caught up, and carryed ſtraight to the bough; a thing indeed very pittifull & horrible. Therefore by no meanes I would have the Sheriffe have ſuch authority, nor yet to impriſon that Lozell, till the Seſſions, for ſo all Gaoles might ſoone be filled; but to ſend him to the Marſhall, who eftſoones finding him faultie, ſhall give him meete correction, and ridd him away forthwith.

Eudox. I doe now perceive your reaſon well: but come wee now to that whereof wee earſt ſpake, I meane, to Religion and religious men, what order will you ſet amongſt them?

Iren. For Religion little have I to ſay, my ſelfe being (as I ſaid) not profeſſed therein, and it ſelfe being but one, ſo as there is but one way therein, for that which is true onely is, and the reſt is not at all, yet in planting of Religion, thus much is needefull to bee obſerved, that it bee not ſought forcibly to bee impreſſed into them with terrour and ſharpe penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildeneſſe and gentleneſſe, ſo as it may not be hated before it be underſtood, and their profeſſors deſpiſed and rejected. And therefore it is expedient that ſome diſcreete Miniſters of their owne Countrey-men, bee firſt ſent over amongſt them, which by their meeke perſwaſions and inſtructions, as alſo by their ſober lives and converſations, may draw them firſt to underſtand, and afterwards to imbrace the doctrine of their ſalvation; for if that the auncient godly Fathers, which firſt converted them, when they were Infidells, to the Faith, were able to pull them from Idolatry and Paganiſme, to the true Beliefe in *CHRIST*, as *S. Patricke*, and *S. Columb*, how much more eaſily ſhall godly teachers bring them to the true underſtanding of that which they already profeſſed, wherein it is great wonder to ſee the oddes which is betweene the zeale of Popiſh Prieſts, and the Miniſters of the Goſpell, for they ſpare not to come out of *Spaine*, from *Rome*, and from *Rhemes*, by long toyle and daungerous travayling hither, where they know perill of death awayteth them, and no reward or richeſſe is to bee found, onely to draw the people unto the Church of *Rome*, whereas ſome of our idle Miniſters, having a way for credite and eſtimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the Countrey offered unto them, without paines, and without perill, will neither for the ſame, nor any love of God, nor zeale of Religion, nor for all the good they may doe, by winning Soules to God, bee drawne foorth from their warme neaſtes, to looke out into

Gods

Gods harveſt, which is even ready for the ſickle, and all the Fields yellow long agoe, doubtleſſe thoſe good olde godly Fathers, will (I feare mee), riſe up in the day of judgement to condemne them.

Eudox. Surely, it is great pitty *Iren.* that there are none choſen out of the Miniſters of *England*, good, ſober, and diſcreet men, which might be ſent over thither to teach and inſtruct them, and that there is not aſmuch care had of their ſoules, as of their Bodies, for the care of both lyeth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never ſo many ſent over, they ſhould doe ſmal good till one enormity be taken from them, that is, that both they bee reſtrayned from ſending their yong men abroad to other Vniverſities beyond the Sea, as *Remes*, *Dowey*, *Lovaine*, and the like, and others from abroad bee reſtrayned for comming into them, for they lurking ſecretly in their houſes, and in corners of the Countrey, doe more hurt and hinderance to Religion with their private perſwaſions, then all the others can doe good with their publique inſtructions, & though for theſe latter there be a good Statute there ordained, yet the ſame is not executed; & as for the former there is no law, nor order for their reſtraint at all.

Eudox. I marvaile it is no better looked unto, and not only this, but that alſo which I remember you mentioned in your abuſes concerning the profits and revenewes of the Lands of Fugitives in *Ireland*, which by pretence of certaine colourable conveyances are ſent continually over unto them, to the comforting of them and others againſt her Majeſtie, for which here in *England* there is good order taken, and why not then aſwell in *Ireland*? For though there be no Statute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majeſtie by her onely prerogative, ſeize the fruites and profites of thoſe Fugitives Lands into her handes, till they come over to teſtifie their true alleagiance.

Iren. Indeede ſhee might ſo doe, but the comberous times doe perhappes hinder the regard thereof, and of many other good intentions.

Eudox. But why then did they not mend it in peaceable times?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave conſiderations; but proceed we forward. Next care in Religion is to build up and repayre all the ruined Churches, whereof the moſt part lye even with the ground, and ſome that have bin lately repayred, are ſo unhandſomely patched, and thatched, that men doe even ſhunne the places for the uncomelineſſe thereof; therefore I would wiſhe that there were order taken to have them built in ſome better forme, according to the Churches of *England*; for the outward ſhewe (aſſure your ſelfe) doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof. What ever ſome of our late too nice fooles ſay, there is nothing in the ſeemely forme, and comely

comely order of the Church. And for the keeping and continuing them, there ſhould likewiſe Church-wardens of the graveſt men in the pariſh be appointed, as they bee here in *England*, which ſhould take the yearely charge both hereof, and alſo of the Schoole-houſes which I wiſh to be built neere the ſaid Churches, for maintenance of both which, it were meete that ſome ſmall portion of lands were allotted, ſith no more Mortmaines are to be looked for.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it would be ſo convenient, but when all is done, how will you have your Churches ſerved, and your Miniſters maintained, ſince the livings (as you ſay) are not ſufficient ſcarce to make them gownes, much leſſe to yeeld meete maintenance according to the dignity of their degree.

Iren. There is no way to helpe that, but to lay 2. or 3. of them together, untill ſuch time as the Countrey grow more rich and better inhabited, at which time the Tythes, and other obventions will alſo be more augmented and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all the 3. ſorts of trades, and ſet a courſe for their good eſtabliſhment: let us (if it pleaſe you) goe next to ſome other needefull points of other publicke matters no leſſe concerning the good of the Common-wealth, though but accidentally depending on the former. And firſt I wiſh that order were taken, for the cutting and opening of all places through woods, ſo that a wide way of the ſpace of 100. yards might be layde open in every of them, for the ſafety of travellers, which uſe often in ſuch perillous places to be robbed, and ſometimes murdered. Next that Bridges were built upon the Rivers, and all the fordes marred and ſpilt, ſo as none might paſſe any other way but by thoſe Bridges, and every Bridge to have a gate and a gate-houſe ſet thereon, whereof this good will come that no night ſtealths which are commonly driven in by-wayes, and by blinde fordes unuſed of any, but ſuch like ſhall not be conveyed out of one country into another, as they uſe, but they muſt paſſe by thoſe Bridges, where they may either be haply encountred, or eaſily tracked, or not ſuffered to paſſe at all, by meanes of thoſe gate-houſes thereon: Alſo that in all ſtraights and narrow paſſages, as betweene 2. boggs, or through any deepe foord, or under any mountaine ſide, there ſhould be ſome little Fortilage, or wooden Caſtle ſet, which ſhould keepe and commaund that ſtraight, whereby any Rebells that ſhould come into the country, might be ſtopped that way, or paſſe with great perill. Moreover that all High wayes ſhould be fenced and ſhut up on both ſides, leaving onely 40. foote breadth for paſſage, ſo as none ſhould be able to paſſe but through the high wayes, whereby theeves and night Robbers might be the more eaſily purſued and encountred; when there ſhall be no other way to drive their ſtolne cattle, but therein, as I formerly declared. Further that there ſhould bee in ſundry convenient places, by the high wayes, townes appointed to bee built, the which ſhould be free Burgeſſes, and incorporate under Bayliffes, to be by their inhabitants well and ſtrongly intrenched, or otherwiſe fenced

fenced, with gates on each ſide thereof, to be ſhut nightly, like as there is in many places in the *Engliſh* pale, and all the wayes about it to be ſtrongly ſhut up, ſo as none ſhould paſſe but through thoſe townes: To ſome of which it were good that the priviledge of a market were given, the rather to ſtrengthen and inable them to their defence, for there is nothing doth ſooner cauſe civility in any countrie then many Market townes, by reaſon that people repairing often thither for their needes, will dayly ſee and learne civill manners of the better ſort: Beſides, there is nothing doth more ſtay and ſtrengthen the Country, then ſuch corporate townes, as by proofe in many Rebellions hath appeared, in which when all the countryes have ſwerved, the townes have ſtood faſt, and yeelded good releife to the Souldiours in all occaſions of ſervices. And laſtly there is nothing doth more enrich any country or Realme, then many townes, for to them will all the people drawe and bring the fruits of their trades, aſwell to make money of them, as to ſupply their needefull uſes, and the Countrymen will alſo be more induſtrious in tillage, and rearing of all husbandry commodities, knowing that they ſhall have redy ſale for them at thoſe townes, and in all thoſe townes ſhould there be convenient Innes, erected for the lodging and harbouring of Travellers, which are now oftentimes ſpoyled by lodging abroad in weake thatched houſes, for want of ſuch ſafe places to ſhroude them in.

Eudox. But what profit ſhall your market townes reape of their market? when as each one may ſell their corne and cattle abroad in the country, and make their ſecret bargaines amongſt themſelves as now I underſtand they uſe.

Iren. Indeede *Eudoxus*, they doe ſo, and thereby no ſmall inconvenience doth riſe to the Common-wealth, for now when any one hath ſtolne a Cowe or a Garron, he may ſecretly ſell it in the country without privity of any, whereas if he brought it to a market towne it would perhaps be knowne, and the theife diſcovered. Therefore it were good that a ſtraight ordinance were made, that none ſhould buy or ſell any cattle, but in ſome open market, (there being now market townes every where at hand,) upon a great penalty, neither ſhould they likewiſe buy any corne to ſell the ſame againe, unleſſe it were to make malt thereof, for by ſuch ingroſing and regrating wee ſee the dearth that now commonly raigneth here in *England*, to have beene cauſed. Hereunto alſo is to bee added that good ordinance, which I remember was once proclaimed throughout all *Ireland*. That all men ſhould marke their cattle with an open ſeverall marke upon their flanckes or Buttockes, ſo as if they happened to be ſtolne, they might appeare whoſe they were, and they which ſhould buy them, might thereby ſuſpect the Owner, and be warned to abſtaine from buying them of a ſuſpected perſon, with ſuch an unknowne marke.

Eudox. Surely theſe ordinances ſeeme very expedient, but ſpecially that of free townes, of which I wonder there is ſo ſmall ſtore in

in *Ireland*, and that in the firſt peopling and planting thereof, they were neglected and omitted.

Iren. They were not omitted, for there were through all places of the Country convenient, many good townes ſeated, which thorough that inundation of the *Iriſh*, which I firſt told you of, were utterly waſted and defaced, of which the ruines are yet in many places to be ſeene, and of ſome no ſigne at all remaining, ſave onely their bare names, but their ſeates are not to be found.

Eudox. But how then commeth it to paſſe, that they have never ſince beene recovered, nor their habitations reedified, as of the reſt, which have beene no leſſe ſpoyled and waſted.

Iren. The cauſe thereof was, for that after their deſolation, they were begged by Gentlemen, of the Kings, under colour to repaire them, and gather the poore reliques of the people againe together, of whom having obtained them, they were ſo farre from reedifying of them, as that by all meanes they have endeavoured to keepe them waſte, leaſt that being repaired, their Charters might be renewed, and their Burgeſſes reſtored to their lands, which they had now in their poſſeſſion, much like as in thoſe old monuments of Abbeyes, and religious houſes, we ſee them likewiſe uſe to doe: For which cauſe it is judged that King *Henry* the eight, beſtowed them upon them, conceiving that thereby they ſhould never bee able to riſe againe. And even ſo doe theſe Lords, in theſe poore old corporate townes, of which I could name divers, but for kindling of diſpleaſure. Therefore as I wiſhed many corporate townes to be erected, ſo would I againe wiſh them to be free, not depending upon the ſervice, nor under the commaund of any but the Governour. And being ſo, they will both ſtrengthen all the Country round about them, which by their meanes will be the better repleniſhed and enriched, and alſo be as continuall houldes for her Majeſty, if the people ſhould revolt or breake out againe, for without ſuch it is eaſie to forrage and over-run the whole land. Let be for enſample all thoſe Free-boroughes, in the Low-Countryes, which are now all the ſtrength thereof. Theſe and other like ordinances might be delivered for the good eſtabliſhment of the Realme, after it is once ſubdued and reformed, in which it might afterwards be very eaſily kept and maintained, with ſmall care of the Governours and Councell there appointed, ſo as it ſhould in ſhort ſpace, yeeld a plentifull revenue to the Crowne of *England*: which now doth but ſucke & conſume the treaſure thereof, through thoſe unſound plots and changefull orders, which are dayly deviſed for her good, yet never effectually proſecuted or performed.

Eudox But in all this your diſcourſe I have not marked any thing by you ſpoken touching the appointment of the principall Officer, to whom you wiſh the charge and performance of all this to be committed: Onely I obſerved ſome fowle abuſes by you noted in ſome of the late Governours, the reformation where-

of

of you left of, for this preſent place.

Iren. I delight not to lay open the blames of great Magiſtrates to the rebuke of the world, and therefore their reformation I will not meddle with, but leave unto the wiſedome of greater heads to be conſidered, only thus much I will ſpeake generally thereof, to ſatiſfie your deſire, that the government and cheife Magiſtracy, I wiſh to continue as it doth, to wit, that it be ruled by a Lord Deputy or Iuſtice, for that it is a very ſafe kinde of rule, but there-withall I wiſh that over him there were placed alſo a Lord Lieutenant, of ſome of the greateſt perſonages in *England*, ſuch a one I could name, upon whom the eye of all *England* is fixed, and our laſt hopes now reſt, who being intituled with that dignity, and being here alwayes reſident, may backe and defend the good courſe of that government againſt all maligners, which elſe will through their cunning working under hand, deprave and pull backe what ever thing ſhall be begun or intended there, as we commonly ſee by experience at this day, to the utter ruine and deſolation of that poore Realme, and this Leiutenancie ſhould be no diſcountenancing of the Lord Deputy, but rather a ſtrengthning of all his doings, for now the cheife evill in that government is, that no Governour is ſuffered to goe on with any one courſe, but upon the leaſt information here, of this or that, hee is either ſtopped and croſſed, or other courſes appointed him from hence which he ſhall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this houre too well felt: And therefore this ſhould be one principall in the appointing of the Lord Deputies authority, that it ſhould bee more ample and abſolute then it is, and that he ſhould have uncontrouled power, to doe any thing, that he with the adviſement of the Councell ſhould thinke meete to be done: For it is not poſſible for the Councell here, to direct a Governour there, who ſhall be forced oftentimes to follow the neceſſitie of preſent actions, and to take the ſuddaine advantage of time, which being once loſt will not bee recovered, whilſt through expecting direction from hence, the delayes whereof are oftentimes through other greater affaires moſt irkeſome, the oportunityes there in the meane time paſſe away, and great danger often groweth, which by ſuch timely prevention might eaſily bee ſtopped: And this (I remember) is worthily obſerved by *Machiavel* in his diſcourſes upon *Livie*, where he commendeth the manner of the *Romans* government, in giving abſolute power to all their Councellors and Governours, which if they abuſed, they ſhould afterwards dearely anſwere: And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of *Venice*, of *Florence*, and many other principalityes of *Italy*: who uſe to limit their cheife Officers ſo ſtrictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes loſt ſuch happy occaſions, as they could never come unto againe: The like whereof, who ſo hath beene converſant in that government of *Ireland*, hath too often ſeene to their great hinderance and hurt. Therefore this I could wiſh to be redreſſed, and yet not ſo but that in particular things he ſhould be reſtrained, though not in the

the generall government, as namely in this that no offices ſhould bee ſould by the Lord Deputy for money, nor no pardons, nor no protections bought for reward, nor no beoves taken for Captainries of Countryes, nor no ſhares of Biſhopricks for nominating of Biſhops, nor no forfeytures, nor diſpenſations with pœnall Statutes given to their ſervants or friends, nor no ſelling of licences for tranſportation of prohibited wares, and ſpecially of corne and fleſh, with many the like, which neede ſome manner of reſtrainte, or elſe very great truſt in the honorable diſpoſition of the Lord Deputy.

Thus I have *Eudoxus*, as briefly as I could, and as my memorie would ſerve me, run through the ſtate of that whole Country, both to let you ſee, what it now is, and alſo what it may bee by good care and amendment: Not that I take upon me to change the policy of ſo great a kingdome, or preſcribe rules to ſuch wiſe men, as have the handling thereof, but onely to ſhew you the evills, which in my ſmall experience I have obſerved, to be the cheife hinderance of the reformation, and by way of conference to declare my ſimple opinion for the redreſſe thereof, and eſtabliſhing a good courſe for government, which I doe not deliver as a perfect plot of mine owne invention to be onely followed, but as I have learned and underſtood the ſame by the conſultations and actions of very wiſe Governours and Councellours, whom I have (ſometimes) heard treate hereof: So have I thought good to ſet downe a remembrance of them for my owne good, and your ſatiſfaction, that who ſo liſt to overlooke them, although perhaps much wiſer then they which have thus adviſed of that State, yet at leſt by compariſon hereof, may perhaps better his owne judgment, and by the light of others fore-going him, may follow after with more eaſe, and haply finde a fairer way thereunto, then they which have gone before.

Eudox. I thanke you *Irenæus*, for this your gentle paines, withall not forgetting now in the ſhutting up, to put you in minde of that which you have formerly halfe promiſed, that hereafter when wee ſhall meete againe, upon the like good occaſion, you will declare unto us, thoſe your obſervations which you have gathered of the antiquities of *Ireland*.

The end.

Faults eſcaped.

PAg.25.lin.45.for *and he*, read *he is*. pag.27.lin.28.in ſome copies, for *Albany*, read either *Albion* or *England*, pag.33.lin.22. for *admirall* read *admirable* pag.33.lin.38 for *after*, read *before*, pag.48.lin.14. for *Termeſſa*, read *Temeſſa*, pag.54.lin.34.& 46 for *Talkuner*, read *Folkmoti*, and in the Margent add, *vid.D.Han. Spelmanni Gloſſarium* pag. 74. lin. 44. for *Sinerwicke*, read *Sherwicke*.

ANNOTATIONS.

VPon review of that part which was printed, before I began to inſerte any notes, theſe few animadverſions are added.

Pag.6. lin.39.

--the firſt originall of this word Taniſt and Taniſtry came. See whether it may not be more fitly derived from *Thane*, which word was commonly uſed among the *Danes*, and alſo among the *Saxons* in *England*, for a noble man, and a principall officer.

Pag.11.lin.14.

--duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Vlſter, &c. It was not *George* Duke of *Clarence* here ſpoken of by the author, but [a] *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, third ſonne of King *Edw.* the 3. who married the Earle of *Vlſters* daughter, and by her had the Earledome of *Vlſter*. and although *Edw.* the 4. made his brother the Duke of *Clarence*, Lo. Lieutenant of *Ireland*, yet the place was ſtill executed by his Deputyes (which were at ſeverall times) *Thomas* Earle of *Deſmond*, *John* Earle of *Worceſter*, *Tho.* Earle of *Kildare*, and *William Shirwood* Biſhop of *Meth*, the Duke himſelfe never comming into *Ireland* to governe there in perſon.

[a] *De hæres vide Camd. Britan. pag.336. & annal.Hib.ab eo edit.ad an. 1361.*

Pag.26. lin.26.

--Kin is Engliſh, and Congiſh affinity in Iriſh. I conceive the word to be rather altogether *Iriſh*. *Kin* ſignifying in *Iriſh*, the heads or chiefe of any ſepts.

Pag.27.

The diſcourſe from the word *Scythians* in the 11. line, unto the end of the parentheſis in the 30. line, is wholly to be croſſed out, as being then agreeable to the beſt MS. Copie, onely after *Scythians*, add, which.

Touching the *Scythians* [b] or *Scotts* arrivall in *Ireland*, ſee *Nennius* an ancient *Britiſh* author (who lived in the yeare of *Chriſt* 858.) where among other things we have the time of their arrivall. *Britones* (ſaith he) *venerunt in 3. ætate mundi in Britanniam, Scytha autem in 4. obtinuerunt Hiberniam.*

[b] *A regione quadam quæ dicitur Scythia: dicitur Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia*, Tho. Walſingham. *in Hypodigmate Neuſtriæ, ad an. 1285.*

Pag.28.lin.35.

--remembrances of Bards. Of the ancient Bards or Poets, *Lucan* makes

this mention in the first booke of his *Pharsalia*.

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.

Concerning the *Irish* Bardes see pag. 51. The word signified among the *Gaules* a singer, as it is noted by Mr *Camden*, and Mr *Selden*, out of *Festus Pompeius*, and it had the same signification among the *Brittish*. Sr *John Price* in the description of *Wales*, expounds it to bee one that had *knowledge of things to come, and so* (saith he) *it signifieth at this* day. taking his ground (amisse) out of *Lucan's* verses. Doctor *Powell* in his notes upon *Caradoc* of *Lhancarvan* saith, that in *Wales* they preserved Gentlemens armes and pedegrees. At this time in *Ireland* the *Bard* by common acceptation, is counted a rayling Rimer, and distinguished from the Poet.

Pag. 29. lin. 10.

--an Irish Scot or Pict by nation. *Bede* tells us that the *Picts* were a colony of *Scythians*, who first comming into *Ireland*, and being denyed residence there by the *Scots*, were perswaded by them to inhabit the North parts of *Britaine*. But Mr *Camden*, out of *Dio*, *Herodian*, *Tacitus*, &c. and upon consideration of the customes, name and language of the *Picts*, conceives not improbably, that they were naturall *Britons*, although distinguished by name.

Pag. 29. lin. 28.

Those Bardes indeed Cæsar writeth---- Concerning them I finde no mention in *Cæsar's* commentaryes, but much touching the *Druides*, which were the Priests and Philosophers, (or *Magi* as *Pliny* calls them) of the Gaules & Britisih. *Illi rebus divinis intersunt,* (*saith he) *sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinæ caussâ concurrit, magnoque ij sunt apud eos honore.* &c. The word Ουατ had anciently the same signification (as I am informed) among the Irish.

*Hist. nat. lib. 16. cap. 44.

*De b. Bo Gallico lib. 2.

Pag. 30. lin. 30.

--and Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same. Cornelius Tacitus in the life of *Iulius Agricola* saith thus. *Silurum colorati vultus, & torti plerumque crines, & positus contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupâsse fidem faciunt.* This he speaketh touching the Silures which inhabited that part of South-Wales, which now we call Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouth-shire, and Glamorganshire. And although the like reason may be given for that part of Ireland which lyeth next unto Spaine, yet in *Tacitus* we find no such inference. c *Buchanan* indeed upon the conjecture of *Tacitus* hath these words. *Verisimile a. non est Hispanos relictâ à tergo*

c Rer. Scot. lib. 3.

à tergo Hiberniâ, terrâ propiore, & cœli & soli mitioris, in Albium primùm descendisse, sed primùm in Hiberniam appulisse, atq; inde in Britanniâ colonos missos. Which was observed unto me by the most learned Bishop of Meth, Dr *Anth. Martin*, upon conference with his Lordship about this point. One passage in *Tacitus* touching Ireland (in the same booke) I may not heere omit, although it be *extra oleas*. *Quinto expeditionum anno* (saith he) *nave primâ transgressus, ignotas ad tempus gentes, crebris simul ac prosperis prælijs domuit, eamque partem Britanniæ quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copijs instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem. Siquidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, & Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperij partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus si Britanniæ comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cœlumque & ingenia, cultusq; hominum haut multùm à Britannia differunt, melius aditus portusq; per commercia & negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domesticâ unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiæ in occasionem retinebat. Sæpè ex eo audivi Legione unâ & modicis auxilijs debellari, obtinerique Hiberniam posse. idque adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, & velut è conspectu libertas tolleretur.*

Pag. 31. lin. 4.

----Slanius, in the end made himselfe Monarch. The Irish stories have a continued succession of the Kings of Ireland from this *Slanius*, untill the conquest by King *Henry* the second, but very uncertaine, especially untill the planting of Religion by S. *Patrick*, at which time *Lægarius*, or *Lagirius* was Monarch.

Pag. 33. lin. 35.

Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus and by Strabo called Britannia. *Iris* is by *Diodorus* called a part of *Brittaine*: but *Ireland* by neither of them *Britannia*.

Pag. 33. lin. 38.

-----King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt. Concerning King *Arthur's* conquest of Ireland, see *Geffry* of Monmuth, and *Matthew* of Westminster, at the yeare 525. where he is said to have landed in Ireland with a great army, and in a battle to have taken King *Gilla-mury* prisoner, and forced the other Princes to subjection. In our Annals it appeares that *Moriertach* (the sonne of *Erca*) was at that time King of Ireland, of which name some reliques seeme to be in *Gilla-Mury*, *Gilla* being but an addition used with many names, as *Gilla-Patrick*, &c. But in the Country writers (which I have seene) I find not the least touch of this conquest.

Pag. 34. lin. 23.

---amongst whom he distributed the land. King *Henry* the 2. gave to d *Richard Strong-bow* Earle of *Striguil* or *Penbroke*, all Leinster, excepting the

d Gir. Camb. Hib. expug. lib. 1. cap. 28.

the citty of *Dublin*, and the Cantreds adjoyning with the maritime townes and caſtles. Vnto [c] *Robert fitz Stephen*, and *Miles de Cogan* he granted the Kingdome of Corke, excepting the Citty of Corke, and the *Oſtmans* Cantred. And unto [f] *Philip de Bruſe* the Kingdome of Limericke. But in a confirmation of King *Iohn* to *William de Bruſe* (or *Braos*) Nephew to this *Philip*, wee finde that hee gave to him onely [g] *honorem de Limerick, retentis in dominico noſtro* (as the words of the Charter are) *civitate de Limerick & donationibus epiſcopatuum & abbatiarum, & retentis in manu noſtrâ cantredo Oſtmannorum & S. inſulâ.* Among other large graunts (remembred by *Hoveden*) which this King *Henry* gave to the firſt adventurers, that of Meth to S[r] *Hugh de Lacy* is of ſpeciall note. The grant was in theſe words.

[c] *Vid. Rog. de Hoveden pag. 567. edit. Franc. & Camd. Brit. pag. 739.*
[f] *Rog. de Hoveden ibid.*
[g] *Chart. an. 2. Io. in arce Lond.*

HEnricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, & Dux Normanniæ & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauiæ. Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iuſtitiarijs, & omnibus miniſtris & fidelibus ſuis Francis, Anglis & Hibernienſibus totius terræ ſuæ, Salutem. Sciatis me dediſſe & conceſsiſſe, & præſenti chartâ meâ confirmâſſe *Hugoni de Lacy* pro ſervitio ſuo, terram de Midiâ cum omnibus pertinentij ſuis per ſervitium quinquaginta militum ſibi & hæredibus ſuis, tenendū & habendū à me & hæredibus meis, ſicut *Murchardus Hu-melathlin* eam tenuit, vel aliquis alius ante illum vel poſteà. Et de incremento illi dono omnia feoda quæ præbuit, vel quæ præbebit circa Duveliniam, dum Balivus meus eſt, ad faciendum mihi ſervitium apud civitatem meam Duveliniæ. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio, ut ipſe *Hugo* & hæredes ſui poſt eum prædictam terram habeant, & teneant omnes libertates & liberas conſuetudines quas ibi habeo vel habere poſſum per prænominatum ſervitium, à me & hæredibus meis, benè & in pace, liberè, & quietè, & honorificè, in boſco & plano, in pratis & paſcuis, in aquis & molēdinis, in vivarijs & ſtagnis, & piſcationibus & venationibus, in vijs, & ſemitis, & portubus maris, & in omnibus alijs locis, & alijs rebus ad eam pertinentibus cum omnibus libertatibus, quas ibi habeo, vel illi dare poſſum, & hâc meâ chartâ confirmare. *Teſt. comite Richardo filio Gilberti, Willielmo de Braoſa, &c. Apud Weiſford.*

But

But above all other graunts made by K. *Henry* the 2. that to his ſonne *Iohn* is moſt memorable. *Deinde* (ſaith [h] *Hoveden*) *venit rex Oxenford, & in generali concilio ibidem celebrato conſtituit Iohannem filium ſuum Regem in Hiberniâ, conceſſione & confirmatione Alexandri ſummi Pontificis.* By vertue of this graunt both in the life time of his father, and in the raigne of his brother king *Richard*, he was ſtiled in all his charters *Dominus Hiberniæ*, and directed them thus, *Ioannes Dominus Hiberniæ, & comes Morton. Archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, comitibus, baronibus, Iuſtitiarijs, vicecomitibus, conſtabularijs, & omnibus ballivis & miniſtris ſuis totius Hiberniæ, ſalutem.* Thus we have it frequently (although ſometimes with a little variation) in the Regiſters of Saint *Mary* Abbey, and *Thomaſcourt* by *Dublin*. How the Earle in Leinſter, and *Lacy* in Meth, diſtributed their lands, (beſides what they retained in their owne hands,) is delivered by *Maurice Regan*, (interpreter to *Dermot Mac Murrough* King of Leinſter) who wrote the Hiſtorie of thoſe times in *French* verſe. The booke was tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Sir George Carew* Lo. Preſident of *Mounſter*, afterwards earle of *Totnes*, and communicated to me, by our moſt reverend and excellently learned Primate. There wee finde that the Earle gave to *Reymond le Groſe* in [i] marriage with *his ſiſter, Fotherd, Odrone, and Glaſcarrig, unto Hervy de Mount-mariſh, hee gave Obarthy, unto Maurice de Prindergaſt, Fernegenall, which was afterwards conferred upon Robert fitz Godobert but by what meanes he obtained it* (ſaith Regan) *I know not. Vnto Meiler Fitz Henry he gave Carbry, unto* [k] *Maurice Fitz Gerald the Naas Ofelin (which had beene poſſeſſed by Mackelan) and Wicklöe, unto Walter de Ridelesford he gave the lands of Omorthy, unto Iohn de Clahul the marſhalſhip of Leinſter, and the land betweene Aghaho and Leghlin, unto Robert de Birmingham Ofaly, and unto Adam de Hereford large poſſeſſions.* What theſe poſſeſſions were, are thus noted in the Regiſter of *Thomaſcourt* abbey, where ſpeaking of the Earle, *Poſteà Lagenia perquiſitâ, erat quidam juvenis cum eo quem multùm dilexit, & dedit eidem pro ſervitio ſuo terras & tenementa ſubſcripta, viz. tenementum de ſaltu Salmonis, Cloncoury, Kill, Honterard, & tenementum de Donning cum omnibus ſuis pertinentijs.* Thus the Regiſter. This *Adam de Hereford* was founder of *Saint Wulſtan's* Priory neere *Leixlip* in the county of Kildare. But we proceed with *Regan*. *Vnto Miles Fitz David who was one of his cheife favorites, he gave Overk in Oſſory, to Thomas le Flemming, Arde, to Gilbert de Borard, Oſelmith, to a knight called Reinand he gave 15. knights fees adioyning to the ſea, and to one Robert (who was afterwards ſlaine in Connaght) the Norragh.* What partition *Lacy* made in *Meth*, he thus delivers. *Vnto his ſpeciall friend Hugh Tirrell he gave Caſtleknock: and unto William Petit Caſtlebreck.* I have ſeene an ancient deede made by Sir *Hugh de Lacy* to this *William Petit* wherein among other things he graunts unto him *Matherethirnan cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, exceptis Lacu & villâ quæ dicitur Diſſert, &c. Vnto the valiant Meiler fitz Henry* (ſayth Regan) *the gaue Magherneran the lands of Rathkenin, and the cantred of Athnorker. Vnto Gilbert*

[h] *In Henr. 2. pag. 566.*

[i] *Conſul. Gir. Camb. Hib. expugn. lib. 2. cap. 4*

[k] This Maurice ſoone after deceaſing at Wexford, king *Iohn* then earle of *Moreton* confirmed to his ſonne *William Fitz Maurice cantredum terræ quem Makelanus tenuit, illum ſc. in quo villa de Naas ſita eſt, quam comes Richardus dedit Mauritio patri ipſius Willielmi.* Thus the charter, *habetur in rot. com. placitan. 10. Hen. 6. in turri Birminghamiano.*

de Nangle all Magherigallen, unto Iocelin the sonne of Gilbert de Nangle, the Navan and the land of Ardbraccan: vnto Richard de Tuite he gave faire possessions, unto Robert de Lacy Rathwer, unto Richard de la Chappell he gaue much land, unto Geffry de Constantine Kilbisky and Rathmarthy: Vnto Adam de Feipo, Gilbert de Nugent, William de Misset, and Hugh de Hose, he gaue large inheritances. In *Lacyes* graunt to *Feipo*, we finde that he gave him *Skrine, et praterea* (sayth the [l] deede) *feodum unius militis circa Duvelinam, scil. Clantorht & Santref.* &c. In his graunt to *Gilbert de Nugent*, (the originall whereof I have seene, with an impression upon the seale, of a knight armed and mounted,) he gave to him *Delvin, quam in tempore Hibernicorum tenuerunt O-Finelans, cum omnibus pertinentijs & villis, quæ infra prædictam Delvin continentur, exceptâ quadam villâ Abbatis Fouræ nomine Torrochelasch pro servitio 5. militum.* Thus the Charter. To *Misset* hee gave *Luin*, and to *Hussey* or *Hose Galtrim. Regan* proceeds. *Vnto Adam Dullard hee gave the lands of Dullenvarthy, unto one Thomas he gave Cramly, Timiath-began northeast from Kenlis, Lathrachalim, and Sendevonath, and unto Richard le Fleming he gave Crandon at 20. Knights fees.*

[l] *Magn. registr. mon. B. Mariæ juxta Dublin. fol 76.*

Pag. 36. l. 26.

------they changed the forme thereof into their cloakes called Pallia. As the *Romans* had their gowne called *toga*, so the ancient outward vestiment of the Grecians was called *Pallium*, by some translated a Mantle, although it be now commonly taken for a Cloake, which doth indeed somewhat resemble a Mantle. By these different kinds of habit, the one was so certainly distinguished from the other, that the word *Togatus* was often used to signifie a Roman, and *Palliatus* a Grecian, as it is observed by [m] *Mr Tho. Godwin* out of [n] *Sigonius. Togati* saith he, *pro Romanis dicti, ut Palliati pro Græcis.* But that *the ancient Latines and Romans used it*, as the Author alledgeth, (out of I know not what place in *Virgil*) appeareth no way unto mee. That the Gowne was their usuall outward garment, is most certaine, and that commonly of woolI, finer or courser, according to the dignity of the person that wore it. Whence *Horace:*

[m] *Romana antiq. antholog. lib. 2. sect. 3. cap. 7.*
[n] *De ind. l. 3. cap. 9.*

Sat. 3 lib. 1.

——— Sit mihi mensa tripes, et
Concha salis puri, et toga quæ defendere frigus
Quamvis crassa, queat---.

And from this difference betweene the ancient Roman and Grecian habit, grew the proverbs, *modò palliatus, modò togatus*, and *de togâ ad pallium*, to denote an unconstant person.

Pag. 36. lin. 32.

---------- Humi mantilia sternunt.

Euanders

Euanders entertainment of *Æneas*, is set out in the 8. booke of *Virgils Æneis*, but there we have no such word as *mantilia*. In his entertainment by *Dido* we have it, but in another sence.

Iam pater Æneas, & jam Troiana iuventus
Conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro,
Dant famuli manibus lymphas Cereremque canistris
Expediunt, tonsisq; ferunt mantilia villis.

Æneid. lib. 1.

Pag. 38. lin. 44.

---as in that battle of Thomyris against Cyrus. Herodotus in the description of that battle hath no such thing.

Pag. 41. lin. 30.

---by the sword and by the fire. Lucian hath it, *by the sword & by the wind.* Somewhat may be gathered to this purpose out of the [o] *Vlster Annals*, where *Lægarius* (or *Lagerius*) a heathen King of Ireland, being taken prisoner by the *Leinster* men, is said to have bin released upon an oath, which was *per solem & ventum.*

[o] *An 458.*

Out of the fourth Booke of the *Faerie Queene, Canto XI.* *concerning the rivers of Ireland.*

NE thence the Iriſh Rivers abſent were,
Sith no leſſe famous then the reſt they be,
And joyne in neighbourhood of kingdome neere,
Why ſhould they not likewiſe in love agree,
And joy likewiſe this ſolemne day to ſee?
They ſaw it all, and preſent were in place;
Though I them all according their degree,
Cannot recount, nor tell their hidden race,
Nor read the ſalvage coũtries, thorough which they paſe.

There was the Liffie, rolling downe the lea,
The ſandy Slane, the ſtony Aubrian,
The ſpacious Shenan ſpreading like a ſea,
The pleaſant Boyne, the fiſhy fruitfull Ban,
Swift Awniduffe, which of the Engliſh man
Is call'd Blacke water, and the Liffar deepe;
Sad Trowis, that once his people over-ran,
Strong *Allo* tombling from Slewlogher ſteep,
And *Mulla* mine, whoſe waves I whilom taught to weep.

And there the three renowmed brethren were,
Which that great Giant *Blomius* begot
Of the faire Nymph *Rheúſa* wandring there,
One day, as ſhe to ſhunne the ſeaſon hot,
Vnder Slewbloome in ſhady grove was got,
This Giant found her, and by force deflowr'd;
Whereof conceiving, ſhe in time forth brought
Theſe three faire ſons, which being thence forth powrd
In three great rivers ran, and many countries ſcowrd.

The firſt, the gentle Shure, that making way
By fweet Clonmell adornes rich Waterford;
The next the ſtubburne Newre, whoſe waters gray
By faire Kilkenny, and Roſſeponte boord;
The third, the goodly Barow, which doth hoord
Great heapes of Salmons in his deepe boſome:
All which long ſundred, doe at laſt accord
To joyne in one, ere to the ſea they come,
Flowing all from one, all one at laſt become.

There also was the wide embayed Mayre,
The pleasant Bandon crownd with many a wood,
The spreading Lee, that like an Iland faire
Encloseth Corke with his divided flood;
And balefull Oure, late stayned with English bloud:
With many more, whose names no tongue can tell.
All which that day in order seemely good
Did on the Thamis attend, and waited well
To doe their duefull service, as to them befell.

Out of the seventh Booke of the *Faerie Queene*. *Cant. VI.*

EFtsoones the time and place appointed were,
Where all both heavenly Powers, and earthly wights,
Before great Natures presence should appeare,
For tryall of their Titles and best Rights,
That was, to weet, upon the highest hights
Of *Arlo*-hill (Who knowes not *Arlo-hill?*)
That is the highest head (in all mens sights)
Of my old father *Mole*, whom Shepheards quill
Renowmed hath with hymnes fit for a rurall skill.

And were it not ill fitting for this file,
To sing of hilles & woods, mongst warres & Knights,
I would abate the sternenesse of my stile,
Mongst these sterne stounds to mingle soft delights;
And tell how *Arlo* through *Dianaes* spights,
(Beeing of old the best and faireſt Hill
That was in all this holy Islands highes)
Was made the most unpleasant, and most ill.
Meane while, O *Clio*, lend *Calliope* thy quill.

Whylome, when *IRELAND* florished in fame
Of wealth and goodnesse, far above the rest
Of all that beare the *British* Islands name,
The Gods then us'd (for pleasure and for rest)
Oft to resort there-to, when seem'd them best:
But none of all there-in more pleasure found,
Then *Cynthia*; that is soveraine Queene profest
Of woods and forrests which therein abound,
Sprinkled with wholesome waters, more then most on ground.

But mongst them all, as fittest for her game,
Either for chace of beasts with hound or bowe,
Or for to shrowde in shade from *Phœbus* flame,
Or bathe in fountaines that doe freshly flowe,
Or from high hilles, or from the dales belowe,
She chose this *Arlo*; where she did resort
With all her Nymphes enranged on a rowe,
With whom the woody gods did oft consort:
For, with the Nymphes, the Satyres love to play & sport.

Amongst the which, there was a Nymph that hight
Molanna; daughter of old father *Mole*,
And sister unto *Mulla* faire and bright:
Vnto whose bed false *Bregog* whylome stole,
That Shepheard *Colin* dearely did condole,
And made her luckleſſe loves well knowne to be.
But this *Molanna*, were she not so shole,
Were no lesse faire and beautifull then shee:
Yet as she is, a fairer flood may no man see.

For first she springs out of two marble Rocks,
On which, a grove of Oakes high mounted growes;
That as a girlond seemes to deck the locks
Of some faire Bride, brought forth with pompous showes
Out of her bowre, that many flowers strowes:
So, through the flowry Dales she tumbling downe,
Through many woods, and shady coverts flowes,
(That on each side her silver channell crowne)
Till to the Plaine she come, whose Valleyes she doth drowne.

In her sweet streames, *Diana* used oft
(After her sweaty chace and toylesome play)
To bathe her selfe; and after, on the soft
And downy grasse, her dainty limbes to lay
In covert shade, where none behold her may:
For, much she hated sight of living eye.
Foolish God *Faunus*, though full many a day
He saw her clad, yet longed foolishly
To see her naked mongst her Nymphes in privity.

No way he found to compasse his desire,
But to corrupt *Molanna*, this her maid,
Her to discover for some secret hire:
So, her with flattering words he first assaid,
And after, pleasing gifts for her purvaid,
Queene-apples, and red Cherries from the tree,
With which he her allured and betrayd,

To tell what time he might her Lady ſee
When ſhe her ſelfe did bathe, that he might ſecret bee.

There-to he promiſt, if ſhe would him pleaſure
With this ſmall boone, to quit her with a better;
To weet, that where-as ſhe had out of meaſure
Long lov'd the *Fanchin*, who by nought did ſet her,
That he would undertake, for this to get her
To be his Love, and of him liked well:
Beſides all which, he vow'd to be her debter
For many moe good turnes then he would tell;
The leaſt of which, this little pleaſure ſhould excell.

The ſimple mayd did yeeld to him anone;
And eft him placed where he cloſe might view
That never any ſaw, ſave onely one;
Who, for his hire to ſo foole-hardy dew,
Was of his hounds devour'd in Hunters hew.
Tho, as her manner was on ſunny day,
Diana, with her Nymphes about her drew
To this ſweet ſpring; where, doffing her array,
She bath'd her lovely limbes, for *Love* a likely pray.

There *Faunus* ſaw that pleaſed much his eye,
And made his heart to tickle in his breſt,
That for great joy of ſome-what he did ſpy,
He could him not containe in ſilent reſt;
But, breaking forth in laughter, loud profeſt
His fooliſh thought. A fooliſh *Faune* indeed,
That couldſt not hold thy ſelfe ſo hidden bleſt;
But wouldeſt needs thine owne conceit areed.
Babblers unworthy been of ſo divine a meed.

The Goddeſſe, all abaſhed with that noiſe,
In haſte forth ſtarted from the guilty brooke;
And running ſtraight where-as ſhe heard his voyce,
Enclos'd the buſh about, and there him tooke,
Like dared Larke; nor daring up to looke
On her whoſe ſight before ſo much hee fought.
Thence, forth they drew him by the hornes, and ſhook
Nigh all to peeces, that they left him nought;
And then into the open light they forth him brought.

Like as an huſwife that with buſie care
Thinks of her Dairy to make wondrous gaine,
Finding where-as ſome wicked beaſt unware
That breakes into her Dayr'houſe, there doth draine

Her creaming pannes, and fruſtrate all her paine;
Hath in ſome ſnare or gin ſet cloſe behind,
Entrapped him, and caught into her traine,
Then thinkes what puniſhment were beſt aſſign'd,
And thouſand deathes deviſeth in her vengefull mind:

So did *Diana* and her maydens all
Vſe ſilly *Faunus*, now within their baile:
They mocke and ſcorne him, and him foule miſcall;
Some by the noſe him pluckt, ſome by the taile,
And by his goatiſh beard ſome did him haile:
Yet he (poore ſoule) with patience all did beare:
For, nought againſt their wills might countervaile:
Ne ought he ſaid what-ever he did heare;
But hanging downe his head, did like a Mouſe appeare.

At length, when they had flouted him their fill,
They gan to caſt what penance him to give.
Some would have gelt him, but that ſame would ſpill
The Wood-gods breed, which muſt for ever live:
Others would through the river him have drive,
And ducked deepe: but that ſeem'd penance light;
But moſt agreed and did this ſentence give,
Him in Deeres skin to clad; and in that plight,
To hunt him with their hounds, him ſelfe ſave how he might.

But *Cynthia's* ſelfe more angry then the reſt,
Thought not enough, to puniſh him in ſport:
And of her ſhame to make a gameſome jeſt;
But gan examine him in ſtraighter ſort,
Which of her Nymphes, or other cloſe conſort,
Him thither brought, and her to him betraid.
He, much affeard, to her confeſſed ſhort,
That't was *Molanna* which her ſo bewrayd,
Then all at once their hands upon *Molanna* laid.

But him (according as they had decreed)
With a Deeres skin they covered, and then chaſt
With all their hounds, that after him did ſpeed;
But he more ſpeedy, from them fled more faſt
Then any Deere: ſo ſore him dread aghaſt.
They after follow'd all with ſhrill out-cry,
Shouting as they the heavens would have braſt,
That all the woods and dales where he did flie,
Did ring againe, and loud reecho to the skie.

So they him follow'd till they weary were;

When, backe returning to *Molann'* againe,
They, by commandment of *Diana*, there
Her whelm'd with stones. Yet *Faunus* (for her paine)
Of her beloved *Fanchin* did obtaine,
That her he would receive unto his bed.
So now her waves passe through a pleasant Plaine,
Till with the *Fanchin* she her selfe doe wed,
And (both combin'd) themselves in one faire river spred.

Nath'lesse, *Diana*, full of indignation,
Thence-forth abandond her delicious brooke;
In whose sweet streame, before that bad occasion,
So much delight to bathe her limbes she tooke:
Ne onely her, but also quite forsooke
All those faire forrests about *Arlo* hid,
And all that Mountaine, which doth over-looke
The richest champain that may else be rid,
And the faire *Shure*, in which are thousand Salmons bred.

Them all, and all that she so deare did way,
Thence-forth she left; and parting from the place,
Thereon an heavy hapless curse did lay
To weet, that Wolves, where she was wont to space,
Should harbour'd be, and all those Woods deface,
And Thieves should rob and spoile that Coast around,
Since which, those Woods, and all that goodly Chase,
Doth to this day with Wolves and Thieves abound:
Which too-too true that lands in-dwellers since have found.

To the right honourable *Thomas* Earle of *Ormond* and *Ossory*.

Lord Treasuret of *Ireland*.

REceive most noble Lord a simple taste,
Of the wild fruit, which savage soyle hath bred,
Which being through long warres left almost waste,
With brutish barbarisme is overspred:
And in so faire a Land, as may be red,
Not one *Parnassus*, nor one *Helicon*
Left for sweet Muses to be harboured,
But where thy selfe hast thy brave mansion;
There indeed dwell faire Graces many one,
And gentle Nymphes, delights of learned wits,
And in thy person without Paragone
All goodly bounty and true honour sits.
Such therefore, as that wasted soyle doth yield,
Receive deare Lord in worth, the fruit of barren field.

E. S.

To the most renowned & valiant Lord, *Arthur* Lord *Grey of Wilton*, Knight of the noble order of the Garter &c.

Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

MOst noble Lord, the pillor of my life,
And Patron of my Muses pupillage,
Through whose large bountie poured on me rife,
In the first season of my feeble age,
I now doe live, bound yours by vassalage,
Sith nothing ever may redeeme, or reave
Out of your endlesse debt so sure a gage,
Vouchsafe in worth this small gift to receive,
Which in your noble hands for pledge I leave
Of all the rest, that I am tyde t'account:
Rude rimes, the which a rustick Muse did weave
In savage soyle, far from *Parnasso* mount,
And roughly wrought in an unlearned Loome:
The which vouchsafe deare Lord, your favourable doome.

E. S.

To the right noble Lord and most valiant Captaine, Sir *John Norris*, Knight, Lord President of Mounster.

VVHo ever gave more honourable prize
To the sweet Muse, then did the Martiall crew;
That their brave deeds she might immortalize
In her shrill tromp, and sound their praises dew?
Who then ought more to favour her, then you
Most noble Lord, the honour of this age,
And Precedent of all that Armes ensue?
Whose warlike prowesse, and manly courage,
Tempred with reason and advizement sage,
Hath filld sad *Belgick* with victorious spoile,
In *France* and *Ireland* left a famous gage,
And lately shak't the *Lusitanian* soile.
Sith then each where thou hast dispred thy fame,
Love him, that hath eternized your name.

E. S.